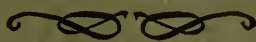


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The German War and Catholicism



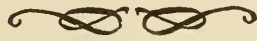
German Defense Against
French Attacks

AUTHORIZED AMERICAN EDITION

ST. PAUL, MINN., 1916

WANDERER PRINTING COMPANY

The German War and Catholicism



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French Attacks



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Foreword to the American Edition.

Since the outbreak of the World War, a campaign of calumny against Germany, the Germans, and the German-Americans has been carried on in our country. It was one of the first war measures of England to cut the German-American cable, in order to facilitate that campaign. Although wireless messages and communication by mail since, made it possible to some extent to counteract this pernicious activity, truth did not get an impartial hearing to this day.

It was particularly painful to us Catholics that the events of war in Belgium and France carried the political conflict into the realm of religion and were conducive in arraying Catholic sympathies on the side of one of the groups of belligerents. Thus an issue was raised of which no one could have thought at the beginning of the conflagration. Catholic affairs and countries never stood very high in the estimation of our modern society, and our public press never before was aroused by injury and injustice suffered by the Catholics in any country. On the contrary: the war of oppression waged by the French Republic against the Church was excused, nay, even extolled as justified by reason and the desire to free the country from an unbearable yoke; in Belgium the radical opponents of the Government up to the time of the war were in favor with the international press; Catholic Spain was denounced and bitterly assailed because she had condemned to death the atheistic revolutionary, Francisco Ferrer; we failed to notice any excitement when Ernesto Nathan fiercely attacked the Holy Father and reviled the Catholics as stupid buffoons and their religion as superstitious idiocy; the terrible fate of the Catholic Church in Mexico did not cause much indignation and even was hailed as the beginning of a new era; the persecution of the Catholics in Galicia perpetrated by Russia did not receive more than a passing notice.

Richard Harding Davis and other correspondents siding with the Allies had hardly sent their gruesome tales of the "complete destruction" of Louvain and the bombardment of the Cathedral of Reims, when all of a sudden the public press, which to a great extent is responsible for the isolation of the Church in its trials and tribulations, discovered its sense of justice towards the Church and showed an interest in Catholic affairs never before exhibited. In numberless press reports, speeches and pamphlets the cause of poor Catholic Belgium was espoused; Belgian politicians, who formerly never enjoyed popularity, on account of their affiliation with a Catholic party, were extolled as eminent statesmen; hundreds and thousands detected their infinite admiration of the treasures of art produced by a Catholic past which in accordance with the principles of modern thought long since had been stigmatized as "the dark ages."

And whence that wonderful change? England had given the cue; England which, like no other country, has succeeded in making the international press serve her purposes; England, where the No-Popery-cry has never been silenced, found it to her advantage to make Catholicism subservient to her as an important factor in influencing public opinion in the neutral countries.

That was comprehensible from England's political point of view and in the light of England's political dishonesty in the past which was particularly manifested but a few years ago in her campaign against the very same

Belgium in the Congo question. But more surprising developments ensued. The Catholics in Belgium and France were carried away by the current of events, and were persuaded into the absurd notion that the blow at their countries was more of religious, than political significance. The origin of this idea will remain a matter of conjecture: whether it has its source in exaggerated national sentiments carried to morbid extremes by the terrors of war, or whether it is to be attributed, to some extent at least, to the psychological influence of the British press campaign is difficult to say.

As long as the world will judge by material achievements it is indeed a fact that the political enfeeblement of a nation carries with it a loss to the prestige of the religious convictions professed by the majority of that nation. But it is another thing to assert that defeat and even oppression is bound to strike a blow at the faith and the morals and the religious strength of a nation. It appears to us that such an assertion is refuted by the history of the Irish and Polish nations, not to mention other historical facts. From this point of view alone, we never could understand—even taking in consideration the excitedness and passions caused by the war—how any Catholic could be persuaded to believe that the future of Catholicism is at stake in this war. In looking over the two groups of belligerents at the beginning of the war, we are still more at a loss to follow the argument that a terrible conflict is being waged between Christ and Antichrist; that paganism has set out to subdue Catholicism and rob the nations of the globe of all the blessings Christianity has bestowed upon them. There are arrayed on the one hand the German Empire and Austria-Hungary: the German Empire with its 25 million Catholics and its marvelous Catholic activities which but a few years ago caused His Eminence Cardinal Ferrari to speak of the example Catholic Germany is setting for all other nations (“Germania docet”); and Austria-Hungary with her millions of devoted sons of the Church. And while the Germanic Powers are made to appear as the bitterest enemies of the Church, their adversaries are lauded as protectors and defenders of Catholicism: England, where but a few years ago the king was forced to defame the tenets of the Church in the coronation oath; France, whose government waged a fierce war against the Church and even in the midst of the present calamity betrays its enmity thereto; Russia, the exponent of petrified and State ruled Orthodoxy; Serbia and Montenegro, where the Church for centuries has been oppressed; Japan, whose aspirations to conform to modern thought led to a vague eclecticism. These are the champions of Christianity, these the protectors of the Catholic Church! The idea is so absurd that at first one is inclined to pass it unnoticed.

But the charges against Germany were repeated again and again and the grand mission of the Triple Entente to preserve Christian culture, was emphasized until not a few began to accept these theses as proven facts. For years, so we were assured by Germany’s adversaries, the Germans have prepared this offensive war, not only for political purposes, but with the principal object in view to strike a decisive blow at Christian culture. Christianity has conquered Graeco-Roman culture and permeated it with the principles and ideals of its divine revelations and teachings and thus led humanity to the lofty heights of Christian culture. Then, the Germanic nations were instruments in the hands of Providence. But having proceeded from Lutheranism to rationalism, and then to nationalism, and now to neo-paganism, Germany of today, inflated with pride and arrogance, is about to overthrow Christian culture and force her own world view upon the nations. While Austria is merely Germany’s vassal, German neo-paganism girded with the armature of Prussian militarism, sweeps like a hurricane through the Catholic neighboring countries to strike at the very heart of Christianity. The Powers arrayed against Germany, therefore, wage a Kulturkampf, a battle for culture in the true sense of the word, and whoever has at heart the preservation of the Christian religion with all its cultural achievements is in duty bound to take sides with them and to help foil Germany’s base attempt.

We might call attention to the fact that French and Italian Freemasons also try to influence the neutrals against Germany, and it goes without saying that they present altogether different reasons why Germany's intentions should be crushed. But we are concerned principally with the propaganda among our co-religionists and confine ourselves to this side of the propaganda.

That propaganda reached its culmination when in France a committee of Catholics was formed for the purpose to create sentiments in favor of France and her allies. (Comité Catholique de propagande française). This committee began its activity by publishing a pamphlet, under the title "La guerre allemande et le catholicisme." To ward off the attacks of this committee and to defend themselves against the accusations contained in the above book, the German Catholics formed a similar committee which some months ago published a reply to the French indictment. ("Der deutsche Krieg und der Katholizismus. Deutsche Abwehr französischer Angriffe." Herausgegeben von deutschen Katholiken. Berlin, 1915. Verlag und Druck der Germania, Aktien-Gesellschaft für Verlag und Druckerei. M. 3.20.) We herewith submit to our American co-religionists an authorized English edition of this book trusting with Mr. Arthur Preuss that "those who have read the French charges will want to read the German answer." ("Fortnightly Review," Nov. 1, 1915.)

Even Catholic Frenchmen criticised the French publication. The well-known scholar, Dom. G. Morin, of the Belgian Benedictine Abbey Maredsous, a Frenchman by birth, in commenting on the book speaks of "the sadness and disgust which that pamphlet aroused in him as a Catholic and not less as a Frenchman." (Quoted in the N. Allg. Ztg., August 3, 1915). He was followed by Fr. de la Brière, S. J., who, although he found much to praise, dared to point out a number of faults and mistakes in the book, coating his censure with the pacifying remarks: "The book came into existence with amazing haste in the heat of battle. That alone goes to show that the very excellent authors do not pretend that their work possesses the perfection which could have been attained in the repose of better times . . ." ("Etudes," May, 1915, Cf. the German Jesuit Review, "Stimmen der Zeit," vol. 45, 11.) The opinion of the French politician, Denys Cochin, a member of that very same committee, also deserves attention. "Whence the bad repute of the French Catholics of which the authors of the book try to clear us?" he asks. "The anti-clerical policy has caused it." "But," he continues, "what is the cause of this policy? Is this policy compatible with a serious sentiment entertained by the majority of Frenchmen? I deny that absolutely." In attempting to prove this hazardous assertion, M. Cochin reckons with the passiveness of his compatriots and his utterances against his will become satirical; for in view of the glorious victory of the Catholics in Germany over the most powerful statesman in his day on the one hand, and the ignominious defeat suffered by the French Catholics at the hands of a comparatively small clique of Freemasons on the other, one fails to grasp the force of Mr. Cochin's argument, who compares the purely religious Catholicism in France with Catholicism in Germany and rejoices because France shall never have a party similar to the German Centre. ("Il n'y aura jamais de parti catholique en France, non, rien qui ressemble au Centre allemand." Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, 1915.)

Catholic papers in the United States, too, reviewed the French book. It was especially surprising to us that one of them (an esteemed weekly magazine in Indiana), which tries to be fair and impartial recommended it to its readers. One of our oldest Catholic papers, the "Freeman's Journal" of New York, took the French Catholics severely to task for making the Church and the Holy Father appear to take sides with France and said in a lengthy editorial dealing with the French book: "Every true Catholic, whatever his nationality, will feel indignant at such a charge." ("Freeman's Journal," October 15, 1915.)

The German Catholic papers in our country unanimously regretted that the French book was translated and published in English. And the fact that it is being sent out broadcast by the consulates of the French Republic (Cf. daily "Amerika," St. Louis, Dec. 20, 1915), added another insult to the harm the book is apt to bring about by furthering national hatred even in this country and within the Catholic Church in America. Not to speak of love and charity which should reign supreme within the fold, we American Catholics cannot afford to foment disharmony and strife in our own ranks, surrounded as we are by relentless enemies (Guardians of Liberty, Knights of Luther, etc.), who justly may rejoice seeing Catholics set against Catholics. In spite of misunderstandings and controversies that arose from time to time, the Church in America may be proud of the fact that its children of different nationalities in chivalrous rivalry labored for the extension of God's kingdom on earth. We German-American Catholics may appeal to the members of the Hierarchy and to the representatives of the Holy Father himself, to give testimony whether we have done our share towards the development and strengthening of Catholic life and activity. Time and again, in public speeches and written testimonials, we received hearty praise and encouragement. We do not boast of our deeds. Neither do we hesitate to state, that what we were able to accomplish, has been accomplished through those very same characteristics which in more just and less turbulent days were ascribed to the German people at large and to the Catholics in Germany in particular, and that it has been accomplished, because we followed the example and gained by the experience of our fellow-Catholics in the Fatherland.

And now everything German is being derided, and to our astonishment, we are informed of the depraved and dismal forces that are hidden under the surface of German nature, and of the barbarous instincts that govern German thought and action. And these insinuations and charges are hurled at us in a book which pretends to serve the Catholic cause, and for the English edition of which the infidel French government stands sponsor, so to speak.

Who will blame us for protesting against such abuse? As far as the political questions are concerned, we leave it to the Catholics in Germany themselves to defend their cause. No one will deny them the right to give their side and to ward off attacks.* In view of an outraged public opinion we deem it our Christian duty to assist them in this undertaking—unless the old juridical principle: "Audiatur et altera pars" does not hold good any more in this era of "the new liberty."

But the French charges are not only of a political character: they try to use the Catholic religion as a political weapon. The French committee accuses the Catholics in Germany of professing a Catholicity out of harmony with the teachings of the Church, and tries to assign to the Catholics in France a singular position within the Church, which no nation and no nationality can assume. The French committee aims at making an object of hatred and contempt everything that has any connection with the intellectual life in Germany, and at transplanting that hatred from the Old World into the New.

And against such action we protest, feeling as we do that the defamation of the religious aspirations of the Catholics in Germany is also a defamation of the religious endeavors of the German-American Catholics.

Far be it from us to deny that the name of France is written conspicuously upon many pages of the history of the Church, and that French Catholics have rendered great services to the Church in our own country. It is

*The English, however, apparently are very anxious to deprive them of this opportunity. The copy of the German book sent to us, as well as several cablegrams and letters pertaining to the publishing of the English edition, were confiscated. At least they never reached their destination. And it may not be amiss to add that we did not correspond with any official bureau or any Government official whatever, this book being published with the consent and authority of the Committee of German Catholics only.—Jos. Matt, Editor.

therefore with regret that we denounce their most deplorable literary warfare against their German co-religionists. That action becomes the more lamentable since it is carried into neutral countries and especially into the United States with its manifold nationalities. Their book "La guerre allemande," in the opinion of Bishop Faulhaber, "will remain one of the most deplorable documents in the history of the Church of the 20th century," (Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus and Weltkrieg, p. 452.—An American edition of this book is to appear within a short time.) and the fact that it is distributed in our country by the official representatives of the French Republic, does not tend to make the guilt of our French brethren appear in a better light. We again protest against this procedure and shall continue to take measures against it.

Joseph Matt,

Editor Der Wanderer; Pres. Wanderer Printing Co.,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

F. P. Kenkel,

K. St. G., Editor Amerika; Director Central Bureau of the G. R. C.
Central Verein of North America, St. Louis, Missouri.

Msgr. P. M. Abbelen, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Henry A. J. Andries, Editor Stimme der Wahrheit, Detroit, Michigan.

Msgr. George Bornemann, V. F., P. R., Rector St. Paul's Church, Reading,
Pennsylvania.

Dr. C. Bruehl, Professor St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pennsylvania.

Joseph Frey, K. St. G., Manufacturer; President German Roman Catholic
Central Verein of North America; Vice-Pres. American Federation of
Catholic Societies, New York City.

Nicholas Gonner, K. St. G., Editor and Publisher The Catholic Tribune, Der
Katholische Westen, and Luxemburger Gazette; Honorary President G.
R. C. Central Verein of North America; Member Exec. Board American
Federation of Catholic Societies, Dubuque, Iowa.

Msgr. George W. Heer, Prot. Apost., Rector St. Mary's Church. Dubuque,
Iowa.

Martin A. Hiesemann, Editor Buff. Volksfreund. Buffalo, New York.

Msgr. Paul Hoelscher, D. D., Rector St. Louis Church. Buffalo, New York.

F. G. Holweck, Rector St. Francis de Sales Church. St. Louis, Missouri.

F. W. Immeucus, Merchant; Treas. G. R. C. Central Verein of North America;
Member Exec. Board American Federation of Catholic Societies. Pitts-
burgh, Pennsylvania.

John Q. Juenemann, Secretary G. R. C. Central Verein of North America;
Secretary G. R. C. Aid Society of Minnesota. St. Paul, Minnesota.

(Rev.) **Charles Jung,** Editor Ohio Waisenfreund. Columbus, Ohio.

Charles Korz, Ret., President State League of German Cath. Societies of
New York. Brooklyn, New York.

Dr. Peter J. Latz. Chicago, Illinois.

Msgr. C. Linnenkamp, V. G., Rector Immaculate Conception Church, St.
Joseph, Missouri.

F. Markert, S. V. D., Editor Amerikanisches Familienblatt. Techny, Illi-
nois.

Celestine Miller, O. S. B., Editor St. Joseph's Blatt. Mt. Angel, Oregon.

Dr. Joseph Och, Editor Josephinum Weekly. Columbus, Ohio.

Msgr. John H. Oechtering, V. G., Rector St. Mary's Church, Fort Wayne, Indiana.
John B. Oelkers, K. St. G., Manufacturer; Honorary President G. R. C. Central Verein of North America. Newark, New Jersey.
George F. Roesch, Counselor at Law; Former Justice of the District Court. New York City.
Msgr. B. Richter, Rector St. Boniface's Church. Melrose, Minnesota.
Mathias Rohr, Retired Journalist and Publisher; Ditto, Manager Life Ins. Buffalo, New York.
Msgr. Joseph Ruesing, V. F. Dean, Rector em. of St. Mary's Church. West Point, Nebraska.
Joseph Schaefer, Publisher and Importer. New York City.
F. X. Schifferli, Editor Aurora und Christliche Woche. Buffalo, New York.
Msgr. B. Schmiehausen, V. G., Rector St. Joseph's Church. Andale, Kansas.
Francis M. Schirp, Ph. D., Prof. Regis High School. New York City.
J. M. A. Schulthels, Former Editor Excelsior. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Justus Schweizer, O. S. B., Author and Journalist. St. Mary's Abbey, Richardton, North Dakota.
Henry Seyfried, Attorney at Law; Pres. State League of German Cath. Societies of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Msgr. Dr. Joseph Soentgerath, Rector Pontifical College Josephinum. Columbus, Ohio.
Henry Tappert, Rector Church Mother of God. Covington, Kentucky.
Msgr. A. J. Thiele, V. G., Rector St. Aloysius Church. Chicago, Illinois.
Adolph Weber, Retired Manufacturer; Honorary President G. R. C. Central Verein of North America. Racine, Wisconsin.
Msgr. Max Wurst, Rector St. Felix Church. Wabasha, Minnesota.
Charles A. Zenkert, Editor The Echo. Buffalo, New York.

A.

MEMORIAL

of German Catholics against the
French Publication :

“La Guerre allemande et le Catholicisme.”

MEMORIAL

Of German Catholics Against the French Publication: "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme."



HE awful havoc wrought by the terrible World War fills every feeling heart with extreme sadness. Not only those that suffered defeat moan and lament, but even the victor's joy and jubilation is mingled with pangs of mourning over all the misery inseparable from war's triumphs and glories.

At all times, the Christian religion has endeavored to assuage human distress in its various forms, especially the miseries of war. Our *Holy Father*, the Pope, never tires of finding new ways and means of healing the wounds which war has inflicted. Above all, he preaches the great fundamental law of Christianity: love of God and of our neighbors. Touching are the supplications in his prayer for peace: "O God! inspire the nations and their rulers with thoughts of peace that the strife may soon cease which sets one nation against the other, and that love may re-bind torn mankind. Remember that Thou hast redeemed men with Thy precious blood and hast made them brothers."

Thus the Pope prays to Jesus Christ, our Saviour and Redeemer, so that a storm-tossed and passion-swept world may be restored to rest and peace, and Catholics all over the world join him in prayer.

It is most painful to us *German Catholics* that our co-religionists in hostile lands should turn a deaf ear to love and conciliation, and preach grim hatred. We are astounded to learn that even bishops take offense at the Papal prayer which all German Catholics gladly welcomed, and in which they faithfully participated. In France, by affected interpretation, the prayer's *Catholic* meaning has been distorted to make it correspond with *national* ideas and ambitions, and only in this form it has been accepted.

But more surprises were in store for us. A "Catholic Committee for Carrying on French Propaganda Abroad" was formed in *France*. Its first undertaking was a book entitled: "The German War and Catholicism." Simultaneously with this book "Album No. 1." was published, bearing the same title. It claims to contain "photographic documents illustrating the attitude of the French and German armies towards the Catholic Church." Book and album are to appear in six languages; the French edition already has been published.

Neither book nor album serve the cause of conciliation, peace and Catholicism. National passion has stirred the flames of a fierce and consuming hatred. Our German Fatherland is represented as the arch-fiend of religion and of the Catholic Church; France, on the other hand, as their enthralled advocate.

National passion has led to a violation of truth and justice. National passion imputes to Germany a conception of war and culture, which we do not hold, which we reject. National passion reproaches Germany with crimes and atrocities which are nowise proven, and adduces witnesses who are allowed to give evidence only as *accusers*. National passion denounces as atrocities what is merely justified self-defense against franc-tireurs ("Freischaerler," "snipers"), and in unjustifiable manner generalizes from isolated cases. In all this the mad desire is to strike blow after

blow at the hated opponent, to fill the imagination of nations with gruesome and blood-stained pictures, and their hearts with hatred.

It is especially painful to us German Catholics that national hatred is particularly intense among those French Catholics who, by education and position, should be safeguarded against being carried away by blind instinct in their patriotic sentiments. We regret that even Princes of the Church have lent their sanction and authority to these assaults which—we can find no other words to characterize them adequately—are dictated by passionate hatred.

The Catholic Church condemns hatred even of *unjust oppressors*. Far less justified is hatred against a military enemy who, only by compulsion, has taken up his sword to fight for his national existence amidst a world of foes, and not for the sake of unjustly oppressing other nations. Doubly un-Christian it is not only to entertain personal hatred against such an opponent, but to fill even those who are not concerned with hatred against him.

We therefore solemnly protest against the charge of barbarism made against our soldiers and our whole nation. We are witnessing a moral and religious uplifting of our whole people. Our Emperor set a good example when he finished his speech on July 31st, 1914, with the words: "And now I commend you all to the mercy of Almighty God. Go to church, kneel down before Him, and implore His help for our brave army." With these words the Emperor touched the right chord in German hearts. The entire nation felt one with him who in the hour of greatest need had turned to God even as the nation itself was ready and willing to invoke Divine assistance.

Like an elementary force a new religious spring (neuer religioser Volksfruehling) burst forth all over Germany and revealed the nation's profound religious strength. Old and young were touched to the quick and in a devout mood they gathered in thousands of churches and implored God's help in the war which had been maliciously forced on the Fatherland, and which had been prepared, with falsehood and intrigue, by hostile Governments for many a year. Genuine and pious was the devotion of millions of Catholic soldiers who flocked to the sacraments before they marched out to battle. In countless parishes there was hardly a man that stayed behind. We have the testimony of the German field-clergy that the religious zeal of nearly all of our soldiers has not been paralyzed during the dangers and hardships of the gigantic fight. *Such warriors cannot be capable of the abominations with which they are charged.*

Even those who know the moral and religious strength of our people only superficially, and who have witnessed the heroic courage and Christian readiness for sacrifice with which our young men march to the battlefield, cannot conceive of the monstrous notion that "barbarism" can possibly have a home in the German rank and file. *Grossest and unpardonable ignorance of the German people* has produced the whole of the French indictment. Hence it is our duty as Catholics and Germans to examine the contents of the two publications according to the universal standard of truth. We shall deal only with the leading ideas and main arguments, being concerned with those charges only that are preferred against the German nation and army in their entirety. With our reply we entrusted a man who through his intimate knowledge of the affairs to be considered is entitled to a hearing, who, moreover, is free from all prejudice against France, and who undertakes his task guided by the principles of truth and the methods of scientific research. Every reader who does not take sides from the outset will soon feel convinced that Germany is not the land of barbarians which the French book and album represent her to be. Thus we hope to do a service to truth and international good-will at the same time.

In order to repel old and new attacks, and any that may be made in the future, a permanent committee has been formed by German Catholics who hold a place in public life, and whose reputation is sufficient guarantee that an adequate and truthful defense will be carried on. Within a very short time it will issue a second publication of defense against the attacks that have been made.

Unlike their French co-religionists, the undersigned Committee of German Catholics have not solicited the membership of German Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, because they feel that purely political aims and polemics regarding Catholicism and the World War are irreconcilable with the dignity and tasks of the episcopal pastorate.

Graf zu *Arco-Zinneberg*, Reichsrat der Krone Bayern, Aibling, Bayern.
Heinrich Freiherr *von Aretin*, Bayer. Reichsrat, Mitglied des Reichstages, z. Zt. im Felde.

Franz Xaver *Bachem*, Verleger der Kölnischen Volkszeitung, Köln.

Justizrat Dr. jur. Carl *Bachem*, Berlin.

Justizrat Dr. Julius *Bachem*, Köln.

Valentin Graf *Ballestrem*, Mitglied des Herrenhauses, Berlin.

Universitätsprofessor Dr. *Bardenhewer*, Apost. Protonotar, Geh. Hofrat, München.

Justizrat Dr. *Bell*, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses, Essen-Ruhr.

Professor der Rechte Dr. *Beyerle*, Göttingen.

Dr.-Ing. Freiherr *von Biegeleben*, Grossherz. Hessischer Gesandter, Wirkl. Geh. Rat, Berlin.

Professor Oskar *Braun*, Dekan der kath. theol. Fakultät Würzburg.

Geheimrat *von Brentano-Tremezzo*, Mitglied des Hessischen Landtages, Offenbach a. M.

ten Brink, Chefredakteur der Zeitung Germania, Berlin.

Dr. *Brockmann*, Rechtsanwalt beim Oberlandesgericht, Mitglied des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses, Düsseldorf.

Oberbürgermeister *von Bruchhausen*, Trier.

H. *Brück*, Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands.

Universitätsprofessor Dr. *Bühler*, Tübingen.

Dr. *Burguburu*, Regierungs- und Gewerbemedizinalrat, Strassburg i. E., Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands.

Dr. Hermann *Cardauns*, Bonn.

Dr. Freiherr *von Coels von der Brügghe*n, Unterstaatssekretär, Berlin, Wirkl. Geh. Rat.

Herzog *von Croy*, Dülmen, Westfalen.

Geheimer Justizrat *Custodis*, Rheinprovinz.

Domprediger Dr. *Donders*, Münster i. W.

Amtsgerichtsrat *Engelen*, Mitglied des Reichstags, Osnabrück.

M. *Erzberger*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Berlin.

Rechtsanwalt *Fehrenbach*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Freiburg i. Br.

Geh. Hofrat Professor Dr. *Finke*, Freiburg i. B.

Prälat *Forschner*, Vorsitzender des Verbandes kathol. Männer- und Arbeitervereine der Diözese Mainz.

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Karl Freiherr *von Freyberg*, Erster Kämmerer, Gutsbesitzer, Landtagsabgeordneter, Jetzendorf, Oberbayern.

Dr. *von Gescher*, Regierungspräsident a. D., Wirkl. Geh. Oberregierungsrat, Mitglied des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses, Münster.

J. *Giesberts*, Mitglied des Reichstages, München-Gladbach.

J. *Giessler*, Landgerichtspräsident, Mosbach, Baden.

Geh. Hofrat Dr. *Grauert*, München.

Landgerichtsdirektor A. *Gröber*, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Württembergischen Landtages, Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands, Heilbronn.

Weingutsbesitzer *Hartrath*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Trier.

Fürst *von Hatzfeldt*, Herzog zu Trachenberg, Mitglied des Herrenhauses, Berlin.

Heinrich *Held*, Vorsitzender der Zentrumsfraktion der Bayerischen Abgeordnetenversammlung, Regensburg.

Dr. Georg *Heim*, Regensburg.

Professor Dr. *Henner*, Würzburg.
 Hermann *Herder*, Verlagsbuchhändler, Freiburg i. B.
 Landesökonomierat *Herold*, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Preussischen Landtages, Münster i. W.
 Ministerpräsident Graf. *von Hertling*, München.
 Dr. Wilhelm *Hess*, Hochschulrektor, Bamberg, Bayern.
 Universitätsprofessor Dr. Franz *Hitze*, Apostolischer Protonotar, Mitglied des Reichstages, Münster i. W.
 Professor Dr. *Hoberg*, Dekan der kath. theol. Fakultät Freiburg i. B.
 Redakteur Dr. Carl *Hoerber*, Köln.
 Dr. Eugen *Jaeger*, Kgl. Hofrat und Mitglied des Reichstages, Speyer, Pfalz.
 Rektor *Kamp*, Vorsitzender des kath. Lehrerverbandes des Deutschen Reiches, Bochum.
 Dr. *Kaufmann*, Präsident des Reichsversicherungsamtes, Berlin.
 Generalstaatsanwalt Dr. *von Kiene*, Vizepräsident der Württembergischen Abgeordnetenversammlung, Stuttgart.
 Dr. Karl *Kiefer*, Rektor des Lyzeums, Eichstätt.
 Universitätsprofessor Dr. Wilhelm *Killing*, Geh. Regierungsrat, Münster i. W.
 Professor *Kintzinger*, Stadtrat und Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands, Metz.
 Redakteur Ernst *Kley*, Köln.
 Professor Dr. *Klingenberg*, Köln.
 August *Knecht*, Dr. theol. et jur. utr., o. ö. Univ.-Prof., z. Zt. Dekan der kath. theol. Fakultät, Strassburg, Elsass, Arnoldsplatz 4.
 Universitätsprof. Dr. *Kolberg*, Dekan der kath. theol. Fakultät der kgl. Akademie in Braunsberg.
 Ferd. *Kopf*, Mitglied des Badischen Landtages, Freiburg, Breisgau.
 Freiherr Ignatz *von Landsberg-Steinfurt*, Drensteinfurt.
 L. *Lensing*, Vorsitzender des Augustinusvereins zur Pflege der kath. Presse, Dortmund.
 Professor Dr. theol. et phil. *Linneborn*, Dekan der theol. phil. Fakultät Paderborn.
 Universitätsprofessor Dr. Karl *Lux*, Dekan der kath. theol. Fakultät, Münster i. W.
 Graf *Magnis*, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Preussischen Herrenhauses, Eckersdorf, Schles.
 Oberlandesgerichtsrat *Marx*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Düsseldorf.
 Dr. *Mayer*, Kaufbeuren, Mitglied des Reichstages, München.
 Carl *Müller*, Direktor der Germania, Akt.-Ges. für Verlag u. Druckerei, Berlin.
 Geh. Justizrat *Müller*, Mitglied des Abgeordnetenhauses, Koblenz.
 Kommerzienrat *Müller-Hoberg*, München-Gladbach.
 Professor Carl *Muth*, München.
 Jos. *Nacken*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Eschweiler b. Aachen.
 Fabrikbesitzer *Neuhaus*, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Badischen Landtages, Schwetzingen, Baden.
 Domkapitular, Prof. Dr. *Nikel*, Dekan an der kath. theol. Fakultät in Breslau.
 Wirkl. Geh. Rat. Dr. *von Orterer*, München, Präsident der Bayerischen Abgeordnetenversammlung.
 Alois *Oster* Vorstandsmitglied des Vereins der heiligen Kindheit Jesu, Aachen.
 Dr. jur. *Osterrath*, Geheimer Oberregierungsrat, Königlicher Kurator der Universität Göttingen, Göttingen.
 Freiherr *von Pfetten*-St. Mariakirchen, Ramspau b. Regensburg.
 Dompropst Dr. Franz *von Pichler*, Mitglied des Bayerischen Landtages, Passau.
 Dr. A. *Pieper*, Generaldirektor des Volksvereins für das katholische Deutschland, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Preussischen Landtages, München-Gladbach.

Staatsminister Graf *von Podewils*, München.
 Universitätsprof. Prälat Dr. *Pohle*, Breslau.
 Geheimer Justizrat Dr. *Porsch*, Erster Vizepräsident des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses, Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands, Vorsitzender der Zentrumsfraktion des Preuss. Abgeordnetenhauses, Breslau.
 Graf. *Praschma*, Mitglied des Reichstages und des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses, Falkenberg, O.-S., z. Zt. im Felde.
 Kommerzienrat Friedrich *Pustet*, Regensburg.
 Bertram Fürst *von Quadt zu Wykradt und Isny*, Isny.
 Prinz *von Ratibor und Corvey*, Landespräsident von Westfalen, Münster.
 Kommerzienrat W. A. *Riedemann*, Hamburg.
 Justizrat August *Rumpf*, München.
 Hochschulrektor Dr. Jos. *Sachs*, Regensburg.
 Dr. Felix Graf *von Saedt*, Päpstlicher Geheimkämmerer, München.
 Universitätsprof. Dr. *Sägmüller*, Dekan an der kath. theol. Fakultät in Tübingen.
 Fürst *Salm-Reifferscheidt*, Mitglied des Reichstages und erbl. Mitglied des Preussischen Herrenhauses, Rheinprovinz.
 Domkapitular und Generalvikar des Bistums Culm F. *Scharmer*, Pelplin, Mitglied des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands.
 C. M. *Schiffer*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Vorsitzender der christl. Gewerkschaften, Düsseldorf.
 Prof. Dr. Josef *Schlecht*, Erzb. Geistl. Rat, z. Zt. Rektor des Kgl. Lyzeums Freising.
 Oberverswaltungsgerichtsrat Dr. *Schlutius*, Berlin.
 Geheimer Justizrat Dr. *Schmitt*, Mitglied des Hessischen Landtages, Mainz.
 Geheimer Oberjustizrat Ludwig *Schmitz*, Landgerichtspräsident, Aachen.
 Dr. *Schneider*, 1 Staatsanwalt beim Oberlandesgericht Düsseldorf.
 Staatsminister Freiherr *von Schorlemer*, Berlin.
 Joachim Graf und Herr *von Schönburg-Glauchau*, Mitglied der I. Kammer der Kgl. Sächs. Ständeversammlung, Mitgl. des Zentralkomitees der Katholiken Deutschlands, Schloss Wechselburg i. Sachsen.
 Adolf Freiherr *von Schönberg*, Kgl. Sächs. Kammerherr, Geheimkämmerer Seiner Heiligkeit, Schloss Thammenhain, Sachsen.
 Geheimrat Professor Dr. *Schulte*, Bonn.
 Dr. Andr. *Seider*, Rektor der theol. Hochschule, Passau.
 Universitätsprofessor Dr. theol. et phil. Anton *Seitz*, Dekan der theol. Fakultät, München.
 Staatsminister Freiherr *von Soden*, München.
 Oberlandesgerichtspräsident Dr. *Spann*, Frankfurt a. M., Vorsitzender der Zentrumsfraktion des Reichstages.
 Regierungsdirektor *Speck*, Mitglied des Bayerischen Landtages.
 Generalleutnant z. D. Freiherr *von Steinaecker*, Mitglied des Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses.
 Dr. *Teichert*, Pelplin, Westpr.
 Grossindustrieller August *Thyssen*, Schloss Landsberg, Rhld.
 F. *Tonberge*, Geistl. Rektor, Osnabrück.
 Justizrat *Trimborn*, Stellvertretender i. Vorsitzender des Volksvereins für das kath. Deutschland, Mitglied der Zivilverwaltung in Belgien, Brüssel.
 Rechtsanwalt Stadtrat G. *Trunk*, Karlsruhe i. B.
 Freiherr *von Twickel*, Mitglied des Herrenhauses, Stovern b. Salzbergen, Prov. Hannover, Vorsitzender des westf. Bauernvereins.
 Oberbürgermeister *Veltmann*, Aachen.
 Fürst *von Waldburg-Wolfegg-Waldsee*, Wolfegg, Württemberg.
 Wirkl. Geheimer Rat Professor Dr. *Waldeyer*, Berlin.
 Oberbürgermeister *Wallraf*, Köln.
 Jakob *Weber*, Essen-Ruhr, Kath. Kaufm. Vereinigungen Deutschlands.
 Senatspräsident *Wellstein*, Geh. Oberjustizrat, Hamm i. W., Mitglied des Reichstages und des Preussischen Landtages.

- Prälat Dr. *Werthmann*, Vorsitzender des Caritasverbandes, Freiburg
 I. B.
 Bürgermeister A. *Windeck*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Hayingen, Lothr.
 Kommerzienrat Franz *Woerner*, München.
 Wirklicher Geheimer Oberregierungsrat *Wuermeling*, Mitglied des
 Preussischen Abgeordnetenhauses, Berlin.
 Landgerichtspräsident Dr. I. A. *Zehnter*, Mitglied des Reichstages und
 des Badischen Landtages, Heidelberg.
 Geheimer Justizrat Dr. *am Zehnhoff*, Mitglied des Reichstages, Düsseldorf.

TELEGRAMS

Exchanged Between the Emperor and German Catholic Prelates.

The two German Cardinals, Archbishop von Hartmann of Cologne and Archbishop von Bettinger of Munich, have telegraphed to Emperor William as follows:

"The calumnies flung at the German Fatherland and its glorious army in the French book on 'The German War and Catholicism' have been a shock to us, and it is our heartfelt desire to express to Your Majesty our painful indignation in the name of the entire German Episcopate. We shall not fail to make complaint to the Supreme Pontiff."

The German Emperor replied:

"I cordially thank you and Cardinal von Bettinger for the expression of the German Episcopate's indignation in view of the disgraceful literary calumnies by which our enemies have endeavored to defame the German nation and army. Those assaults, too, will rebound from the good conscience and moral strength wherewith the German nation defends its just cause, and fall back on their authors.

WILHELM I. R."

B.

FALSE CHARGES

BY FRENCH CATHOLICS AGAINST GERMANY

A REPLY TO THE BOOK:

La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme

BY

PROFESSOR A. J. ROSENBERG

Paderborn

INTRODUCTION.



FEW months ago a "Catholic Committee for French Propaganda Abroad" was formed at Paris, Cardinal Luçon, Archbishop of Reims, and Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, acting as honorary presidents of that Committee. Its head is Mons. Baudrillart, at the time Rector of the Catholic University of Paris. Nine other French bishops, several regular and secular priests, well-known scholars, politicians and literary men are members of the committee.

The committee's first publication, entitled "The German War and Catholicism," has just come out.¹ The foreword was written by Cardinal Amette on April 11th. The book has 306 pages; it is supplemented by an album of 32 pages (Quarto).² Book and album are to be published in six languages—French, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German. So far only the French edition seems to have appeared.³ Seven of the essays endeavor to prove that Germany, owing to the teachings of her intellectuals and to the actions of her officers and men, shows herself an enemy to Catholicism and Christianity, whilst France is eulogized as the loyal and devoted daughter of Holy Church, such inferences being drawn from the religious attitude of French priests and soldiers and the majority of the French people. Appended documents from the Pope, the Bishops and the Catholic University of Paris all bear upon the war. In conclusion a list of regular and secular priests who have fallen on the battlefield is given.

The photographs in the album pretend to "illustrate the respective attitude of the French and German armies towards the Catholic Church."⁴

The whole work is meant to incite the entire Catholic world against Germany. Catholics in *neutral* lands are to be influenced in particular. The direct political influence of the Catholics in neutral countries may be of no great importance, yet they are of prime importance as a factor in the creation of sentiment. It is decidedly to the political interest of France that an anti-German feeling be created among the Catholics of Spain, Switzerland, Scandinavia, the United States of America, the South American countries, and the Catholic citizens of countries already fighting on the side of the Triple Entente be confirmed in their hostility against Germany. So the book serves *political* ends. Moreover, it cannot be denied that these French circles which support the work and which may be designated briefly as the ecclesiastical and academic world of France, lend special force to the work, so that the blow struck at Germany is to be considered as a heavy and serious one. Hence the German Catholics cannot be denied the right to ward off those attacks. *When a man is attacked, surely he has a right to defend himself.*

This work of German defense against French attacks has the support of the German Catholics. They have formed a committee for this purpose, to which belong men whose names, whose position, whose contributions to science and culture give them an outstanding importance.

On the other hand—and this is in striking contrast to the personnel of the French committee—there is not a single Catholic bishop on the German committee. The specifically political purpose and the nature of the present polemics agree so little, according to the German conception, with the peculiar

¹ La Guerre allemande et le Catholicisme. Bloud et Gay, Paris 2,40 fr.

² Album Nr. 1, La Guerre all et le Cath. Bloud et Gay 1,20 fr.

³ Since then the English edition has made its appearance and is being distributed by the consulates of the French Republic in the United States.—Ed.

⁴ Album, title page.

duties of the bishop's pastoral charge, that it seemed befitting to forego the collaboration of the bishops in this work of defense. The participation of the German bishops would indeed have been morally and juridically unobjectionable in view of the nature of the French *attack*; still it was deemed advisable, for the above reason, to forego it and spare the world the spectacle of a war between Catholic bishops.

The author of this controversial rejoinder is deeply pained that he should have to denounce co-religionists and even dignitaries of the Church. For many years he fostered friendly and fruitful relations with French circles. When the present terrible war brought thousands of French prisoners of war to Germany, he established Catholic services in the prisoners' camps at the Senne district near Paderborn, and at first conducted them alone. He is also to this day acting as pastor and friend of the French wounded at the Reserve Hospital "Kaiserhof" at Paderborn. He has indefatigably answered hundreds of inquiries made by the families of French prisoners of war, and has comforted many an anxious soul. He has distributed over a thousand parcels from France amongst the prisoners of war. He has founded a religious fortnightly publication for the French prisoners. More than a hundred Catholic priests are supplied with French sermons published by him free of charge, so that thousands may partake of the blessings of the word of God. In a special essay he has instructed the pastors in prisoners' camps in the duties and the possibilities of their calling.⁵

The sentiments he entertains towards the French prisoners of war and towards the French nation, may be judged from the concluding remarks of the aforesaid essay: "There are some, at the present day, who exaggerate the idea of patriotism and are without compassion, even for the prisoner of war. They forget that every sound principle may be strained and thereby become false and lead into error. In spite of all patriotic enthusiasm we must not forget or offend against human and Christian duties. Every human being is made in the image of God. We are compelled to wage a fierce fight against the armed enemy, but when disarmed and imprisoned he is our foe no longer. It is delightful to watch how German soldiers treat prisoners of war as men of equal worth and as entitled to respect and to services of chivalry. Such thoughts and actions are *human, humane* and *Christian* at the same time."

And now the writer of these lines learns from the French book that he is one of the "barbarians." And the German military authorities, too, that so readily help him relieve the hard fate of French prisoners of war, are "barbarians." All Germany has sunk into "barbarism."

Such a reproach is bitter to those at whom it is leveled. If merely individuals were concerned, they might well keep silent and resign themselves to the consolation that it is better to suffer wrong than to do it. But the attack is directed against the whole German Fatherland, which it aims to injure. That being the case, we consider it not only our *good right*, but our *duty* to defend ourselves. The author has already done this on his own initiative,⁶ and now does so again, developing on and substantiating to some extent his previous statements.

The author is particularly grieved that his words should be directed even at the Archbishop of Reims, Cardinal Luçon, the honorary president of the French Committee. He had the good fortune and the pleasure to render His Eminence an act of kindness for one of the prisoners of war whose fate he had especially at heart. Later on he applied to His Eminence for information as to the whereabouts of a German prisoner of war that was missing. Gratefully he acknowledges that His Eminence complied with all his wishes in a most noble-hearted manner. And now that book has drawn a line between the two! Who would not regret that?

⁵ Rosenberg, Ein Wort über Kriegsgefangenenseelsorge. (Theologie und Glaube, 1914. 9. Heft. Paderborn, Schönningh.)

⁶ Rosenberg, Der deutsche Krieg und der Katholizismus. (Theologie und Glaube, 1915. Heft 5. Paderborn, Schönningh.)

But to come to the point. Every chapter of the following pages is arranged after the same method. First the main points of the French attack are briefly summarized; then follows a brief refutation, verified by documents. In some chapters the documents could be dispensed with.

Appendix 1.

Title Page of the French Book.

La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme. Ouvrage Publié sous la Direction de Mgr. Alfred Baudrillart, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris et sous le haut Patronage du Comité Catholique de Propagande Française à l'Etranger. Lettre de S. Em. le Cardinal Amette, Archevêque de Paris. — Les Lois Chrétiennes de la Guerre par le chanoine B. Gaudeau. — La "Culture Germanique" et le Catholicisme par Georges Goyau. — Le Rôle Catholique de la France dans le Monde par un Missionnaire. — La Guerre aux Egilses et aux Prêtres par François Veuillot. — La Religion dans l'Armée française L'Aumônerie militaire et la Situation canonique du Prêtre à l'Armée par le chanoine Couget. — La Religion de nos Soldats par le chanoine Ardant. — La Profondeur du Mouvement religieux dans l'Armée française par Mgr. Alfred Baudrillart. — Documents Pontificaux et Episcopaux relatifs à la Guerre. — Réponse de l'Institut Catholique au Manifeste des représentants de la Science et de l'Art Allemands. — Liste des Ecclésiastiques et des Religieux tués à ou par l'ennemi. — Prix 2 fr 40 Net. Bloud et Gay Paris.

Appendix 2.

Members of the French Committee.

Comité Catholique de Propagande Française à l'Etranger:

Présidents d'honneur: Son Eminence le Cardinal Luçon, Archevêque de Reims; Son Eminence le Cardinal Amette, Archevêque de Paris. Directeur: Monseigneur Baudrillart, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris.

Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Turinaz, Evêque de Nancy. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Foucault, Evêque de Saint-Dié. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Ginsty, Evêque de Verdun. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Dizien, Evêque d'Amiens. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Lobbedey, Evêque d'Arras. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Pêchenard, Evêque de Soissons. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Marbeau, Evêque de Meaux. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Tissier, Evêque de Chalons. Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Le Roy, Evêque d'Alinda, Supérieur génér. des Pères du Saint-Esprit.

Messieurs Etienne Lamy, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Française. le Comte d'Haussonville, de l'Académie Française. Paul Bourget, de l'Académie Française. le Marquis de Vogue, de l'Académie Française. René Bazin, de l'Académie Française. René Doumic, de l'Académie Française. Denys Cochin, de l'Académie Française. Pierre de la Gorce, de l'Académie Française. le R. P. Scheil, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Edouard Branly, de l'Académie des Sciences. Charles Widor, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts. le Comte de Franqueville, de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. l'Admiral de La Jaillie, Sénateur de la Loire-Inférieure. de Lamazelle, Sénateur du Morbihan. de Las Cases, Sénateur de la Lozère. Jenouvrier, Sénateur de l'Ille-et-Vilaine. Ballande, Député de la Gironde. le Comte Ferré de Ludre, Député de Meurthe-et-Moselle. de Gailhard-Bancel, Député de l'Ardèche. Groussau, Député du Nord. de Lavrignais, Député de la Vendée. Lerolle, Député de Paris. A. Mithouard, Président du Conseil Municipal de Paris. P. Chérest, Président du Conseil Général de la Seine. Aucoc, Vice-Président du Conseil Général, Membre de la Chambre de Commerce. Geoffroy de Grandmaison, Président de la Société Bibliographique. le R. P. Janvier, Aumônier de la Corporation des Publicistes Chrétiens. le R. P. Dudon, Publiciste. Georges Goyau, Publiciste. L. de Lanza de Laborie, Publiciste. François Veuillot, Publiciste.

I. OUTBREAK OF THE WAR.

A) The French Charges.

The French book begins with an essay by Canon B. Gaudeau, who discusses the Christian law regarding the war, and makes Germany responsible for the outbreak of the present war. Common sense can tell you so, says the Rev. Canon, and no intrigue or falsehood can reason hard facts away.⁷ Having argued his case at length, he concludes: "*It is Germany that wanted and brought about this predatory war, an aggressive, unjust and anti-Christian war.*"⁸

The same indictment is found in several other passages of the book. Bishop Turinaz says in his pastoral of February 2, 1915, that Germany has prepared this war for forty years.⁹ Bishop Lobbedey holds similar opinions: An unjust attack started this war. The Germans began it, and we are the victims.¹⁰ The Catholic University of Paris maintains that the diplomatic documents that have been published prove irrefutably that Germany with premeditation let loose the war, and thwarted all attempts at reconciliation.¹¹ So Germany stands convicted: She prepared the war for a long time, and became aggressive at a favorable opportunity; France wages a just defensive, but Germany an unjust offensive. Hence Germany offends against Christian morals.

B) The German Answer.

IN most cases the peoples of belligerent countries are hardly in a position to decide whether a war that breaks out is just or unjust. It is impossible for them to realize sufficiently past facts which led up to the war, past feelings and events, political tensions and solutions, all the explosive material that was left and that gathered like thunderclouds before the storm. They cannot disentangle, nor even survey, the complication of facts which, as a rule, *immediately* precedes the outbreak of a war. They do not know, and therefore cannot justly appreciate, the course of diplomatic negotiations. Moralists take this fact into due consideration, and say that it is the soldier's right and duty, in every belligerent country, to serve in the national army and march against the foe.

It will take a long time before the nations will arrive at a uniform and impartial opinion on the subject. Men have to be at the right distance from historical events before they can weigh them soberly, without self-interest, and with pure zeal for the truth. Even then it is difficult to arrive at a unanimous, universally acknowledged opinion. Just think of the infinite labor and research that was required to establish the merits and demerits of one or the other historic personage, or to give a final

⁷ B. 21 (References to B. mean the French book, those to A. the Album): "Que l'Allemagne soit responsable de la guerre, c'est une évidence de bon sens que nulle subtilité, nul mensonge ne parviendront à obscurcir."

⁸ B. 23: "C'est donc bien la guerre de proie, la guerre d'injuste agression, la guerre antichrétienne, que l'Allemagne a voulue et qu'elle a faite."

⁹ B. 250: ". . . parce que cette guerre préparée pendant quarante ans par nos ennemis, a été entreprise au mépris des traités. . . ."

¹⁰ B. 263: ". . . il est certain que la guerre a commencé par une agression injuste, qu'ils en sont les auteurs et nous les victimes."

¹¹ B. 281: ". . . documents qui établissent d'une façon péremptoire que l'Allemagne a prémédité la guerre et a fait échouer toutes les tentatives de conciliation."

verdict on some historical fact. Frequently the picture has remained indistinct and varying up to the present. Consider the views held even today of Gregory VII and Napoleon, or of events like the thirty years' war, and others.

Hence a reasonable objection may be taken to Gaudeau's remark that common sense can adduce direct evidence that the present war is Germany's fault. With such questions common sense is not concerned at all. Gaudeau should have known that all soldiers fighting on the other side reject his views and are convinced of the contrary. And, after all, they have some claim, too, to common sense. Moreover, it is rather bad form to presume that an opponent, by trickery and lies, wants to make out his cause as good. German Catholics feel convinced that France is wrong. But it never enters their heads to say that individual Frenchmen resort to intrigues and falsehood in order to represent the war which they wage as just. German Catholics prefer to think that the French, with a few exceptions, are acting in good faith.

Who was it that brought about the war? Mere common sense cannot answer that question, which must be approached with knowledge and consideration of many and most complicated conditions. But French writers who know their own country and nation should be particularly careful not to jump hastily at the conclusion that Germany premeditated the war for the last forty years, and therefore prepared herself for a *war of aggression*.

In reality it was France which indulged in hopes and ambitions of "revanche" for fully forty years. She could not get over the loss of two provinces. That was the "wound that ever bleeds." Thoughts of revenge were fostered and spread within those very circles whose authority supports the book and album.

These thoughts of revenge impelled France to look out for allies. Without them, the French had no chance of defeating the German Empire, where the birth rate increased year by year, at last almost by a million. They knew that their own birth rate was ever going down so that in one year (1911) more people died than were born. But in modern warfare of evenly or nearly evenly matched nations numbers count for a very great deal. France, therefore, looked out for help and found it in Russia.

France loaned money to the Russians whom she wanted to use against Germany. Political and strategic conditions were attached to the granted loans. France then entered an entente with the English although they had fought against her for centuries. Not even the "Fashoda insult" could alienate France from her friend, because revenge on Germany was uppermost in the French mind and silenced all secondary considerations.

France premeditated and prepared the war: There is no doubt of it. As a matter of course, Germany braced herself up for the fight, too. *Si vis pacem para bellum!* (If you want peace prepare for war.) Germany shrank from no sacrifice, and willingly bore the heavy burden of armaments because she could only thus preserve peace for herself and for the world. The Empire fulfilled this task during the forty years of its existence and did not even disappoint the hopes of pacifists during the three critical periods, 1887, 1905, and 1911. During the Balkan Wars the German Empire did its utmost to localize the struggle, and preserve the world's peace. In 1913, at the Kaiser's jubilee, he was rightly celebrated throughout the world as "*Friedenskaiser*"—Emperor of Peace.

French thoughts of revenge and Muscovite lust of expansion joined hands. When Russia, defeated by Japan, turned her eyes once more to the Near East, the outbreak of the present conflagration was only a question of time. Russia saw a revival of Pan Slavism which was eager to smash Austria-Hungary and Turkey.

England, too, was eager to co-operate against her keen and efficient business competitor. She felt so bitter against Germany that she did not even shrink from an alliance with the most formidable opponent to British policy in the East. Explosives were thus heaped high and only a spark was needed to set them off.

Servia applied the torch by the diabolical assassination at Serajevo. The Dual Monarchy was compelled to enforce satisfaction with arms. The execrable murder of the heir to the throne and his consort was only the climax of a long series of the gravest provocations. Russia did not utter a word of abhorrence for the criminal attempt and its authors, one of whom was the Crown Prince of Servia. But the Czar immediately denounced Austria's fight as an "infamous war." The situation became critical.

Germany then went out of her way and advised Austria to promise not to touch the territorial integrity of Servia. Austria made a declaration to that effect. The resumption of the exchange of views between Vienna and Petrograd, which had been interrupted for several days, was also due to Germany's initiative. But she did not succeed in her efforts to persuade Paris to exercise a restraining influence on Russia, even as Germany had influenced Austria. She did everything in her power to localize the quarrel, and prevent a universal conflagration. But all was in vain. On July 25, Russia decided on mobilization. On July 29, the German Minister at Berne sent word to Berlin that France had arrayed 80,000 men at the eastern frontier. As early as July 24 the commander of the British fleet had taken measures to concentrate his ships at Portland¹²; the French Yellow Book (No. 66) admits that. Yet Germany and her Emperor continued to work for peace. On July 29, Russia mobilized against Austria, and in the night from July 30 to 31 she ordered the *general* mobilization, that is to say against Germany too. Thereupon, on July 31, Germany declared a state of threatening war danger, but mobilization was not decreed until the evening of August 1.

When the German ultimatum had been handed to Russia, and a Russo-German war had become inevitable, Germany still endeavored in Paris and London to prevent a further conflagration, and suggested that France and England should remain neutral. But her good offices again suffered shipwreck. On August 2, France, without declaring war, established a state of war with Germany, French border troops attacking soldiery, crossing the border at several points, and occupying sundry localities in Upper Alsace. Moreover, French aviators dropped bombs in Bavaria, Baden, and the Rhine Province. On August 4, England declared war on Germany.

Common sense, to which Gaudeau appeals, is therefore not in a position at all to name the authors of the war. But human reason, guided by actual facts and the published documents, is in duty bound to attack any statement to the effect that the war was the wish and fault of Germany. In very many minds political passion has overthrown reason, and that accounts for the assumption of Germany's lust of war.

C) Appendices to I.

Lest we burden this booklet with too many documents, we have selected only a few from a very abundant material; and this holds good not only for this chapter, but also for the succeeding ones.

Appendix 1 gives a number of telegrams exchanged just before the outbreak of the war, from which it appears that the Franco-German war might have been prevented, and that Germany was resolved upon avoiding it.

Appendix 2 gives the explanations contained in the German White Book of August 2, 1914. In this remarkable document no error has been established by anyone.

Appendix 3 gives the report of the Belgian Chargé d'Affairs in St. Petersburg, dated July 30, 1914, which shows the opinion prevailing in diplomatic circles as late as two days before the German mobilization, that Germany did the utmost in Vienna, as well as in St. Petersburg, to localize the war and to prevent a world-wide conflagration.

¹² Cf. Randglossen zum französischen Gelbbuch. Berlin. Concordia. S. 14, 20, 26, 28.

**Documents Referring to the Political Exchange of Views Between
Germany and England.¹³**

(Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, August 21, 1914.)

The following documents refer to the exchange of views between Germany and England immediately before the war broke out. It will be perceived from these documents that Germany was prepared to spare France in case England should remain neutral and would guarantee the neutrality of France.

**Telegram of His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia to H. M. the King
of England of July 30, 1914.**

Am here since yesterday, have informed William of what You kindly told Me at Buckingham Palace last Sunday who gratefully received Your message.

William, much preoccupied, is trying his utmost to fulfill Nicky's appeal to him to work for maintenance of peace and is in constant telegraphic communication with Nicky who today confirms news that military measures have been ordered by him equal to mobilization, measures which have been taken already five days ago.

We are furthermore informed that France is making military preparations whereas we have taken no measures but may be forced to do so any moment should our neighbors continue which then would mean a European war.

If You really and earnestly wish to prevent this terrible disaster, may I suggest You using Your influence on France and also Russia to keep neutral which seems to Me would be most useful.

This I consider a very good, perhaps the only chance, to maintain the peace of Europe.

I may add that now more than ever Germany and England should lend each other mutual help to prevent a terrible catastrophe which otherwise seems unavoidable.

Believe Me that William is most sincere in his endeavors to maintain peace, but that the military preparations of his two neighbors may at last force him to follow their example for the safety of his own country, which otherwise would remain defenseless.

I have informed William of My telegram to You and hope You will receive My informations in the same spirit of friendship which suggested them.

Signed: **Henry.**

**Telegram of H. M. the King of England to Prince Henry of Prussia of
July 30, 1914.**

Thanks for Your telegram so pleased to hear of William's efforts to concert with Nicky to maintain peace. Indeed I am earnestly desirous that such an irreparable disaster as a European war should be averted. My Government is doing its utmost suggesting to Russia and France to suspend further military preparations if Austria will consent to be satisfied with occupation of Belgrade and neighbouring Servian territory as a hostage for satisfactory settlement of her demands, other countries meanwhile suspending their war preparations. Trust William will use his great influence to induce Austria to accept this proposal, thus proving that Germany and England are working together to prevent what would be an international catastrophe. Pray assure William I am doing and shall continue to do all that lies in My power to preserve peace of Europe.

Signed: **George.**

**Telegram of His Majesty the Emperor to H. M. the King of England of
July 31, 1914.**

Many thanks for kind telegram. Your proposals coincide with My ideas and with the statements I got last night from Vienna which I had forwarded to London. I just received news from chancellor that official notification has just reached him that last night Nicky has ordered the mobilization of his whole army and fleet. He has not even awaited the results of the mediation I am working at and left Me without any news. I am off for Berlin to take

¹³ Aktenstuecke zum Kriegausbruch. Herausgegeben vom Auswärtigen Amte. S. 44-47.—We reproduce the telegrams in the translation of the German White Book. Authorized edition for America.—Ed.

measures for ensuring safety of My eastern frontiers where strong Russian troops are already posted.

Signed: **Willy.**

Telegram of the King of England to His Majesty the Emperor of

August 1, 1914.

Many thanks for Your telegram last night. I sent an urgent telegram to Nicky expressing My readiness to do everything in My power to assist in reopening conversations between powers concerned.

Signed: **Georgie.**

Telegram of the German Ambassador in London to the Chancellor of

August 1, 1914.

Sir E. Grey just asked me by telephone whether I believed to be in a position to declare that we would not attack France in a war between Germany and Russia in case France should remain neutral. I declared I believed to be able to give such an assurance.

Signed: **Lichnowsky.**

Telegram of His Majesty the Emperor to H. M. the King of England of

August 1, 1914.

I just received the communication from Your government offering French neutrality under guarantee of Great Britain. Added to this offer was the enquiry whether under these conditions Germany would refrain from attacking France. On technical grounds My mobilization which had already been proclaimed this afternoon must proceed against two fronts, east and west, as prepared; this cannot be countermanded because I am sorry Your telegram came so late. But if France offers Me neutrality which must be guaranteed by the British fleet and army I shall of course refrain from attacking France and employ My troops elsewhere. I hope that France will not become nervous. The troops on My frontier are in the act of being stopped by telegraph and telephone from crossing into France.

Signed: **Wilhelm.**

Telegram of the Chancellor to the German Ambassador at London of

August 1, 1914.

Germany is ready to accept British proposal in case England guarantees with all her forces absolute neutrality of France in Russo-German conflict. German mobilization has been ordered to-day on account of Russian challenge before English proposal was known here. It is therefore now impossible to make any change in strategical distribution of troops ordered to the French frontier. But we guarantee that our troops will not cross the French frontier before 7 p. m. on Monday, the 3rd inst., in case England will pledge herself meanwhile.

Signed: **Bethmann Hollweg**

Telegram of H. M. the King of England to His Majesty the Emperor of

August 1, 1914.

In answer to Your telegram just received I think there must be some misunderstanding as to a suggestion that passed in friendly conversation between Prince Lichnowsky and Sir Edward Grey this afternoon when they were discussing how actual fighting between German and French armies might be avoided while there is still a chance of some agreement between Austria and Russia. Sir Edward Grey will arrange to see Prince Lichnowsky early tomorrow morning to ascertain whether there is a misunderstanding on his part.

Signed: **George.**

Telegram of the German Ambassador in London to the Chancellor of

August 2, 1914.

Sir E. Grey's suggestions were prompted by a desire to make it possible for England to keep permanent neutrality, but as they were not based on a previous understanding with France and made without knowledge of our mobilization, they have been abandoned as absolutely hopeless.

Signed: **Lichnowsky.**

The essence of Germany's declarations is contained in Emperor William's telegram to the King of England of August 1st, 1914. Even if there existed a misunderstanding as to an English proposal, the Kaiser's offer furnished England the opportunity to prove her pacific disposition and to prevent the Franco-German war.

Appendix I, 2.

Memorial Presented to the German Reichstag on August 3, 1914.¹⁴

(Translation from October Issue [1914] of "International Conciliation,"
New York.)

On June 28 last the successor to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, the Duchess of Hohenberg, were assassinated by the revolver shots of a member of a Servian band of conspirators. An investigation of the crime by Austro-Hungarian officials has revealed that the plot to take the life of the Archduke was planned and promoted in Belgrade with the co-operation of official Servian individuals and was carried out with weapons from the Servian Government depot.

This crime was bound to open the eyes of the whole civilized world, not only with regard to the object of Servian politics as relating to the existence and integrity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but also with regard to the criminal means that Pan-Servian propaganda did not hesitate to employ in order to attain these ends. The ultimate object of these policies was to revolutionize gradually and finally to bring about a separation of the south-western region of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy from that empire and unite it with Servia.

The repeated and formal declaration of Servia to Austria-Hungary to bring about good neighborly relations did not change this trend of Servian politics in the least. For the third time in the course of the last six years Servia has brought Europe to the verge of a world war in this manner. She could only do this because she believed herself supported by Russia in her endeavors.

As a result of the developments of the year 1908 growing out of the Turkish revolution, Russian policies had begun to organize a league of the Balkan States directed against the existence of Turkey, under Russian patronage. This alliance of the Balkan States which was successful in crowding Turkey out of her European possessions in 1911, came to grief over the question of the disposition of the spoils. Russian policy was not, however, frightened by this failure. It was the idea of Russian statesmen that there should be formed a new Balkan League under Russian patronage, whose activities should be directed this time not against Turkey, which had been driven from the Balkans, but against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The idea was that Servia should cede to Bulgaria the section of Macedonia that she had won in the last Balkan war and offset the loss by the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the expense of the Monarchy of the Danube. For this purpose Bulgaria, by her isolation, was to be made pliable, Rumania, as the result of a propaganda undertaken with the aid of France, was to be chained to Russia, and Servia was to be referred to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In view of these circumstances Austria had to admit that it would not be consistent either with the dignity or self-preservation of the monarchy to look on longer at the operations on the other side of the border without taking action. The Austro-Hungarian Government advised us of this view of the situation and asked our opinion in the matter. We were able to assure our ally most heartily of our agreement with her view of the situation and to assure her that any action that she might consider necessary to take in order to put an end to the movement in Servia directed against the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would receive our approval. We were fully aware in this connection that warlike moves on the part of Austria-Hungary against Servia would bring Russia into the question and might draw us into a war in accordance with our duty as an ally. However, recognizing the vital interests of Austria-Hungary which were at stake, we could neither advise our ally to a compliance that would have been inconsistent with her dignity, nor could we deny her our support in this great hour of need. We were all the more unable to do this inasmuch as our interests also were seriously threatened as a result of the continuous Servian agitation. If Servia, with the help of Russia and France, had been allowed to imperil the existence of the neighboring monarchy any longer, this would lead to the gradual downfall of Austria and would result in submission to Slav sway under the Russian sceptre, thus making the position of the Germanic race in Central Europe untenable. A morally weakened Austria breaking down as the result of the advance of Russian Pan-Slavism would no longer be an ally on whom we could count and upon whom we could rely, such as we need in view of the attitude of our eastern and western neighbors, which has constantly grown more threatening. We therefore gave Austria an entirely free hand in her action against Servia. We have taken no part in the preparations.

¹⁴ Aktenstuecke zum Kriegsausbruch. S. 8-10.

Austria chose the way, laying before the Servian Government in detail the immediate relation between the murder and the general Servian movement, not only tolerated by the Servian Government, but supported by it, which an investigation of the murder at Serajevo had established. At the same time Servia was asked by Austria to put an absolute end to these activities and to allow Austria to punish the guilty parties. Austria demanded as a guarantee for the carrying out of the proceedings participation in the investigation on Servian territory and the definite dissolution of the various Pan-Servian societies carrying on an agitation against Austria-Hungary. The Imperial and Royal Government set a time limit of forty-eight hours for the unconditional acceptance of its terms. One day after the Austro-Hungarian note had been handed to it the Servian Government began mobilization. When, after the expiration of the time limit, the Servian Government made a reply which, while satisfying the demands of Austria-Hungary on certain points, made known emphatically with regard to the essential ones its intention to refuse the just demands of the monarchy by means of temporizing and the introduction of new negotiations, Austria broke off diplomatic relations with Servia without having recourse to further negotiations or allowing herself to be put off by Servian assurances, the value of which she knows well enough—to her sorrow.

From that moment Austria was actually in a state of war with Servia, which was publicly proclaimed by means of the official declaration of war on the 28th of the month.

From the very beginning of the conflict we took the stand that this was an affair of Austria which she alone would have to bring to a decision with Servia. We have therefore devoted our entire efforts to localizing the war and to convincing the other powers that Austria-Hungary was compelled to take justified defensive methods and appeal to arms. We took the stand emphatically that no civilized nation had the right in this struggle against lack of culture [Unkultur] and criminal political morality to prevent Austria from acting and to take away the just punishment from Servia. We instructed our representatives abroad in that sense.

At the same time the Austro-Hungarian Government informed the Russian Government that her (Austria's) move against Servia was entirely a defensive measure designed to put a stop to Servian agitation, but that Austria-Hungary was compelled by necessity to demand guarantees of a continued friendly attitude on the part of Servia toward the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Austria-Hungary, the note to Russia stated, had no intention of bringing about a disturbance of the balance of power in the Balkans. Both the French and the English Government replying to our explanation that the German Government wished and was trying to localize the conflict, promised to work in the same interest. In the meantime these efforts did not succeed in preventing Russia's interference in the Austro-Servian disagreement.

The Russian Government issued an official communiqué on July 24, according to which it would be impossible for Russia to remain indifferent in the Servian-Austrian conflict. The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sazonof, made this position known to the Imperial Ambassador, Count Pourtales. On the afternoon of July 26 the Austro-Hungarian Government again explained through its Ambassador in St. Petersburg that Austria-Hungary had no plans of conquest, but only wished to have peace at last on her frontiers. In the course of the same day the first reports of Russian mobilization reached Berlin. On the evening of the 26th the Imperial Ambassadors at London, Paris, and St. Petersburg were directed to call the attention of the English, French, and Russian Governments energetically to the danger of this Russian mobilization. After Austria-Hungary had officially declared to Russia that she did not seek the acquisition of any territory in Servia, the decision for world peace lay entirely in St. Petersburg. The same day the Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg was directed to make the following statement to the Russian Government:

The military preparatory measures of Russia will compel us to take counter-action which must consist in the mobilization of the army. Mobilization, however, indicates war. Inasmuch as we know France's obligations toward Russia, this mobilization would be directed simultaneously against Russia and France. We cannot assume that Russia wishes to let loose such a European war. Inasmuch as Austria-Hungary will not impair the continuance of the Servian Kingdom, we are of the opinion that Russia can adopt a policy of waiting. We shall be all the more able to support Russia's wish not to allow the integrity of the Servian Kingdom to be called into question, since Austria does not call this integrity into question herself. It will be easy to find a basis of agreement in the further course of the affair.

On July 27 the Russian Minister for War, Suchomlinof, gave the German Military Attaché his word of honor that no mobilization order had as yet been issued. He said that for the present preparatory measures were being taken, no horses being levied and no reservists being called in. In case Austria-Hungary were to cross the Servian boundary, the military districts facing Austria, those of Kieff, Odessa, Moscow, and Kazan, would be mobilized. Under no circumstances would there be a mobilization of the districts lying on the German front: St. Petersburg, Vilna, and Warsaw. In answer to the Military

Attaché's question as to what was the object of mobilization against Austria-Hungary, the Russian War Minister shrugged his shoulders and referred to the diplomats. Thereupon the Military Attaché indicated that measures to mobilize against Austria-Hungary were also decidedly threatening to Germany. In the following days reports concerning the Russian mobilization followed each other in quick succession. Among these were reports concerning preparations on the German border, such as the declaration of a state of war in Kovno, the departure of the Warsaw garrison, and the strengthening of the Alexandrovo garrison. On July 27 the first reports of preparatory measures by France arrived. The Fourteenth Corps discontinued its manœuvres and returned to garrison duty.

In the meantime we continued to exert our most energetic influence on the Cabinets to insure the localization of the conflict.

On the 26th Sir Edward Grey had suggested that the differences between Austria-Hungary and Servia be laid before a conference of the Ambassadors of Germany, France, and Italy, with himself presiding over the sessions. To this suggestion we replied that, while we approved his tender, we could not take part in such a conference because we could not call upon Austria to appear before a European court in her controversy with Servia.

France agreed to Sir Edward Grey's proposal, but it was finally brought to naught because Austria, as was to be expected, held herself aloof.

True to our conviction that an act of mediation could not take into consideration the Austro-Servian conflict, which was purely an Austro-Hungarian affair, but would have to take into consideration only the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia, we continued our efforts to bring about an understanding between these two powers. We were also willing, after declining the conference idea, to transmit a further proposal by Sir Edward Grey to Vienna, in which he urged that Austria-Hungary either agree to accept the Servian answer as sufficient or to look upon it as a basis for further conversations. The Austro-Hungarian Government, in full appreciation of our mediatory activity, replied to this proposal that, coming as it did after the opening of hostilities, it was too late.

In spite of this we continued our mediatory efforts to the utmost and advised Vienna to make any possible compromise consistent with the dignity of the Monarchy. Unluckily, all of these mediatory acts were soon overtaken by the military preparations of Russia and France. On July 29 the Russian Government officially announced in Berlin that it had mobilized four army districts. At the same time additional reports reached us of rapidly progressing military preparations by France on land and sea. On the same day the Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg had a conversation with the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning which he reported as follows by telegraph:

The Minister tried to persuade me to agree in behalf of my Government to a conversation of four parties to devise means of moving Austria-Hungary to give up those demands touching on the sovereignty of Servia. While I agreed to a complete transmission of the conversation, I took the stand that, since Russia had decided on the ominous step of mobilization, it was difficult for me to exchange any opinions on this subject, and it almost seemed impossible to do so. I said that what Russia now demanded of us in respect to Austria-Hungary was the same thing of which Austria-Hungary was accused regarding Servia—a usurpation of the rights of sovereignty; that Austria-Hungary had promised to be considerate of Russian interests by declaring her territorial disinterestedness, a great concession on the part of a nation waging war. For this reason, I said, an opportunity should be given the Dual Monarchy to settle her dispute with Servia alone. There would be time enough to come back to the subject of safeguarding Servian sovereignty when peace terms were to be concluded.

I added very earnestly that at the present moment the Austro-Servian affair was secondary to the danger of a European conflagration, and I made every effort to show the Minister the greatness of this danger.

It was impossible to change Sazonof's mind on the point that Russia could not desert Servia now.

Similarly the Military Attaché at St. Petersburg reported by telegraph on the 29th as follows, regarding an interview with the Chief of the General Staff of the Russian Army:

The Chief of the General Staff asked me to call and informed me that he had just come from His Majesty. He stated that he had been instructed by the Minister for War to assure me again that everything had remained the same as it had been explained to me by the Minister two days ago. He offered me a written confirmation and gave me his word of honor in the most formal manner that mobilization had begun nowhere, that is to say, not a single man or horse had been levied up to that hour, three o'clock in the afternoon. He stated that he could not answer for the future, but he could declare most emphatically that no mobilization was desired by His Majesty in the districts

touching on our boundary. However, many reports have reached here and also Warsaw and Vilna of the levying of reservists in various parts of the empire. I therefore told the General that I was confronted with a riddle as the result of his announcements to me. On his word as an officer he repeated, however, that such reports were untrue; that a false alarm may have been raised here and there.

In view of the positive, numerous reports before me of actual levying, I am compelled to consider the conversation as an attempt to mislead us in regard to the extent of the measures that have already been taken.

Inasmuch as the Russian Government, in reply to the several inquiries regarding the reasons for its threatening attitude, several times alluded to the circumstance that Austria-Hungary had not yet begun any conversations in St. Petersburg, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, at our request, was directed on July 29 to begin the conversation with Mr. Sazonof. Count Szapary was authorized to make known to the Russian Minister the contents of the note to Servia which had been, as it were, overtaken by the declaration of war, and to receive any suggestions that might still come from the Russian side, as well as to discuss with Sazonof all questions touching directly on the Austro-Russian relations.

Shoulder to shoulder with England we continued to work without cessation for mediation, and supported every suggestion in Vienna which we believed showed hope of the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. As late as the 30th we transmitted an English proposal to Vienna which established this basis of negotiation, that Austria-Hungary, after succeeding in marching into Servia, should dictate her terms there. We had to assume that Russia would accept this basis.

While these efforts of ours for mediation, supported by English diplomacy, were being continued with increasing urgency in the time from July 29 to the 31st, there constantly came new and increasing reports concerning Russian mobilization measures. The assembling of troops on the East Prussian border and the declaration of a state of war in all important places on the Russian western boundary no longer left any doubt of the fact that Russian mobilization was actively going on against us, while at the same time all such measures were denied anew on word of honor to our representative at St. Petersburg. Even before the reply to the last English-German mediation proposal, the basis of which must have been known in St. Petersburg, could reach Berlin from Vienna, Russia ordered a general mobilization. On the same day an exchange of telegrams took place between his Majesty the Kaiser and King and Czar Nicholas in which his Majesty called the Czar's attention to the threatening character of the Russian mobilization and to the continuance of his own activity as mediator.

On July 31 the Czar directed the following telegram to his Majesty:

I thank you from my heart for your mediation, which permits a gleam of hope that everything can yet be settled peaceably. It is a technical impossibility for us to halt our military preparations which became necessary through Austria's mobilization. We are far from desirous of war. So long as the negotiations continue with Austria concerning Servia, my troops will not undertake any challenging action. I solemnly pledge you my word as to that. I am trusting in the grace of God with all my might and hope for the success of your mediation in Vienna, for the welfare of our countries and for the peace of Europe. Your sincerely devoted

NICHOLAS.

To this his Majesty the Kaiser replied:

Upon your appeal to my friendship and your plea for my help, I have undertaken a mediatory action between your Government and the Austro-Hungarian Government. While this negotiation was under way your troops were mobilized against Austria-Hungary, which is allied with me, as a consequence of which my mediation was almost made illusory, as I have already informed you. Notwithstanding this, I continued it. Now I am in receipt of reliable reports of serious preparations for war on my eastern boundary also. Responsibility for the safety of my empire compels me to take counter defensive measures. I have carried my efforts for the maintenance of world peace to the utmost limit. It is not I that bear the responsibility for the calamity that now threatens the entire civilized world. Yet at this moment it lies in your power to stave it off. No one threatens the honor and might of Russia, which might have awaited the result of my mediation. The friendship for you and your empire which was bequeathed to me by my grandfather on his deathbed has always been sacred to me, and I have been faithful to Russia when she was hard pressed, especially in her last war. It is still possible for you to maintain the peace of Europe if Russia will decide to put a stop to the military measures that threaten Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Even before this telegram reached its destination the mobilization of the entire Russian fighting force, which had been ordered in the forenoon of the same day, openly directed against us, was in full swing. The Czar's telegram, however, was sent at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

After the mobilization became known in Berlin, the Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg was ordered on the afternoon of July 31 to advise the Russian Government that Germany had declared a state of war as a counter move to the mobilization of the Russian Army and Navy, which would have to be followed by mobilization unless Russia ceased her military preparations against Germany and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours, and so advise Germany.

At the same time the Imperial Ambassador at Paris was directed to request an explanation from the French Government within eighteen hours as to whether, in the case of the Russo-German war, France would remain neutral.

The Russian Government destroyed the painstaking mediatory work of the European State Chancelleries, shortly before its successful outcome, by her mobilization, which endangered the safety of the German Empire. The mobilization measures, concerning the seriousness of which the Russian Government could not possibly entertain any doubts from the beginning, together with her continued denial, show clearly that Russia desired the war.

The Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg delivered the message that had been given to him for Mr. Sazonof on July 31 at midnight.

After the expiration of the time limit set for Russia without the receipt of an answer to our inquiry, his Majesty the Emperor and King ordered the mobilization of the entire German Army and the Imperial Navy at 5 p. m. on August 1. In the meantime the Imperial Ambassador at St. Petersburg had been instructed to hand a declaration of war to the Russian Government in case no favorable reply was issued before the expiration of the time limit. However, before a report regarding the execution of this order arrived, Russian troops crossed our border and advanced on German territory, namely, as early as the afternoon of August 1.

By this move Russia began the war against us.

In the meantime the Imperial Ambassador at Paris put the question that he had been ordered to present before the French Cabinet at 7 p. m. on July 31.

To this the French Prime Minister made an ambiguous and unsatisfactory reply at 1 o'clock in the afternoon of August 1. This does not give a clear picture of the French position, since it was limited to the statement that France would do what her interests seemed to warrant. A few hours later, at 5 in the afternoon, the complete mobilization of the entire French Army and Navy was ordered.

On the morning of the following day France opened hostilities.

Concluded on August 2, noon.

Appendix I, 3.

Belgian Diplomat Anent Germany's Efforts for the Maintenance of Peace.¹⁵

(*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 12, 1914.)

On July 31 a letter was mailed in Berlin, bearing the following address:

"Madame Costermans,

107 Rue Froissard,

Bruxelles, Belgique."

Since as is known, a state of threatening danger of war was declared, on the same day, for the territory of the German Empire, on account of which the transmission of private mail to foreign countries was suspended, the letter in question was returned to the place of dispatch, viz., Berlin. There the letter was kept in the Dead Letter Department, and, after the expiration of the prescribed term, was opened by the competent postal authority in order to ascertain the name of the sender. It was found that inside the envelope there was a second envelope, bearing the following address:

"Son Excellence Monsieur Davignon,

Ministre des Affaires Etrangères."

Since this envelope did not bear the name of the sender any more than had the outside envelope, the letter was opened. It contained an official dispatch of the Royal Belgian Charge d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, Mr. B. de l'Escaille, concerning the political situation in the said capital on July 30,

¹⁵ Aktenstuecke zum Kriegausbruch. S. 40, 42, 43.

which, in view of its political importance, was handed over to the German Foreign Office by the postal authorities.

This dispatch reads:

(TRANSLATION.)

Belgian Legation,
St. Petersburg.
795/402.

July 30, 1914.

The political situation.

Sir:

Yesterday and the day before have passed in the expectation of events which were bound to follow Austria-Hungary's declaration of war against Serbia. Such conflicting news was circulated that it was not possible to disentangle the true from the false concerning the intentions of the Imperial (Russian) Government. Only one thing is incontestible, and that is, that Germany has made efforts, here as well as in Vienna, to find some means of avoiding a general conflict, and that she has met, on the one hand, with the Vienna Cabinet's obstinacy not to yield one step, on the other hand, with the distrust of the St. Petersburg Cabinet toward the assurances of Austria-Hungary that she intended only to punish Serbia and not to seize her territory.

Mr. Sazonof has declared that it was impossible for Russia not to hold herself in readiness and not to mobilize; that, however, these preparations were not directed against Germany. This morning an official communication to the newspapers declares that "the reserves have been called to the colors within a certain number of provinces." However, whosoever knows of the reticence of Russian official "communiqués," can boldly assert that the mobilization is general.

The German Ambassador declared this morning that he was at the end of his endeavors at conciliation, which he has not ceased making since Saturday, and that he scarcely entertained any more hope. I just hear that the British Ambassador has expressed himself to the same effect. Great Britain has recently proposed arbitration. Mr. Sazonof replied: "We have ourselves made such a proposition to Austria-Hungary, but she declined." To the proposal of a conference, Germany answered by proposing an entente between the Cabinets. One can really ask one's self whether everybody does not want war and is only trying to postpone its declaration a little in order to gain time.

England commenced by making it understood that she would not let herself be drawn into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan said this openly. To-day, however, everybody in St. Petersburg is quite convinced—one has actually received the assurance—that England will stand by France. This support is of enormous weight and has contributed largely toward keeping the war-party above water.

During the past few days the Russian Government has left free rein to all pro-Serbian and anti-Austrian demonstrations, and has in no way attempted to check them. However, there were still differences of opinion within the Council of Ministers which met yesterday morning; the publication of the order of mobilization has, therefore, been retarded. But since then a change has set in, the war-party has obtained the upper hand, and at 4 o'clock this morning, the order for that mobilization was given out.

The army, which believes itself strong, is full of enthusiasm and bases great hopes upon the enormous progress that has been made since the Japanese war. The navy is still so far removed from the realization of its plans of renewal and reorganization, that it can scarcely be counted upon. Just here lies the reason why the assurance of English support is of such great moment.

As I had the honor to telegraph (T. 10) to you to-day, every hope of a peaceful solution seems past. That is the opinion of the diplomatic circles.

For my telegram I used the route via Stockholm over the Nordick cable, because this is safer than the other. This dispatch I am entrusting to a private courier, who will mail it in Germany.

Please accept, sir, the assurance of my most profound respect.

Signed: B. de l'Escaille.

II. THE VIOLATION OF BELGIAN NEUTRALITY.

A) The French Charges.

One of the main charges made by different authors of the French book is that the Germans by their invasion of Belgium have violated the neutrality of that country. The very first essay quotes the "Croix" of January 24, 1915: "We now know from Cardinal Mercier's letter that the treaty of 1839 was signed on oath, and that the oath was binding on the successors of the signatories. One of them was the King of Prussia. Hence William II committed a hideous perjury when he broke the neutrality of Belgium. * * * If this is not an unjust war, then unjust wars do never occur. * * * For mere decency's sake and more so for the sake of Catholic morals the subjects of William II have no right to take part in the Kaiser's war in Belgium."¹⁶ Again, Cardinal Mercier says in his pastoral: "Belgium was bound by honor to defend her independence, and she kept her word. The other Powers had bound themselves to respect and protect Belgian neutrality: Germany has broken her oath. England is loyal to it."¹⁷ That is sufficient to characterize the gravity and violence of the charge.

B) The German Answer.

CARDINAL MERCIER takes things very lightly. He quotes Article 7 of the Treaty (which was signed on April 19, 1839) on the independence and neutrality of Belgium,¹⁸ and then passes the severe judgment which has been stated above. In reality and truth the matter is most complicated. The very conception of "Belgian neutrality" is ambiguous.¹⁹ Belgium owes her existence and neutrality to the Great Powers, and not to her own strength. This fact demands primary consideration. The Congress of Vienna (1815) created the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which in the interests of the peace of Europe was to serve as a barrier against the expansive desires of France. The revolution of 1830 rendered Belgium independent, and the Great Powers imposed neutrality on the new State. By and by, the Powers joined the treaty, Holland only on April 19, 1839. On the same day the guarantee of the Powers was added.

The original formula of Belgian neutrality guarantees the *integrity* and *inviolability* of Belgium, whilst the more recent and authoritative formula does not. Not only German scholars hold that opinion, but also, as Schulte proves,²⁰ Ernest Nys,²¹ a Belgian Professor of Constitutional Law, whom the Belgian Government had delegated as Member of the International Arbitration Court. Dr. Nys wrote in one of his books, which was published in 1912: "En réalité, la Belgique obtenait la garantie de la neutralité, mais les cinq puissances ne lui donnaient point la garantie de l'intégrité et de

¹⁶ B. 24 and 25: "Nous savons maintenant, par la lettre du cardinal Mercier, que le traité de 1839 avait été signé sous la foi du serment, engageant, sous cette même foi, les successeurs des signataires. Et le roi de Prusse était un de ceux-là. Il s'ensuit que Guillaume II, violant la neutralité de la Belgique, s'est odieusement parjuré. . . . Si le cas de la guerre injuste ne s'applique pas ici, il ne s'appliquera jamais. . . . Au regard de la simple honnêteté, à plus forte raison au regard de la morale catholique, les sujets de Guillaume II n'ont pas le droit de coopérer à la guerre du kaiser en Belgique."

¹⁷ B. 24: "La Belgique était engagée d'honneur à défendre son indépendance; elle a tenu parole. Les autres puissances s'étaient engagées à respecter et à protéger la neutralité belge: l'Allemagne a violé son serment, l'Angleterre y est fidèle."

¹⁸ B. 234.

¹⁹ Cf. Aloys Schulte: Von der Neutralität Belgens. Bonn 1915.

²⁰ Schulte, *Ibidem*, p. 67.

²¹ He is also Doctor h. c. of the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow.

l'inviolabilité du territoire; elles avaient donné d'abord cette dernière garantie, puis elles l'avaient retirée."²²

According to this view, the German invasion of Belgium is not a breach of neutrality, that is to say, not of the neutrality in general, but at best a breach of Belgian neutrality specifically. Other thinkers differ and derive integrity and inviolability from independence, because otherwise, they say, the word "indépendant" in the neutrality formula has no meaning. Dr. Nys, on the other hand, holds that the term "indépendant" merely implies the right of exercising sovereign rights. This opinion, which is also shared by Schulte,²³ seems a justified definition. Why should the signatory Powers, whose foremost aim was to stem French ambitions, have wanted to bind their own hands? Prior to 1830, the right of occupation on the part of England and Prussia, the two nearest concerned Powers, had been expressly formulated.

Schulte points out that the original Belgian neutrality was furthermore directed against France, and that all Belgian writers of any standing admit this.²⁴ But in course of time the fortification system of Belgium was changed so radically that her neutrality lost its original character and aimed at Germany. Under such circumstances it is very doubtful whether one can still speak of neutrality.

Moreover, in 1870, Gladstone concluded a treaty with Germany and France for the case of either belligerent violating Belgian neutrality. In that case, England was to be justified in coming to the other side's help. The treaty was of temporary validity and expired in 1872. Schulte shows that a French scholar, Albert Sorel, Colonel Ducarne (chief of the Belgian General Staff), and Professor Burgess, United States (Professor of Constitutional Law), are of the opinion that those treaties of 1870 prove that the original Belgian neutrality is no longer to be considered valid.

Be that as it may, Belgium herself abandoned her neutrality, if it still existed. Proofs for this are overwhelming.

In 1906, Belgium, together with England, elaborated technical details of common operations against Germany, based on a landing of English troops in French harbors. So it must be presumed that negotiations with France had preceded. That assumption was corroborated when the French maps and plans according to which the armies were to be drawn up were discovered among the Belgian secret documents.²⁵ If that was merely, as is pretended, a precautionary measure for the hypothetical case of Germany breaking the neutrality, surely that neutrality would have demanded that Germany be not left in the dark. Another hypothetical case was *much more likely* to come true, viz, an *Anglo-French* invasion, and it was just as necessary to negotiate with *Germany* in view of such a case.

Belgium had altogether surrendered herself into England's hands. The word "alliance" was scrupulously avoided, to be sure. Why, England and France had done the same. They called their agreements an "Entente Cordiale," yet that Anglo-French understanding has proved as strong as a formal alliance. The cover of the Anglo-Belgian agreements discovered in the Brussels archives bears the title "Conventions anglo-belges." Title and contents testify that those conventions were no mere conversations.

Belgium was informed that England, in a Franco-German war, would *even against the will of Belgium*, land troops prior to a German invasion, if England thought that invasion to be imminent. But Belgium seems quite unconcerned, and continues her negotiations.

Belgium offered the British General Staff an opportunity and lent it practical aid, at least from 1909, so that the Staff might elaborate military manuals on Belgium. For England there were no longer any Belgian secrets.

Belgium knew that France had taken her first measures of mobilization on July 27. The Belgian brigade of gendarmes at Frameries, a Belgian

²² "In reality, Belgium obtained a guaranty of neutrality, but the five Powers did not guarantee her territorial integrity and inviolability. At first they gave the last mentioned guaranty, but later on withdrew it."

²³ Schulte, *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²⁴ Schulte, *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

²⁵ Cf. Appendix II, 3.

railway station, which is ten kilometers from the French border, informed the British Legation that the French officers were to join their troops in the afternoon, and that the station master of Feignies, a French locality three kilometers from the border, had been ordered to hold the railway cars ready for the transport of troops. The document stating this was found with Grant-Watson, Secretary of the British Legation in Brussels.²⁶

Belgium did not prevent French officers and men from crossing her western border²⁷; she never complained about a breach of neutrality. She had broken her neutrality herself and was an active member of the Triple Alliance of England, France and Russia for better or worse.

Of course, all these matters became known to be facts only after the Germans invaded Belgium. But they had been suspected before that, and it was well *known*, as the Imperial Chancellor's words of August 4th prove, that the enemy was *prepared* to cross the border. So it was a mere act of justified self-defense for Germany to forestall her opponents and march into Belgium. And such an act is ethically not objectionable, not even from the standpoint of Catholic morals.

Professor Bonvin, a Jesuit Father of the Canisius College at Buffalo, appreciating the state of affairs at the time, has arrived at a verdict which justifies German invasion.²⁸ He takes the right point of view that the same moral law guides private and public relations. His arguments begin with a simile: "A man suddenly notices wild, tearing beasts that threaten him from all sides. In front of him there is his neighbor's cornfield. If he runs across the other man's property, he might possibly be saved; otherwise he will probably be torn to pieces. *In that dire necessity, is it proper and moral to trespass on the neighbor's property, even against the owner's will?*"

Nobody will reply in the negative. In extreme cases, when self-preservation requires it, natural law permits trespassing on alien property, and positive law follows suit. The German Civil Code (Buergerliche Gesetzbuch) declares in Paragraph 904:

"The owner of any object is not entitled to stop another man's action regarding that object *if such action be necessary in order to avert a present danger*, and if the damage which threatens him is out of proportion to the injury which the owner suffers by that action, *the owner can demand indemnification for the damage done.*"²⁹

This Paragraph of the German Civil Code corresponds to the most exacting demands of Catholic morals. And the conception of state of distress and self-defense as recognized in civil law, is likewise accepted in international law. If the existence of a State is threatened, that State has a *right* to interfere with alien property, coupled with the *duty* to indemnify the injured party.

Now the point is this: was Germany really threatened in her existence? Facts speak clearly for themselves. Three powerful States, England, France and Russia, rise against Germany. It must be expected that other States will join them. The opponents are inexorable and declare quite openly that they want to free the world from "German barbarism." Germany acts in self-defense, and in *just* self-defense.

Germany could have carried her attacks south of Belgium across the borders of France, but would have bled herself to death in that strong belt of fortifications, or would at least have been long detained therein. During that time Russia might have pounced down on the Eastern provinces and taken Berlin.

The condition of affairs was worse still. Germany had to presume that an Anglo-French army, disregarding the neutrality of Belgium, would march through Belgium and invade Germany. The discovery of the Brussels documents was not necessary to arrive at that conclusion; there are many

²⁶ Aktenstuecke zum Kriegsabschluss, Berlin Auswaertiges Amt, S. 77-78.

²⁷ Cf. Affidavits ament this fact as presented in the appendices.

²⁸ The very clear deductions of P. Bonvin have appeared in the Buffalo Volksfreund of November 7, 1914, and of February 20, 1915. Cf. also same daily of March 3, 1915, and of April 5, 1915.

²⁹ The Italics are the author's.

examples of a breach of neutrality in the history of England. In 1807, in the midst of peace, the English assailed neutral Copenhagen. In the Boer War their troops marched through a country, the neutrality of which they had guaranteed themselves, in order to attack the Boers in the back. In the present war, too, they dispatched their men, together with Japanese soldiers, through *neutral Chinese* territory against German Tsingtau, and destroyed the auxiliary cruiser "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse" in *neutral Spanish* waters, and the "Dresden" in *neutral Chilean* seas. (And lately the neutrality of *Greece* has been violated.—Ed.)

Father Bonvin's parable does not cover the point entirely, because in the invasion of Belgium there is more at stake than proprietary rights. If the invasion had been merely a violation of such titles in self-defense, the German *right* of crossing Belgium should have had a corresponding feature, viz., Belgium's *duty* of permitting that crossing. What appears as right to the one side looks like a duty to the other. In that case, the Belgian resistance would necessarily appear as morally unjustified. But there is no one who would maintain that. Yet in view of the breach of neutrality committed by Belgium herself and the consequences thereof, it is intelligible how the actions of the Belgian Government seem criminal to many men.

If Germany had hesitated and waited, Anglo-French troops would have marched through Belgium. A German protest against the violation of Belgian neutrality would have been ridiculed and scoffed at.

Hence the words of the German Imperial Chancellor, spoken on August 4, 1914, are in accord with the strictest demands of moral law. He laid stress on the right of invasion under the then existing circumstances, and at the same time fully recognized the duty of indemnification. That was honestly spoken and not cynical, as Gaudeau says.³⁰ It is the dishonesty of the Belgian Government in the question of neutrality that has made all things worse for Belgium.

C) Appendices to II.

Appendix II, 1 contains the text of the original and of the definite version of the neutrality pact, as well as of its guarantee.

Appendix II, 2 presents the extract from the Chancellor's speech held on August 4, which deals with Belgian neutrality.

Appendix II, 3 gives a survey of what is contained in the Brussels documents, designated as "Intervention anglaise en Belgique."

Appendix II, 4 contains a German translation of the letter of General Ducarne, which speaks of the Anglo-Belgian negotiations directed against Germany, to which are added two further notes.

Appendix II, 5 gives official statements on ulterior documents bearing on the breach of neutrality by England.

Appendix II, 6 gives statements made under oath bearing on the breach of Belgian neutrality by French troops *before* the Germans marched into Belgium.

Appendix II, 1.

1. The Original Neutrality Formula of January 20, 1831.³¹

"La Belgique, dans les limites . . . formera un état perpétuellement neutre. Les cinq puissances lui garantiront cette **neutralité perpétuelle** ainsi que **l'intégrité et l'inviolabilité** de son territoire dans les limites mentionnées ci-dessus.

Par une juste réciprocité, la Belgique sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres états, et de ne porter aucune atteinte à leur tranquillité intérieure ni extérieure."

2. The Definite Neutrality Formula of October 15, 1831 (April 19, 1839).³¹

"Art. VII: La Belgique, dans les limites indiquées aux articles I, II et IV, formera un **état indépendant et perpétuellement neutre**. Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres états."

³⁰ B. 24.

³¹ Cf. Schulte, S. 45 u. 65. B. 234.

3. The Guarantee of the Powers of April 19, 1839.³¹

“. . . promettent pour eux et pour leurs successeurs, sous la foi du serment, d'accomplir et d'observer le dit traité en tous ses points et articles, sans y contrevenir ni permettre qu'il y soit contrevenu.”

Appendix II, 2.

From the Speech of the Imperial Chancellor Before the German Diet, on
August 4, 1914.

. . . . Gentlemen, we are now acting in self-defence. Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have possibly already entered on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. The French Government has notified Brussels that it would respect Belgian neutrality as long as the adversary respected it. But we know that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French invasion in our flank on the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice—I speak openly—the injustice we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his All, can only consider the one and best way to strike.

Appendix II, 3.

From the Brussels' Documents I.³²

(*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of October 13, 1914.)

. . . . From the contents of a portfolio which bears the title “Intervention Anglaise en Belgique”—English intervention in Belgium—it is clear that as early as 1906 the sending of an expeditionary force to Belgium in case of a Franco-German war had been arranged for. According to a report dated April 10, 1906, the chief of the Belgian general army staff, in collaboration with Lieutenant Colonel Barnardiston, at that time British military attaché in Brussels, had, at the latter's instigation, in repeated conferences drawn up a detailed plan for the joint operation of an English expeditionary corps of 100,000 troops with the Belgian army against Germany. The plan was approved by the chief of the English general staff, Major General Grierson. The Belgian general army staff was furnished with all the data concerning the strength and composition of the various parts of the British army, the composition of the expeditionary force, the ports of debarkation, together with an exact computation with regard to the time of transportation, etc. On the basis of these data the Belgian general army staff had made careful preparations for the transportation of the English troops into the Belgian line of defense, for their quartering and provisioning. The plans for this co-operation were carefully worked out to the last detail. For instance, a large number of interpreters and Belgian gendarmes were to be put at the disposal of the English forces and the necessary maps delivered to them. Even for the care of the English wounded provision had been made.

Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne had been decided upon as the points of landing for the British troops. From there they were to be brought by Belgian railways to the line of defense. The fact that it had been decided to land those troops in French ports and transport them through French territory proves that the English-Belgian arrangement had been preceded by an agreement with the French general army staff. Those three powers, then, had minutely determined the plans for a co-operation of the “allied armies,” as they are termed in the document. The fact that a map for use in the French border mobilization was found in the secret archives also testifies to this. . . .

Appendix II, 4.

From the Brussels Documents II.³³

(*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Supplement) of November 25, 1914.)

Letter to the Minister Concerning the Confidential Conversations.

BRUSSELS, April 10, 1906.

Confidential.

Mr. Minister:

I have the honor to report to you briefly about the conversations which I had with Lieutenant-Colonel **Barnardiston** and which have already been the

³² Aktenstuecke. . . . S. 58. (II., 3 comments on the documents.)

³³ Aktenstuecke. . . . S. 62-66.

subject of my oral communications. The first visit took place in the middle of January. Mr. **Barnardiston** referred to the anxieties of the General Staff of his country with regard to the general political situation, and because of the possibility that war may soon break out. In case Belgium should be attacked, the sending of about 100,000 troops was provided for.

The Lieutenant-Colonel asked me how such a measure would be regarded by us. I answered him, that from a military point of view it could not be but favorable, but that this question of intervention was just as much a matter for the political authorities, and that, therefore, it was my duty to inform the Minister of War about it.

Mr. **Barnardiston** answered that his Minister in Brussels would speak about it with our Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He proceeded in the following sense: The landing of the English troops would take place at the French coast in the vicinity of Dunkirk and Calais, so as to hasten their movements as much as possible. A landing in Antwerp would take much more time, because larger transports would be needed, and because on the other hand the safety would be less complete.

This admitted, there would be several other points to consider, such as railway transportation, the question of requisitions which the English army could make, the question concerning the chief command of the allied forces.

He inquired whether our preparations were sufficient to secure the defense of the country during the crossing and transportation of the English troops—which he estimated to last about ten days.

I answered him that the places Namur and Liège were protected from a "coup de main" and that our field army of 100,000 men would be capable of intervention within four days.

After having expressed his full satisfaction with my explanations, my visitor laid emphasis on the following facts: (1) that our conversation was entirely confidential; (2) that it was not binding on his government; (3) that his Minister, the English General Staff, he and I were up to the present, the only ones informed about the matter; (4) that he did not know whether the opinion of his Sovereign has been consulted.

In a following discussion Lieutenant-Colonel **Barnardiston** assured me that he had never received confidential reports of the other military attachés about our army. He then gave the exact numerical data of the English forces; we could depend on it, that in 12 or 13 days 2 army corps, 4 cavalry brigades and 2 brigades of horse infantry would be landed.

He asked me to study the question of the transport of these forces to that part of the country where they would be useful, and he promised to give me for this purpose details about the composition of the landing army.

He reverted to the question concerning the effective strength of our field army, and he emphasized that no detachments should be sent from this army to Namur and Liège, because these places were provided with garrisons of sufficient strength.

He asked me to direct my attention to the necessity of granting the English army the advantages which the regulations concerning the military requisitions provided for. Finally he insisted upon the question of the chief command.

I answered him that I could say nothing with reference to this last point and promised him that I would study the other questions carefully.

Later on the English Military Attaché confirmed his former calculations: 12 days would at least be necessary to carry out the landing at the French coast. It would take a considerably longer time (1 to 2½ months) to land 100,000 men in Antwerp.

Upon my objection that it would be unnecessary to await the end of the landing in order to begin with the railway transportations, and that it would be better to proceed with these, as soon as the troops arrived at the coast, Lieutenant-Colonel **Barnardiston** promised to give me exact data as to the number of troops that could be landed daily.

As regards the military requisitions, I told my visitor that this question could be easily regulated.

The further the plans of the English General Staff progressed, the clearer became the details of the problem. The Colonel assured me that one-half of the English army could be landed within 8 days; the rest at the conclusion of the 12th or 13th day, with the exception of the Horse Infantry, which could not be counted upon until later.

In spite of this I thought I had to insist again upon the necessity of knowing the exact number of the daily shipments, in order to regulate the railway transportation for every day.

The English Military Attaché conversed with me about several other questions, namely:

(1) The necessity of keeping the operations secret and of demanding strict secrecy from the Press;

(2) The advantages, which would accrue from giving one Belgian officer to each English General Staff, one interpreter to each commanding officer, and gendarmes to each unit of troops, in order to assist the British police troops.

In the course of another interview Lieutenant-Colonel **Barnardiston** and I studied the combined operations to take place in the event of a German offensive with Antwerp as its object and under the hypothesis of the German troops marching through our country in order to reach the French Ardennes.

In this question, the Colonel said he quite agreed with the plan which I had submitted to him, and he assured me also of the approval of General **Grierson**, Chief of the English General Staff.

Other secondary questions which were likewise settled, had particular reference to intermediary officers, interpreters, gendarmes, maps, photographs of the uniforms, special copies, translated into English, of some Belgian regulations, the regulations concerning the import duties on English provisions, to the accommodation of the wounded of the allied armies, etc. Nothing was resolved on as regards the activity which the Government or the Military authorities might exert on the Press.

During the final meetings which I had with the British Attaché, he informed me about the numbers of troops which would be daily disembarked at Boulogne, Calais and Cherbourg. The distance of the last place, which is necessary for technical considerations, will involve a certain delay. The first Corps would be disembarked on the 10th day, and the second on the 15th day. Our railways would carry out the transportation so that the arrival of the first Corps, either in the direction of Brussels-Louvain or of Namur-Dinant, would be assured on the 11th day, and that of the second on the 16th day.

I again, for a last time, and as emphatically as I could, insisted on the necessity of hastening the sea-transport so that the English troops could be with us between the 11th and 12th day. The happiest and most favorable results can be reached by a convergent and simultaneous action of the allied forces. But if that co-operation should not take place, the failure would be most serious. Colonel **Barnardiston** assured me that everything serving to this end would be done.

In the course of our conversations, I had occasion to convince the British Military Attaché that we were willing, so far as possible, to thwart the movements of the enemy and not to take refuge in Antwerp from the beginning.

Lieutenant-Colonel **Barnardiston** on his part told me that, at the time, he had little hope for any support or intervention on the part of Holland. At the same time he informed me that his Government intended to transfer the basis of the British commissariat from the French coast to Antwerp as soon as all German ships were swept off the North Sea.

In all our conversations the Colonel regularly informed me about the secret news which he had concerning the military circumstances and the situation of our Eastern neighbors, etc. At the same time he emphasized that Belgium was under the imperative necessity to keep herself constantly informed of the happenings in the adjoining Rhinelands. I had to admit that with us the surveillance-service abroad was, in time of peace, not directly in the hands of the General Staff, as our Legations had no Military Attachés. But I was careful not to admit that I did not know whether the espionage service which is prescribed in our regulations, was in working order or not. I consider it my duty to point out this position which places us in a state of evident inferiority to our neighbors, our presumable enemies.

Major-General, Chief of the General Staff.

Signature.

Note. When I met General Grierson at Compeigne, during the manoeuvres of 1906, he assured me the result of the re-organization of the English army would be that the landing of 150,000 would be assured and, that, moreover, they would stand ready for action in a shorter time than has been assumed above.

End of September, 1906.

Signature.

An annotation affixed to the document says: "L'entrée des Anglais en Belgique ne se ferait qu'après la violation de notre neutralité par l'Allemagne." (The entry of the English into Belgium would take place only after the violation of our neutrality by Germany.) Notes found in the Belgian Ministry of the Exterior make the meaning of this more clear. The notes refer to a conversation which a successor of Lieutenant **Barnardiston**, the English military attaché at Brussels, Lieutenant **Bridges**, had with the chief of the Belgian general staff, General **Jungbluth**. The document dated April 23, presumably 1912, has been marked "confidentielle" by Count **van der Straeten**, director in the Belgian Ministry of the Exterior, and reads as follows:

"Confidential.

"The British Military Attaché asked to see General Jungbluth. The two gentlemen met on April 23rd.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges told the General that England had at her disposal an army which could be sent to the Continent, composed of six divisions of infantry and eight brigades of cavalry—together 160,000 troops. She has also everything which is necessary for her to defend her insular territory. Everything is ready.

"At the time of the recent events, the British Government would have

immediately effected a disembarkment in Belgium (chez nous) even if we had not asked for assistance.

"The General objected that for that our consent was necessary.

"The Military Attaché answered that he knew this, but that—since we were not able to prevent the Germans from passing through our country—England would have landed her troops in Belgium under all circumstances (en tout état de cause).

"As for the place of landing, the Military Attaché did not make a precise statement; he said that the coast was rather long, but the General knows that Mr. Bridges, during Easter, has paid daily visits to Zeebrugge from Ostende.

"The General added that we were, besides, perfectly able to prevent the Germans from passing through."

Appendix II, 5.

From: "New Documents Anent England's Breach of Neutrality."³⁴

(Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of December 2, 1914.)

Recently our troops captured several **secret** military handbooks entitled "Belgium, Road and River Reports, Prepared by the General Staff, War Office." We are in possession of four volumes of this handbook, of which **volume I** was printed already in 1912, **volume II** in 1913, **volume III** (in two parts) and **vol. IV** in 1914.

They show the following imprint: "**Confidential**. This book is the property of the British Government and is to be used for the personal information of, who himself is responsible for the safe-keeping of the book. The contents are to be revealed to authorized persons only."

The handbooks contain by reason of military investigations the minutest and most exact descriptions of the territory.

Thus for instance in volume I, page 130 and following the great highroad Nieuport—Dixmuide—Ypres—Menin—Tourcoing—Tournai is rescribed and accompanied by maps, with special regards to quality of the roads, the surrounding country, tactic considerations, observation posts and water conditions. In this discussion all the villages along the highroad are enumerated and described. Thus we find their exact distance from one another, detailed descriptions of the road-net with reference to elevations, bridges, crossings, telephone and telegraph stations, railway stations including length of platforms and landing places, branch-lines, oil tanks, etc.—It is always mentioned whether the population speaks partly or all together French.

To the book are added:

(1) A schedule containing information about communities and villages for purposes of **billeting**; furthermore instructions regarding transportation and all other items which may be needed by the local commander;

(2) A number of important hints to aviators for that part of Belgium which is situated south of the line Charleroi—Namur—Liege, as well as for the surroundings of Brussels.

This very carefully and comprehensively drawn up memorandum is supplemented by a map showing the landing places; it bears the inscription "secret" and is dated July 1914.

The manuals therefore prove a **minute preparation, carried on during the last five years**, for a campaign in Neutral Belgium. They are nothing else but secret regulations of military service for an English army fighting in Belgium. The English General Staff, therefore, have long time since prepared themselves for this event and have foreseen the same so surely that they undertook the painstaking work of compiling these military handbooks.

Without **ready and far-reaching assistance** on the part of the Belgian Government and military authorities such a work would not have been possible. Those strategical and tactical reports, going into the minutest details, as mentioned above, or such exact data concerning railroads and transportation service, rolling stock, locks and bridges could not have been obtained in any other way. The schedules about the billeting capacity, which are dealing with Belgium as if she were English territory could only be derived from the Belgian Government. Without doubt official Belgian material has been used. . . .

Appendix II, 6.

Statements Under Oath Regarding the Breach of Belgian Neutrality by France Before the German Invasion.³⁵

1. Statement of a German Sub-Corporal (Gefreiter).

"Before the outbreak of the war I resided in Belgium altogether for about six years, and made my living as an itinerant tradesman and as a workman.

³⁴ Aktenstuecke, S. 75 u. 76.

³⁵ Taken from: Grasshoff, The Guilt of Belgium (Belgiens Schuld). Berlin, Reimer, 1915. P. 14-20. The statements are official and given under oath.

During this time I was also repeatedly in France, altogether probably half a year. Once I also went to England for about a month on business matters. Now during the week before the outbreak of the war I made the following observations:

"I. On Sunday, July 26th, 1914, I went to church in Brussels about five or six kilometers distant from my home in Boitsfort. After church I saw three foreign officers walking along together on the Boulevard Ansbach. Two of them, I positively know, were French officers and one English. So far as I was able to judge in passing, and then from looking behind, the French officers were artillerymen. They wore black coats and black trousers, the latter with red stripes and a blue one between. Their caps were red with two bands of gold braid. The caps correspond with plate XII of the 'Brief compilation concerning the French Army,' which has been placed before me, only they were bent over somewhat in the back. Coat and trousers resembled the illustration on Plate X, only according to my idea they were not dark blue, but black. I recognized the English officer by the tall cap and the braid on the forearm. His uniform was a greenish-gray and corresponded with the illustration on Page 33 of the 'Brief compilation concerning the English Army.' I cannot tell to what troop the Englishman belonged. Neither am I able to state to what regiments the three officers belonged. All three officers wore leggings and spurs. A doubt is not possible, as I know the uniforms of the armies here in question.

"II. On Wednesday, July 29th, I saw French soldiers singly and in groups walking along the Boulevard Militaire, towards the artillery depot. I counted eight men in all. As the soldiers walked to the artillery depot and as the Belgians standing around stated that these were French artillerymen, I assumed that the soldiers belonged to this branch of the service. There were no officers among them. The regiment to which they belonged is unknown to me. The men wore dark blue coats, red trousers, caps with a red top, blue beneath. They wore leggings, no spurs and no side-arms, but did carry knapsacks. Now that the 'compilation' has been placed before me, I declare that the uniform corresponded with Table III in 1, but not with Table X in 2.

"III. During the days from July 29th to August 2nd I saw aeroplanes flying every day over Boitsfort in the direction of Antwerp. They were bi-planes, according to my judgment French. I assume this because in 1910 during the aviation meet at Brussels I saw many French aeroplanes, because at that time no Belgian aeroplanes flew at all, and because they approached from the direction of Charleroi over the forest. I cannot state any other marks of distinction. I mention, however, that I know the difference between French and German aeroplanes very well today, and that I certainly am positive that these were not German machines. The aeroplanes flew at an elevation of about 2,000 meters."

2. Gustave Cochard, from Rimogne, active soldier in the 28th French regiment of dragoons, states under oath:

"On July 31st, 1914, at 10 a. m., the two regiments of dragoons, the 28th and the 30th, garrisoned at Sedan, proceeded into the field. At first they rode together in France, along the state highway to Mouzon, where they arrived about noon. In the afternoon, between about two and two-thirty, there arrived from a different direction, in the village of Mouzon, four cannon of the 40th French artillery regiment, garrisoned in Mezières-Charleville, together with munition wagons, whereupon the two regiments of dragoons, the 28th in the lead, then the guns and following them the 30th regiment of dragoons, started out, at first again in the direction towards Sedan.

"The dragoons rode four abreast, without guards. The 3rd troop of the 3rd squadron, to which I belonged, rode furthest in advance. I rode in the fourth file, and therefore was able to see everything that went on at the head of the detachment.

"When the detachment had arrived near the French village of Bazailles, on the Mouzon-Sedan road, it suddenly turned towards the north and proceeded via La Chapelle to the Belgian frontier. The Belgian-French frontier was crossed on July 31st, 1914, at about nine o'clock in the evening, or a little later, on the La Chapelle-Bouillon road, by the two French regiments of dragoons and the French battery

"Lieutenant Malespieux, commanding my troop, rode at the head. On the spot where the La Chapelle-Bouillon road crosses the French border a Belgian brigadier and four Belgian gendarmes, on horseback, who were without difficulty recognizable as such by their uniforms, reported to him. The brigadier and the four gendarmes were waiting at this point when we arrived there. These five members of the gendarmerie then proceeded at the head and thus led the detachment to the city of Bouillon, located three miles from the French border on Belgian soil. A short distance from Bouillon, the 30th regiment of dragoons parted from the detachment in order to take quarters near Bouillon on Belgian territory, so that only the 28th regiment of dragoons and the battery entered Bouillon on July 31st, 1914, about ten o'clock in the evening. The head of the regiment stopped in the city before the office of the Burgomaster. Captain Lainez, commanding my squadron, entered the building. After some time—it may have been an hour—a municipal functionary brought from the Burgomaster's office the assignments for the 28th regiment of dragoons and the battery, which was still standing in the street before the Burgomaster's office. I then proceeded with about thirty other dragoons to my quarters, a barn within the city.

"The night from July 31st, 1914, to August 1st, 1914, therefore, was spent by the 28th French regiment of dragoons and the French battery, in the Belgian city of Bouillon, while the 30th regiment of dragoons also was quartered on Belgian soil nearby. The reception on the part of the Belgian population was in no way antagonistic, but on the contrary very friendly.

"After the morning inspection Lieutenant Malespieux, together with twenty-five dragoons, I among them, left, as a patrol, in an easterly direction, before six o'clock in the morning. Now in a walk, now in a trot, we proceeded along the state road from Bouillon to Arlon, towards the east, constantly on Belgian soil. The ride of this patrol led from Bouillon on this state road through the Belgian towns of St. Cécile, Chassepierre, Florenville, Pin, St. Vincent, Belle Fontaine, St. Marie to St. Laurent, which lies toward Arlon and is more than forty kilometers distant from Bouillon. Therefore, on August 1st, 1914, more than forty kilometers were covered in an easterly direction, exclusively on Belgian soil. The officers' patrol, twenty-five men, arrived at St. Laurent after nine o'clock in the evening. Lieutenant Malespieux rode according to the map; on the way he did not send out any smaller patrols. About an hour later, the entire 28th regiment of dragoons and the French battery arrived in St. Laurent. The men stated that they had followed on the same road along which the patrol had proceeded. They had ridden together with the 30th regiment of dragoons and the French battery up to within a short distance of St. Laurent, in the neighborhood of which the 30th regiment of dragoons parted from the rest of the column and proceeded to a Belgian village situated a few kilometers distant from St. Laurent. The two regiments of dragoons and the battery therefore proceeded on August 1st, 1914, more than forty kilometers into Belgian territory.

"When I, on August 1st, together with the officers' patrol of twenty-five men, was riding along the Bouillon-Arlon road, this patrol, at the Bouillon-Florenville crossing, passed a country road which crosses the Bouillon-Florenville state road in the open field. According to my recollection, about 500 meters beyond this crossing, there is a village through which we rode, situated more than five kilometers from Florenville. To the right of the state road, three French cavalry regiments were standing as we were passing this crossing point of the two roads. The men called out to us that they were the Third and Sixth French cuirassiers, and the Fourth French regiment of hussars. As we passed, the three French cavalry regiments were set in motion and followed the patrol for several hours. The three cavalry regiments which we had met probably in the earlier hours of the afternoon of August 1st, 1914, at the road-crossing on Belgian soil, and which had followed us on Belgian soil for several hours, turned to the left a considerable number of kilometers, it may have been ten, after riding through Florenville, and therefore entered still more deeply into Belgium.

"Every doubt concerning the fact that the two regiments of dragoons and the battery crossed the Belgian frontier on the evening of July 31st, 1914, and remained at least the entire following week uninterruptedly on Belgian territory, is excluded for the following reason:

"On about July 20th, 1914, I had entered a request for a 'fourteen days' furlough to my home, Rimogne, and this had been granted and was to begin on August 1st, 1914. On the evening of July 30th, 1914, nothing was known of the mobilization, and I was of the opinion that on August 1st, 1914, I would be able to go home for the fourteen days. The physical inspection, to which every French soldier must submit before he goes on furlough, was ordered for the morning of July 31st, 1914. Instead of meeting the physician on July 31st, 1914, and going on furlough on August 1st, however, on July 31st, 1914, I was obliged suddenly to proceed to the field. That has impressed itself on my memory indelibly. I repeat that every doubt regarding my dates is out of the question."

III. THE METHODS OF WARFARE.

A) The French Charges.

So abundant is the material collected in the book of the French Catholics that a brief survey of the attacks in this chapter is very difficult indeed. Shall we deal with particular cases, or confine ourselves to the general charge? In the latter case, shall we formulate that charge from the war letters of the Archbishop Mignot³⁶ or from the pastoral of Bishop Gibier³⁷ or from the answer of the Catholic University of Paris?³⁸ Or shall François Veuillot³⁹ be our guide through that chamber of horrors in the book over the entrance to which we read the announcement: "War against Churches and Priests"? It is quite impossible to enter into all the details here. All we can do is to point to the bold outlines of the terrible picture. Terrified, Mignot exclaims: "What happens under our own eyes takes the mind back to the times of Sargon, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar and other hideous tyrants of Assyria and Chaldea, or not to go quite so far back, in the ages of Attila, Timur and Mohammed II."⁴⁰ Veuillot has diligently condensed in a single terrific charge whatever accusations Grondijs⁴¹, Mélot⁴², Bédier⁴³, Nothomb⁴⁴ had hurled against the German warfare. And the album presents the corresponding illustrations.

According to the French account the campaign in Belgium and France assumes in Belgium the form of a *religious war*. Germany *purposely* sends her *Protestant* regiments west. Systematically churches are desecrated and destroyed, innocent priests are ruthlessly shot, nuns are tormented, threatened, outraged and killed, wounded soldiers are murdered, hospitals and members of the Red Cross are shot at. All is done with full forethought and without any cause. The Germans do not even find anything immoral in it, because it is one of their maxims that might is right, and they show an absolute and fierce contempt for the incontestable laws of war and the most soundly established principles of humaneness (humanity?).⁴⁵ These are the concluding sentences of Veuillot calling as witness Bishop Turinaz: "Monsieur Turinaz therefore is right in saying that the German War not only leads to the destruction of the Catholic Church, its authority and doctrines, but also to the destruction of every human law and right, of all morals and principles which guide mankind."⁴⁶ Therefore, when the Germans invoke the Divine blessing on their arms, they crown their "anti-religious works by the worst kind of insult to the Divine Author of religion."⁴⁷

36 B. 267, seq.

37 B. 277.

38 B. 282, seq.

39 La Guerre aux Eclises et aux Prêtres. . . B. 81-140.

40 B. 266: "Mais, à voir ce qui se passe sous nos yeux, on se croirait revenu au temps des Sargon, des Sennachérib, des Nabuchodonosor, et autres épouvantables tyrans de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée, ou, si vous trouvez ces temps trop éloignés, à ceux d'Attila, de Tamerlan, de Mahomet II."

41 Les Allemands en Belgique, Paris, Berger-Leurault, 1915.

42 Le Martyre du Clergé belge, Paris, Bloud & Gay, 1915.

43 Les Crimes allemands, Paris, Armand Collin, 1915.

44 Les Barbâres en Belgique, Paris, Perrin, 1915.

45 B. 139: ". . . mépris féroce et absolu des lois les plus incontestées de la guerre et des principes les plus certaines de l'humanité."

46 B. 140: "Msgr. Turinaz a donc raison lorsqu'il affirme que la guerre allemande aboutit tout droit, non seulement, à la destruction de l'Eglise catholique, de son autorité et de ses doctrines, mais encore, à la destruction de toutes les lois, de tous les droits, de toute la morale, de tous les principes dont vit l'humanité tout entière."

47 B. 140: ". . . ils ne font que couronner leur besogne antireligieuse, d'un supreme outrage à l'Auteur de la religion."

B) The German Answer.

IT seems strange that even the episcopal pastorals cannot resist the temptation to deal at length with supposed German atrocities so as to excite the imagination of the faithful to the utmost. Are those pastorals not bound to provoke thoughts of hatred, which, under favorable conditions, are converted into deeds of hatred—deeds that injure irretrievably first the opponent and then, owing to his reprisals, their own ill-advised people? Thus the terrible consequences of the war are not relieved or restricted but rather rendered more horrible. The cause of peace and conciliation is not served in this manner.

German Catholics deeply sympathize with unhappy Belgium and her severely-tested bishops, especially with Cardinal Mercier of Malines. It was due to the conditions at the outbreak of the war that the Belgian population experienced the hard and terrible consequences of a modern war. We can well understand that the Cardinal's pastoral had to take those consequences into account. Yet we exceedingly regret that it contains passages which could not but have an inflaming effect, although that was not the Cardinal's intention. The fiery passion in the hearts of the faithful was not extinguished by that pastoral, but rather received additional fuel. The number of attacks made on Germany and the enumeration of the priests who, in the Cardinal's opinion, were innocently slaughtered, could not heal the wound, but was bound to increase the bitter resentment of the people. Yet, the pastoral does not by any means go to the full length of some of the French episcopal pastorals.

There was all the less need for the Belgian and French bishops to relate supposed German atrocities, since reports in the daily press and a flood of pamphlets had already done too much in that direction.

It would be absurd to deny that the furies of war never demanded innocent victims. Bédier is under a grave misapprehension when he says: "Yes, such is war, but war as Marceau's soldiers never waged and Joffre's men will never wage. Never has France, mother of arts, arms and laws, been engaged in such a war nor will she ever be."⁴⁸ Bad things occur even in times of peace, not only amongst the Germans, but even more among the French. Vile acts which must be disapproved, others which must be branded, will happen even oftener in times of war. At all events Germany has a right to pride himself on having the best disciplined army in the world; no doubt, offenses occurred nevertheless.⁴⁹ The power of doing evil is deeply rooted in human nature since man is given a free will. His soul has a twofold ego: the one tries to lift him, and the other to drag him down. It rests with him to follow the one or the other. He need not be overcome by evil, but alas! too often he is conquered by it.

It is just the same in war. In addition a man disposed to do wrong comes under the influence of war. According to his natural disposition and development one man will be morally improved and the other depraved. That commonplace truth holds good of *all* men at *all* times. Hence it is certain that crimes are committed in war.

Moreover, in times of war, the soldiers in the territory to be occupied must work under continuous high nervous pressure. They have to face death in all forms and under all conditions. Scenes of horror surround them on every side. They have not much time to make up their minds; thus regrettable mistakes do happen. All the more in a country with different speech and customs. Offenses are liable to occur and can be understood, though they remain deplorable.

Even miscarriage of justice cannot always be avoided. The countrymen of Captain Dreyfus should know that even in times of peace judicial errors

⁴⁸ Bédier, l. c. page 38: "Où, c'est la guerre, mais telle que ne l'ont jamais faite les soldats de Marceau ni jamais ne la feront les soldats de Joffre, telle que jamais ne l'a faite ni ne la fera la France, mère des arts, des armes et des lois."

⁴⁹ "Unquestionably in every army there are some brutes who misconduct themselves, but the discipline of the German army, which is the most severe of any army in the world, undoubtedly reduced the crimes of such brutes as it possessed to a minimum. . . ." Anthony Arnoux, *The European War*. Boston, 1915. Pp. 73-77.

occur; how much more so in the restless and hurried times of war. Everybody must admit that in the administration of justice in war *errors* can happen.

If individual soldiers should have committed crimes, if errors and mistakes should have been made, the Germans exceedingly lament and regret those occurrences, but they know that such grievous failings have their ultimate source in human frailty and insufficiency. Withal they do not defend wrongs. Any misdeed which is committed consciously and brought to the notice of the German authorities will be duly punished and expiated.

The strongest protest is to be raised against the generalization which makes the *whole German army and nation* responsible for regrettable errors, fallings, trespasses, or crimes committed by *individuals*. It is the worst kind of slander to allege that the entire German army is guilty; that systematic lust of blood incites Germans to atrocities; and that the Supreme Army Command and the whole German nation approve of those abominations. And all that is maintained in the French indictment.

The accused have the right of self-defense against such unjustified charges, and they use their good right even against the honorary presidents and the members of the committee by whose authority such falsehoods are published. Difficult as it is, they will not doubt the subjective truthfulness of all persons concerned. But they must insist on branding the preferred charges as untrue and unjust in an objective sense.

They also repudiate the foolish notion that offenses such as the Germans have been accused of are impossible in the camp of the Allies. One has only to think of the savage hordes that are fighting in their ranks in order to know what is to be thought of such a presumptuous assertion. And even the native troops of the Allies have committed terrible things beyond and within their own borders. It may safely be asserted that no army in the world surpasses or even equals the German army in discipline.

The means used to obtain reports about German military atrocities are most unsuitable. Commissions were appointed, who hastily and in a surcharged atmosphere examined people of every station of life. The personal trustworthiness of the witnesses has not been taken into account at all; anybody who was ready to give evidence was accepted. Amongst the witnesses are people without any education, people of an over-excited mind who easily lose their balance and who could not possibly be impartial observers, and people whose feelings were ablaze with a fierce hatred of Germany.

As early as August 7, the Belgian Minister of Justice constituted the Belgian Commission of Investigation. On the following day the papers notified the public of this fact, saying in conclusion: "The public is urged to report immediately to the Minister of Justice all cases of violation of the laws of nations committed by the Germans.⁵⁰ It is self-evident that this let loose a veritable flood of rumors into Brussels, swelled by the populace, who thought thus to perform an act of patriotism. Harmless events or such as were the inevitable consequence of the war were misrepresented; some atrocities were wholly invented. For instance, the press reported with great circumstance that the drayman David Jordens in Sempst was ill-treated by some thirty German soldiers, and was forced to witness the abuse of his thirteen-year-old daughter, who was finally killed by her five or six "barbarian" tormentors, after which his nine-year-old son was bayoneted and his wife shot. Only the arrival of Belgian soldiers, so the story went, saved the father from a similar fate. Also most young girls in Sempst were said to have been abused.

On April 4, 1915, Municipal Clerk Paul von Boeckhout, Burgomaster Peter van Asbroeck and his son, Louis van Asbroeck, were examined at Sempst under oath in order to clear up that story. They declare unanimously that they do not even know the drayman David Jordens, that no

⁵⁰ Grasshoff, S. 31.

man of that name lived in Sempst before the war, and that no woman and no child under fourteen years of age was killed at Sempst during the war.

The rumor that the Vice Rector of the Louvain University, Monsignor Conraets, was shot has been kept up all the time. The Belgian Commission of Investigation, which must have known that he was alive, reports of a feigned execution. The report tells the following mysterious story: "The feigned execution of Monsignor Conraets, Vice Rector of the University, and of the Dominican Father Schmit, took place before their eyes. A shot was fired, and the witnesses, convinced of the reality of the enactment, were compelled to applaud."⁵¹ The sham execution itself is very doubtful.⁵² It takes place before the eyewitnesses who, nevertheless, are "convinced of the reality of the act" and are "compelled to applaud." A hasty reader must get the impression that Conraets is dead. Not a word that he is still alive. Thus the legend is kept up.⁵³ The same Commission has not found a single instance where civilians took direct part in the hostilities, and Veuillot appeals to that fact.⁵⁴ Yet how different are the actual facts, substantiated as they are by documentary evidence, which will be found in the affidavits at the end of this chapter.

The alleged atrocities of the Germans are nowhere represented in their causal nexus, but it is made out that the Germans, without any cause whatever, rushed on their poor victims like wild wolves that attack innocent lambs. In a number of passages it is even claimed that francireur warfare had no bearing on the actions of the Germans. The Germans rather are said to have subsequently invented the fiction of the francireur war as an excuse for their abominations. But there is no doubt that francireur war never in the history of the world was waged to such an extent as in the present war. This is proved by the documents of the White Book which the German Foreign Office has compiled. According to Germany's enemies nowhere on church towers were observation stations; nobody ever shot from those towers at the Germans; they destroyed the churches from a fierce hatred of religion. Only befogged fanatics can believe such grotesque distortions. Thoughtful readers will readily understand the attitude which the Swiss Federal Government took when the official French commission⁵⁵ of investigation spread reports of German atrocities in Switzerland. The Federal Government made a sharp announcement, which speaks of the "poisonous seeds" sown by official France.

It is an insult to the intelligence of readers to go on reporting that the Germans kill the wounded (*achever les blessés*). We can now understand why prisoners inquired with a trembling voice if and when they would be shot. The idea had been so long suggested to their minds that it became almost an obsession with them. Yet any careful reader will remember that over 200,000 French prisoners of war are in Germany. Even a neutral, Professor Wernle of Basel⁵⁶ has pointed to that circumstance in reply to Bédier's charge. Facts will always prevail against inferences, however subtle.

Special value is attached to the diaries taken from German soldiers that were made prisoners of war. *Indeed, they are most remarkable documents.* Very pertinently Wernle points out, of what importance *unabridged* war diaries may be. "I should consider myself very fortunate," he says, "if I could get hold of such a German diary. And the more such war diaries come to our knowledge unabbreviated, the clearer our insight into the soldiers' psychology will be. Of course, we would have to guard against any generalization; the very individuality of such diaries would show us how differently each one views and pursues his gruesome military profession. We would also have to bear in mind that even by such witnesses

⁵¹ Cinquième rapport, S. 71: "Un simulacre d'exécution de Msr. Conraets, vice-recteur de l'Université, et du père Schmit, de l'ordre des Frères prêcheurs, eut lieu devant eux. Une salve retentit et les témoins, convaincus de la réalité du drame, furent contraints à applaudir."

⁵² Cf. Appendix III, 30.

⁵³ Cf. Appendices III, 20 and III, 21.

⁵⁴ B. 132.

⁵⁵ Deutsche Greuelthaten in Frankreich. Paris. Chaix, 1915.

⁵⁶ Neue Zuercher Zeitung of April 18, 1915

we are informed of *their conception of facts rather than of the facts themselves*. But at all events, we would get acquainted with real human beings, rude and vulgar fellows as well as refined and noble-hearted gentlemen, and while some of them might increase our contempt of mankind, others would reveal such heart-stirring traits of noble human nature as to inspire us with new faith.⁵⁷ Bédier has perused forty soldiers' diaries, and has attempted to prove the German crimes on the evidence of German documents.⁵⁸ But how these documents are distorted by his pen! The same Wernle criticises the booklet forcibly and justly. He finds fault with the generalizations contained therein and based upon isolated cases; he shows that the writers' views are given, not the actual facts; he deplores that only extracts are offered dealing with atrocities, but that the coherent facts are withheld which would enable us to judge the merits of the testimony; he finds it strange that even parts of facsimilized texts are omitted so that the communicated facts are made to appear in an entirely different light; he comments on mis-understandings that "misinterpret a neutral text so as to give it a malicious and base meaning." Another neutral, the Danish Professor, Karl Larsen, also shows how unreliable a scholar Bédier is.⁵⁹ He comes to the following conclusion: "I consider his pamphlet a sad piece of evidence of the fact that even with great savants not only knowledge will fail but that even such men are overcome by the blood surging to the brain so that they lose their clear vision and their methodically acquired faculties are led astray from the straight path of search for truth into the wilderness of passion." Still more severe is the judgment of H. Grimme, formerly a colleague of Bédier's at the University of Freiburg, in Switzerland. He says: "Bédier, the manuscript reader, has made many and grave mistakes in his reading; Bédier, the linguist, has everywhere given a meaning to German words and terms which is entirely at variance with the German use of those words; Bédier, the textualist, twists and distorts the plainest sentences of the originals until they seem to him to fit in with the tissue of his and his people's slanderous charges against Germany."⁶⁰ In Bédier's hands the German diaries become indeed documents of German crimes, and in that transformation they are taken over into Veuillot's paper and thus they receive the sanction of such authorities as bishops and even of Cardinal Amette, who writes in the foreword: "We can testify that the arguments and the facts which they"—the contributors to the French book—"state are entirely trustworthy."⁶¹ Most of the "facts," begging His Eminence's pardon, are contrary to truth, and the generalizations and inferences are altogether erroneous. It is neither *truthful* nor *just* to state that Germany, in accordance with her moral disposition, premeditated the destruction and desecration of churches, the murder of priests and monks, the outrage of nuns, the persecution, robbery and ruin of peaceful civilians.

It seems very strange to German Catholics that the enemies unanimously accuse none but *German* soldiers of being atrocious. *Formerly* they *mutually* denounced each other as barbarians. The history of England, France, Belgium, Italy and Russia, more particularly the history of the Colonial wars carried on by those countries, abounds in all sorts of actual atrocities. The actions of Lord Kitchener in Egypt were the worst which any general possibly could have committed, and years ago the English press published in every detail Belgian and Italian atrocities and branded them with holy indignation. Now the former enemies have become friends, and everything is forgiven and forgotten! Now they fight shoulder to shoulder for "civilization" against German "barbarism."

German warfare in Belgium was very hard, and was bound to be so because the Belgian franc-tireur war compelled the German army to take

⁵⁷ N. Z. Zeitung. (The Italics are the author's.)

⁵⁸ Bédier, *Les crimes allemands*, P. 6: "Les crimes allemands, je les établis par des documents allemands."

⁵⁹ Larsen, Prof. Bédier und die Tagebuecher deutscher Soldaten. Aus dem Daenischen von A. F. Cohn, Berlin, Reimer, 1915. S. 48.

⁶⁰ Grimme, Ein boeswilliger Sprachstuempfer ueber "deutsche Kriegsgreuel." Muenster, 1915. S. 7.

⁶¹ B. VI.

measures of self-defense. Our soldiers do not fight against the innocent inhabitants of foreign countries, particularly not against women and children. But they would have to sacrifice themselves if they wished to spare that civilian population which offends against international law and raises arms against them. In view of that fact, their self-defense was justified.

It is untrue that Protestant regiments were purposely sent against the Catholic population of Belgium. Such regiments nowhere exist. There are regiments in which the number of Catholic soldiers is small. If such regiments are meant, it is still untrue that they were selected from the motives indicated.

It is untrue that churches were fired at from mere hatred of religion. Of course, when a church served as a stronghold for the attacking civilians, when observation posts were established on the tower, when signals were given or machine guns were fired from there—it was self-evident that cannons had to do their deadly work. Besides all this, churches are always in danger when a town is being bombarded. It would be strange indeed if they remained intact. Wherever war is raging it would not but be destructive. If the theatre of war had been Germany instead of France and Belgium, it would be quite easy to get up an album with illustrations of ruined churches. The French album, therefore, does not prove anything. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the Anglo-Franco-Belgian army did not scruple to bombard their own churches whenever those sacred edifices were of military service to the Germans, or were believed to be so in the future. *The Germans found English military manuals which declared church towers to be particularly good observation stations.*⁶²

If the destruction of churches and localities was systematic, how it is to be explained that Brussels, Antwerp, and numerous towns and villages did not suffer the same fate as the demolished quarters of Louvain and other ruined towns and villages? Wherever the population kept quiet no destruction took place. So the unharmed localities and towns bear testimony against the others.

The alleged looting by the Germans is largely due to the natives of Belgium, who behaved worse than savages. The retreating Belgian,⁶³ French and English armies are responsible for other acts of plunder. Proof is abundant. The same holds good for France.⁶⁴

Veullot devotes a whole chapter to the outrage of sisters (nuns). He concludes his statement by quoting Nothomb, to the effect that those "beasts with human faces"⁶⁵ outraged girls and women, among whom were also nuns, and hints that Nothomb had delicately refrained from more drastic descriptions. *The Governor-General of Belgium wrote to the Belgian bishops, and made inquiries. The bishop of Liège declared that in his diocese no nun had been outraged. The bishops of Namur, Ghent and Bruges likewise answered that within their bishoprics no outrage of any nun had come to their knowledge. The Archbishop of Malines and the Vicar Capitular of the bishopric of Tournay informed the Governor-General that they could not make any actual statements about any case of a nun having been outraged within their dioceses.*⁶⁶

With these statements before us, what are we to think of Veullot's protestation: "Once more, words fail to give expression to our horror and disgust. . . ."⁶⁷

Yes, indeed, our horror and disgust are beyond words that distinguished men like Veullot can make such unsubstantiated charges. All that remains in that fearful list of horrors is limited to pardonable errors and individual misdeeds for which neither the army leaders nor the German nation can be held answerable. Nor should they be made responsible. Christianity demands that, but the whole tone and method of the book is un-Christian.

⁶² Aktenstuecke. . . . S. 75.

⁶³ Cf. the letter of Prefect Hamels, concerning the looting in Malines on the part of Belgian soldiers, in Grasshoff, *Belgiens Schuld*. Berlin, Reimer, 1915. S. 103-104.

⁶⁴ Cf. the Report: *Die Luegentaktik des franzoesischen amtlichen Berichts ueber angebliche deutsche Pluenderungen*. Berlin, 1915. Gedr. in der Reichsdruckerei.

⁶⁵ B. 123.

⁶⁶ Cf. Appendix III, 29.

⁶⁷ B. 123. "Encore une fol, les mots se dérobent à l'horreur et au dégoût! . . ."

Unless German Catholics have altogether lost consciousness of the solidarity of all Catholics on earth, and of mankind, the events in Belgium and the hard lot of Belgian Catholics must strike their hearts like blows with a hammer. The fact that twenty-six priests were killed in the diocese of Namur is quite staggering. Did the Belgian clergy take part in the military occurrences? Opinions are diametrically opposed on that point. Some say that the priests were innocent entirely and without exception. Others hold that those who were guilty in one form or another have been punished. *A conclusive verdict on that question is not yet possible.*

But franc-tireur warfare, which likewise has been denied, is an established fact. That warfare necessitated German harshness in the conduct of the war. Civilians who were convicted, and even suspects, would have been a danger to the German army if they had been left behind in Belgium. That is why dozens of Belgian clergymen were taken to Germany. Some of them were proved to be quite harmless and innocent. The German bishops befriended them at once, and the writer of these lines tried to alleviate their lot. The writer does not know of a single case of one of those priests being condemned; everyone was acquitted. They were sent home as soon as conditions in Belgium were orderly again. All those measures of taking them to Germany would have been unnecessary if no franc-tireur war had taken place in Belgium.

And today it may be maintained with certainty that it is untrue to say that not a single priest took part in the franc-tireur war. Evidence from witnesses on oath and court martial proceedings render it certain that quite a number of Belgian priests did take part in the franc-tireur war. Belgians themselves have told of clergymen who incited the people to attack the German troops, and who even shot at them. Often times guns and ammunition were found in the houses of the clergy.⁶⁸

When the German soldiers marched into Belgium, they thought that they were fighting against the armed force of the enemy. But the bullets that came flying from hedge and bush, from churches and church-towers, taught our soldiers that in many parts of Belgium there was no peaceful population. Self-defense against those franc-tireurs was indispensable, and the consequences for the German army and Belgian population were fearful. But the German soldiers nowhere took action unless franc-tireurs were shooting at them. They acted in justified self-defense, and not from an inbred lust of blood and systematic cruelty as the French book misrepresents them. The same men who set fire to one house, protect and save another. Poor Belgian people! Your own Government and a mendacious press have deluded you. How much blood and ruin could they have spared! *Heavy is the guilt which burdens the consciences of your franc-tireurs.*

C) Appendices to III.

Appendices to this chapter are bound to be more abundant, so as to enable the reader to obtain at least a general survey over the many and various accusations dealt with. It is well, however, to remember that the documents here given represent only a few individual cases of a typical character, taken from the vast amount of material at hand.

Lest we become guilty of the fault of one-sidedness, and injustice, which attaches to the authors of the French indictment, it is well to know that the facts here given are not sufficient to draw therefrom a character sketch of our enemy, because they were selected only in view of our defense against attacks. Hence generalizations should be avoided. They are, alas, only too frequent on the opposite side, but not justified for that reason. The question at issue is to stigmatize the indictment of our enemy and not the opponent himself.

The following thought prevailed in the selection: In the first place the object is to make it plain that the population in the western part of the

⁶⁸ Cf. Appendices III, 30 to 34.

enemy's country indulged in a wild war of snipers (franc-tireurs) against our troops, which was prepared a long time in advance, and was officially organized in the days of our invasion.

There are certain school books used in France, on the cover of which is represented a woman shooting a general who is riding at the head of his troops. The motto that goes with it says: "Les femmes de France pendant la guerre" (The women in France during the war). The text, commenting upon the picture, is given in Appendix III, 1, with its translation into English. Thus is glorified the war of snipers; the dastardly assassination of an unsuspecting enemy is represented to the school children as something honorable and worthy of imitation.

On August 5, 1914, a proclamation was addressed by the Belgian Minister of the Interior to the authorities of the Communes, which contained instructions on the paragraphs of the Constitution of The Hague bearing on the conditions when participation of the people in the war is permissible. The Belgian people, in those troublous times, could not but misinterpret the instructions, and took them in the sense of a war of snipers. It was only after this campaign became so disastrous for Belgium and after the hopes of English and French help were disappointed, that an official warning was issued against the war of snipers. Appendix III, 2, gives several passages from the ministerial circular, Appendix III, 3, the instruction of the commissioner of the district of Brussels. Appendices III, 4, 21 have reference to the Belgian war of snipers, Appendices III, 22-26 prove violations of the Geneva Convention by French troops. Appendix III, 27 exemplifies the manner in which diaries of German soldiers were handled by Bédier. Appendix III, 28 brings proof that church towers were demolished by our enemies as well. The other appendices have reference to the crimes attributed to German soldiers, and to the participation of Belgian ecclesiastics in the campaign of sniping.

Appendix III, 1.

Jeanne Bernier.⁶⁹

Combien d'actions glorieuses accomplies par nos Françaises, durant cette terrible guerre de 1870-1871, sont restées ignorées! Que d'héroïnes qui n'ont eu, quand elles ont survécu, d'autre récompense que la satisfaction de leur conscience! Combien sont tombées, inconnues de tous, pour ne jamais se relever!

Jeanne Bernier fut une de ces héroïnes.

A l'époque de l'invasion, elle habitait une ferme en Champagne. Son frère venait d'être tué par les Prussiens. Le père, l'époux et l'enfant, les trois autres hommes de la maison, s'armèrent alors, s'engagèrent parmi les francs-tireurs et firent le coup de feu contre l'ennemi.

Tous trois périrent.

En apprenant cette nouvelle, Jeanne Bernier ne montra aucune douleur, ne versa aucune larme.

Il lui parut qu'elle avait mieux à faire qu'à se désoler. Elle décrocha le fusil de son frère, revêtit des habits d'homme, abandonna la maison et partit.

Seule, elle se lança, la nuit, dans des bois remplis d'ennemis toujours sur leur garde; seule, elle triompha de la fatigue, du manque de nourriture et de sommeil; seule, elle voulut ne pas succomber avant de s'être vengée.

C'était là une marque de courage peu commune chez une femme, n'est-il pas vrai?

Durant cinq jours, Jeanne Bernier erra à travers la campagne à la recherche des éclaireurs, de ces fameux uhlans qui terrorisèrent tant de villages, à la recherche des sentinelles écartées. Quatre moururent de sa main.

Elle se dit alors qu'elle avait assez fait pour sa famille et pour sa patrie et qu'elle pouvait rejoindre ses chers disparus.

Un général ennemi s'avancait, chevauchant à la tête d'une troupe de soldats, elle tira sur lui. Les Prussiens la tuèrent d'une balle en pleine poitrine.

Est-ce que ce dévouement ne mérite pas d'être cité en exemple?

Imp. Paul Auguste-Godchaux u. Cie, 10, Rue de la Douane, Paris.

⁶⁹ Cf. Der Franktireurkrieg in Belgien. Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. Stuttgart und Berlin. Appendix.—See also the Belgian People's War, New York, 1915; and Grasshoff, The Tragedy of Belgium, New York, 1915.

JEANNE BERNIER

(Translation.)

How many heroic deeds performed by our French women in the terrible war of 1870-71 have remained unknown. How many heroines, when they survived, did not receive any other recompense than the satisfaction of their conscience! How many fell, unknown to everyone, never to rise again!

Jeanne Bernier was one of these heroines.

At the time of the invasion she lived in a farm-house in the Champagne. Her brother had just been killed by the Prussians. Her father, her husband, and her son, the three other men in the house, armed themselves, joined the franc-tireurs and fired at the enemy.

All three perished.

When she received this news, Jeanne Bernier did not manifest any sorrow, did not shed a single tear.

It seemed to her that she had better things to do than to mourn. She took down her brother's gun, put on men's attire, left the house and set out.

Alone, she went at night into the woods filled with the enemy always on their guard; alone, she triumphed over fatigue, lack of food and of sleep; alone, she did not wish to succumb before she had taken vengeance.

Was that not a mark of rare courage for a woman?

For five days, Jeanne Bernier wandered through the country on the search for scouts, for those notorious Uhlans who terrorized so many villages, on the search for scattered sentries. Four died at her hand.

She felt then that she had done enough for her family and for her country and that she could join her beloved dead.

A general of the enemy passed by, riding at the head of a troop of soldiers; she fired on him. The Prussians killed her with a bullet through her heart.

Does not this self-sacrifice deserve to be cited as an example?

Appendix III, 2.

Extracts from the Circular Instruction of the Belgian Minister of the Interior to the Authorities of the Communes, August 5, 1914.⁷⁰

The German army penetrated into our country under violation of the Treaties that guaranteed our integrity.

The Belgian government is determined to discharge the obligations contracted by these Treaties. It is making all preparations to use all means at its disposal.

In carrying out this work with the help of the army it has the certainty that all Belgians so much attached to their soil, their nationality, their independence and their king who personifies all this, will rally around him and will give him their enthusiastic support.

The first care of the officials of Communes will be to enlighten their subjects on the duties which all owe to their country, and on the attitude to be assumed towards the army of invasion.

If the population of a district not yet occupied by the enemy takes up arms at the advance of the enemy without having had the time to accomplish a military organization, it will be treated as if in warfare, provided the arms are carried openly and the laws of war are observed.

Wherever the foreign and Belgian troops come to a clash on the territory of a commune, the officials and the inhabitants are expected to give all possible help to the national army, but they will abstain from all individual and direct participation in the battling, an act that would expose them to harsher treatment than that meted out to soldiers.

During the occupation the officials of municipalities will let no occasion pass without reminding their subordinates that these regulations of conduct have only the object of alleviating the burdens and sufferings consequent upon war and invasion, but they must not be considered as if approval were thereby given to the invasion, or as if they were freed from the obligation of loyalty to the legitimate government, which remains undiminished during the war.

Appendix III, 3.

Instruction of the Commissioner of the District of Brussels, Baron de Royer de Dour de Fraule, August 6, 1914.⁷¹

I have the honour of informing you that in the interest of national defense and of public order, a royal command of August 5th, 1914, has decreed the mobilization of the non-active *garde civique* of all municipalities. This citizen guard, therefore, now is charged with a task which Article I of the law of September 9th, 1897, bestows upon the active *garde civique*; to work for the maintenance of national independence and the inviolability of the state territory in the same manner, as for the maintenance of order and the laws.

⁷⁰ The complete French text is in Grasshoff, *Belgiens Schuld*. Berlin, Reimer, 1915. S. 97-102.

⁷¹ Cf. Grasshoff, *Belgiens Schuld*. Berlin, Reimer, 1915. S. 77, 78.

"According to Article II of the above-mentioned royal command of the 5th of this month, the men who form the **garde civique**, and are called to activity, in future will carry openly the insignia:

I. On the left arm a band with the national colors;

II. On the headdress a cockade in the same colors.

"For the moment, no weapons are being distributed, as the soldiers must receive these first, therefore, arm the men, as best you can and according to your judgment with unconcealed weapons."

Appendix III, 4.

From the Memorial of May 10, 1915.⁷²

Immediately after the outbreak of the war in Belgium a savage fight was started by the **Belgian civilians against the German troops**, a fight which was a flagrant violation of **international law** and had the gravest consequences for Belgium and her people.

That fight of a population which was governed by savage passion raged throughout Belgium during the whole advance of the German army. When after obstinate fights the Belgian army receded before the German troops, the Belgian civilian population endeavored not only by all possible means to halt the German advance in those parts of the country which were still **unoccupied**, but even in places which had long been **occupied** by German troops the Belgian civilians did not shrink from damaging and weakening the German host by cowardly and treacherous attacks. . . . Overwhelming evidence has been collected which proves that on these marching routes and at these places the Belgian civilian population of every class, age and sex took part in the fighting against the German troops with the greatest bitterness and fury. This evidence is based on official statements, most of them made under oath, and on official reports; a selection of it is given in the **appendix**, which however comprises only the more important events and which can at any time be amplified by further evidence.

According to this evidence the Belgian civilian population has fought against the German troops at many places in the provinces of **Liège, Luxemburg, Namur, Hainaut, Brabant, East and West Flanders**. The fights at **Aerschot, Andenne, Dinant and Louvain** assumed a particularly terrible character

. . . . In these fights men of the most varied classes: **workmen, manufacturers, doctors, teachers, even clergymen**, nay, **women and children** were caught with arms in hand. . . . In districts from which the regular Belgian troops had long withdrawn shots were fired on the German troops from houses and gardens, roofs and cellars, fields and woods.

Irrefutable evidence proves that in a large number of cases the German troops at their entry were received with a **semblance of friendliness** by the Belgian civilian population, only to be **attacked** with arms at nightfall or at other opportune moments. Such cases particularly happened at **Blegny, Esneux, Grand Rosière, Bièvre, Gouvy, Villers-devant-Orval, Sainte-Marie, Les Bulles, Yschippe, Acoz, Aerschot, Andenne and Louvain**.

But what the Belgian civilians are especially to be charged with is the unheard-of violation of the customs of war. In different places, e. g., near **Liège, Herve and Brussels**, in **Aerschot, Dinant and Louvain**, German soldiers have been **fouly assassinated**, although Article 23, section 1 b. of the Hague Regulations of Warfare on Land forbids to "kill or wound treacherously individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army." Moreover, the Belgian population has disregarded the sign of the Red Cross, and thus offended against Article 9 of the Geneva Convention of July 6, 1906. Thus, Belgian civilians did not shrink from shooting under cover of this sign at the German troops and from attacking hospitals with wounded soldiers and the sanitary staff, while in the execution of their duty. Finally it has been established beyond doubt that Belgian civilians **plundered, killed and even shockingly mutilated German wounded soldiers**, in which atrocities even women and children took part. Thus the eyes were gouged out of the German wounded soldiers, their ears, noses, finger-joints were cut off In other cases German soldiers were dismembered, **poisoned or strung up** on trees; hot liquid was poured over them, or they were otherwise **burned** so that they died under terrible tortures. All these bestialities of the Belgian population are an outrage not only to the express obligation "to respect and care" for the sick and wounded of the enemy (Article 1, Section 1 of the Geneva Convention) but also to the primary principles of the laws of war and humanity.

There can be no doubt that it is to a great extent the **fault of the Belgian Government** that the Belgian population conducted itself towards the German army against all international law. For leaving aside that a government is under all circumstances answerable for such acts as represent the general expression of the people's will, the Belgian Government has at least to bear the grave reproach that, although it could have prevented that franc-tireur war, it did not do so. It would certainly have been an easy matter for the government to give the requisite instructions to its organs such as mayors,

⁷² Die volkerrechtliche Fuehrung des belgischen Volkskrieges. Berlin. Auswaertiges Amt. S. 3-6.

soldiers and the "garde civique" in order to restrain the passionate excitement which had been artificially stirred up among the people. Therefore, the Belgian Government alone is **responsible** for Belgium's fearful guilt of blood.

The Belgian Government has **tried to evade** this responsibility by putting the blame for the things that happened on the German troops whose lust of destruction is said to have made them commit violence without any provocation. The Belgian Government has appointed a commission for the investigation of the atrocities, alleged to have been committed by the German troops and it has made the findings of this commission a matter of diplomatic protests. This attempt to pervert the facts into their reverse has **failed** entirely. The German army is accustomed to warfare only against hostile armies but not against peaceful inhabitants. That from the beginning of their entry into Belgium the German troops were forced by the native population into a defensive fight in the interest of self-preservation, this irrefutable fact cannot be put out of the world by any investigation of whatever commission.

The **tales of refugees** compiled by the **Belgian Commission** which are represented as the result of strictly impartial investigations, bear the stamp of **untrustworthiness**, if not of malicious **distortion**, on their face. Considering the circumstances, the commission cannot possibly test the correctness of rumors reported to them, or see the interrelation of the various happenings. Hence their accusations of the German army are nothing else but false defamations which are easily disproved by the documentary evidence appended. . . .

The Imperial German Government is of opinion that the evidence published in the appendix proves convincingly that the **actions of the German troops** against the **civilian population** were **provoked** by the franc-tireur war which was a violation of international law, and that they were **justified by military necessity**. On the other hand the Imperial German Government protests solemnly and emphatically against the **dishonest fight** which a **civilian population** waged against German soldiers with the most reprehensible means, and even more against the attitude of the **Belgian Government** which after the utter neglect of its duties, shown in its indulgence of the wild passions of the population, now is shameless enough to **belie and defame the German army**, in order to exonerate itself from its own heavy guilt.
BERLIN, May 10, 1915.

Appendix III, 5.

Report of Colonel von Gottberg of the Infantry Regiment "Frelherr von Sparr" (3. Westphalian) No. 16 to the 14. Division.⁷³

GUIGNICOURT, September 29, 1915.

On August 5, 1914, at the beginning of darkness, a strong fire from many windows was opened on the baggage team by the inhabitants of the village of **Blegny**; Lieutenant **Hahn** testifies that soldiers were shot upon at **night** from the very houses in which they had been **guests during the day**. Musketeer **Gockeln** of the 6th company was killed, and musketeer **Hoehgraeffe** of the 7th company was wounded in the shoulder. Both companies are witnesses. The occurrences were repeated during the night, when the musketeers **Malworm** and **Epping** of the 5th company were wounded.

Lieutenant **Edler von Daniels** testifies that his patrol squad was fired upon from ambush in a Belgian town near Blegny; it happened on a street in which the 9th company camped for a day and a night.

Near **Troisfontaines** the 11th company was fired upon from houses by civilians. Musketeers **Melster** and **Schwaefertz** were wounded. In the same locality some members of this company in **day time** were treated to cigars and eatables by an elderly man; the same man fired upon them **at night** and wounded one soldier of the company.

Dr. **Falk**, a staff physician, who on August 5, 1914, was going with the first aid squad to look for wounded, was fired upon by civilians, and had to seek shelter. Sergeant **Voss** of the 4th company was killed with three shots by civilians. His body could not be removed, because the street was covered by the guns of the inhabitants. Lieutenant **Hahn** is an eye-witness.

In **Anderlues**, on August 22, shots were fired from a house by a French soldier and a civilian. The acting sergeant and another non-commissioned officer were seriously wounded, and a musketeer of the 11th company was killed. Captain **Eckhardt** is witness of the occurrence. The soldier and the civilian were put to death.

Signed: **von Gottberg**.

Appendix III, 6.

Report of the 64. Infantry Brigade to the 32. Division.⁷⁴

Staff of the Brigade, Quartier Condé, October 8, 1914.

On August 5 of the present year, the 64th infantry brigade reached **Gouvy**. The population at first pretended to be friendly to the Germans and was very obliging; thus e. g. it furnished pails with drinking water for the troops

⁷³ Die voelkerrechtliche Fuehrung. . . . S. 12.

⁷⁴ Cf. previous note, S. 25.

without being requisitioned. The chief of the railway station welcomed the soldiers; and the parish priest of the place tried to be agreeable to the officers. In spite of this the attitude of the people seemed suspicious to the brigade, and the town was searched for arms. The railway station was visited in the presence of the chief, who denied categorically that there were any goods, arms, explosives, etc. in the building. The statement, however, proved to be untrue. In a small room hidden away which, as the chief said, contained his personal furniture, several cases were found with about 300 Browning pistols, and in addition, a hundred pounds of dynamite. As the chief was unable to furnish any satisfactory information as to the use of the weapons and explosives he was arrested.

During the night from August 8 to 9 lieutenant Schmidt, ordnance officer of the 54th Infantry Brigade, was commissioned to go to Vielsalm in order to call to arms the battalion of Rifle-Guards and the 11th Riflemen. On his way thither he was fired upon by civilians in the vicinity of Bovigny; there were no enemy troops in that district at the time.

The staff of the brigade testified that the civilian population of Leffe fired upon the troops of the 54th Infantry Brigade from cellar windows and barricaded houses for some time after the place had been taken. In some instances they used small shot, which caused several losses, even among officers.

Signed: Morgenstern-Doering.

Appendix III, 7.

Report of Infantry Regiment No. 23 "Von Winterfeldt" to the 24th Infantry Brigade.⁷⁵

October 4, 1914.

Captain Illgner reports: On August 22 in Légglise two civilians from Antier, who were met with firearms in their possession by two grenadiers, were delivered over to the company, which was engaged in protecting the baggage. During this time the company was repeatedly shot upon by civilians.

In Tintigny a reservist of Infantry Regiment No. 38 was found who had been slain by the inhabitants with a brick-axe. In Laheycourt a man of the I. battalion shot and killed a civilian who shot from a garden upon the soldiers.

Captain von Debschitz reports: In our first quarters in Belgium in Nothomb, after the Commanding-general's proclamation had been announced, a great number of military rifles with ammunition were handed in by civilians which undoubtedly had been distributed only shortly before by the authorities for the purpose of franc-tireur warfare. So far as I know, they were Menier rifles, they had been freshly greased; the cartridges were packed in stamped linen-packages, exactly as if they had just been received from an army depot.

Lieutenant of the Reserves, Schmidt, in charge of the baggage of the regiment, reports: During the night from August 23-24 the baggage of the regiment was repeatedly fired upon in Houdemont and Rulles while on the way from Habay to La Neuve-Ansart. In Houdemont the inhabitants shot from behind the windows and walls; thereupon several houses were burned. On leaving Houdemont the baggage had to pass through a cutting; small light signals were noticed from all sides, and suddenly the baggage was fired upon from the front, from behind and from both sides. The projectiles pierced the planks of the wagon and the grain bags; we are still in possession of one of the bullets. One man is missing, two horses were wounded and had to be killed. The baggage was also fired upon in Rulles and behind Rulles from front and the right flank.

On August 24 franc-tireurs again fired from the houses upon the baggage on the road Ansart-Tintigny; two soldiers of the transport service were killed. On the evening of August 25 the baggage passed through the village of Villers devant Orval. The men were received in a friendly way by the inhabitants, who gave fruit and food to them. After dark when the baggage halted about 1½ Km. behind the village, they were suddenly fired upon from behind.

Signed: Count Keller.

Appendix III, 8.

Court-Martial Examination of Sergeant Ebers of the 3. Guard Regiment Field Artillery.^{75*}

Conducted in the garrison of the same regiment.

Berlin, November 12, 1914.

There appeared after summons George Ebers, sergeant of the Landwehr, clerk in the main office of the Great City Railway of Berlin, at present with the 4th Reserve Battery of the 3rd Regiment Field Artillery Guard, and after being duly sworn in declared:

On August 23, 1914, I was with the 5th Battery of the 1. Regiment Field Artillery Guard in the capacity of non-commissioned officer, and was wounded in the vicinity of Namur. On the following day, August 24, I was transferred

⁷⁵ Cf. previous note, S. 81.

^{75*} *Ib.*, S. 52.

to the field hospital No. 2 of the 11th Army Corps, located in the convent **Champion** near Namur. In the evening of this day about 10 o'clock, when all had retired, there was suddenly a general shooting piercing through the windows, which came from the opposite houses, as we noticed from the flashes of light. I have seen myself in about ten cases that **civilians** fired upon us from windows and openings in the roofs of their houses opposite the wing of the convent. When the firing began the soldiers of the sanitary service and those slightly wounded, to whom I belonged, gathered in the hallway around the physicians; we searched then for the Sisters whom we found hidden in the cellar; we took them with us and went to the main entrance in order to effect an escape; meanwhile a Belgian and a French physician, who both were in the hospital as prisoners, went to the gate and harangued the people. Thereupon the firing stopped. But when we entered upon the street in order to search the village with the help of a few men from a nearby munitions post, the firing began again, and lasted until about 11:00 o'clock. During the night about ten houses from which shots had been fired were set on fire. At daybreak we noticed that the **outer wall of the convent showed numerous marks of shots**; we found furthermore in a house just opposite the main entrance, in which a priest was living, about 40 cases of dynamite and about 30 cases of cartridges. I was present myself when an expert in fireworks ascertained the number and the contents of the cases.

Read, approved, signed.

Signed: **George Ebers.**

Tried, as above.

Signed: **Guradze.**

Lieutenant of the Reserve Field Artillery II, and court officer.

Appendix III, 9.

Court-Martial Examination of Cavalry Captain von Gualta, of the Ulan Westphal, and of Sergeant Hammermeister, all of the Ulan Reserve Regiment No. 2.⁷⁶

Court of 2nd Guard Reserve Division. Present: Military Counsellor of Justice, Dr. Bernhold; Military Court Secretary Guntowsky.

Bazancourt, November 22, 1914.

There appeared the following witnesses, who after being instructed on the significance and sanctity of the oath, were permitted to make the following statements:

1. Cavalry Captain **von Gualta** of the Reserve Regiment of Ulans No. 2:

As to personality: My name is Leon, I am 36 years old, and belong to the Evangelical denomination.

As to matter: August 22, 1914, I and the Lieutenant **Feierabend** of the Dragoons Regiment No. 1, rode together at the head of a squad of cavalry consisting of about 25 Ulans with the commission of exploring the bridge near **Monceau sur Sambre**. Right in the middle of the city of **Monceau sur Sambre**, while we were conversing in the Rue Neuve, a **strong fusillade** was directed upon us. The shooting came from all the windows of the houses and the apertures in the cellars. When I noticed that the men around me were falling I rode into a side street. One Ulan was killed, four were wounded, six horses fell, and Lieutenant **Feierabend** was shot through the leg. I got away unscathed, but the map which I held in my left hand was pierced by two shots; a sign that the fire directed upon me came from a shot gun.

I am convinced that the fusillade was started on a signal agreed upon.

Read, approved, signed.

Signed: **von Gualta.**

The witness was then sworn in.

2. Sergeant **Hammermeister** of the Reserve Regiment of Ulans, No. 2.

As to personality: My name is Herman, I am 23 years old, and belong to the Evangelical denomination.

As to matter: On August 22 I was part of the patrol commanded by the first lieutenant **von Gualta**. We were commissioned to explore the bridge of the Sambre. When on a street in **Monceau sur Sambre**, fire was opened on us from the front, as far as my recollection goes, in two volleys. This evidently was the signal for the fire directed on us then from the buildings. The shooting came from doors, windows and apertures in cellars. I saw in a door a civilian, who fired on us with a revolver. Persons of military rank were not to be seen.

Read, approved, signed.

Signed: **Hammermeister.**

The witness was then sworn in.

3. Ulan **Westphal** of the Reserve Regiment of Ulans, No. 21.

As to personality: My name is William Westphal, I am 26 years old, and belong to the Evangelical church.

As to matter: When the reserve regiment of Ulans No. 2 passed through **Monceau sur Sambre**, I was in front of it as a bicyclist. Right on the main street I was fired upon from a house at the moment when I turned to inform

⁷⁶ *Ib.*, S. 61.

the regiment that the patrol under the first lieutenant von Guaita received a severe fusillade. With some of the men of the reserve Infantry Regiment No. 15 I penetrated into the house from which the shots came, and saw there near the staircase a civilian with a gun in his hand. We killed the man instantly.

Read, approved, signed.

The witness was then sworn in.

Signed: William Westphal.

Done as above.

Signed: Dr. Bernhold—Guntowsky.

Note: Since the hearings of the military court were all conducted in the same manner, only the statements of fact are given in the following documents of this kind.

Appendix III, 10.

Judicial Hearing 1. of Musketeer Peter Behle of the Infantry Regiment No. 10, 2. of the Non-Commissioned Officer Otto Biernirth of the Reserve Infantry Regiment No. 213, and 3. of the Volunteer Francis Breidbach of the Reserve Infantry Regiment No. 235.⁷⁷

1. "In the middle of August we were fired upon by the civil population of a Belgian village, I believe it was Tirlemont, at the coming of darkness; Belgian soldiers had long since disappeared from the district. In one place the fire came from an orchard. My comrade Francis Gockel was shot through the hind part of the head and mortally wounded. Orders were then given to search for the weapons in the houses, to arrest all male persons and to bring the women and children to the church. We found unfinished revolvers on which the woodwork was lacking. The houses from which shots were fired, were set on fire."

2. "On October 20 we were before the town of Staden (Flanders). Through the entire night there was a battle exclusively with snipers shooting from the houses. We received orders to take the city in the morning. About 400 or 500 meters before the city fire was opened on our flank from a single house, which hit our comrade Froese. When we took the house four franc-tireurs came out."

3. "On October 19 we marched through Roulers, taken by the infantry regiment No. 233. Our company was at the head; the whole city was badly damaged, only one street was practically untouched. We were fired upon from the houses of this street, especially from the apertures in the cellars. Just ahead of me my comrade Kremst of Koblenz fell, two others were slightly wounded. In searching the houses we found from six to eight franc-tireurs and a number of revolvers. In the houses there must have been a large amount of ammunition, because after the houses were set on fire there were continuous explosions.

"On October 22 I came to the field hospital in Roulers. There I heard four or five shots fired into the hospital; a wounded rifleman, who was on a stretcher in front of the hospital, was killed by franc-tireurs."

Appendix III, 11.

Report of the Lieutenant von Manstein, Attached to the 1. Squadron of the Dragoon Regiment No. 4.⁷⁸

A patrol which escaped from two French squadrons in the direction of Beheme, was fired upon by the inhabitants of this place. We found instructions of August 8, in which the chief of the "Gardes forestiers" informed the mayors that gendarmes and foresters were instructed to organize the inhabitants to resist with arms. A citizen of Chiny informed me on my request—he believed me to be either French or English—that on the previous day the "gardes civiles" came to the place and instructed the people in handling the arms and defending the village. The people, he added, were fully prepared to conduct a war of civilians.

The inhabitants of Peissant on August 24 closed with heavy barricades all entrances to the town; they closed the doors and shutters of all the houses, and provided them with loop-holes; they refused to open a passage for me, because they knew I intended to escape a company of English infantry stationed near the village, and I had only an orderly with me. During the night they indicated to the English artillery the farm premises occupied by the 1st squadron of the Ulan regiment No. 1 and the 1st squadron of the dragoon regiment No. 4, as well as the houses in which the munitions were stored away. In fact, the next evening the English artillery directed its fire on these farms and houses.

Signed: von Manstein.

Lieutenant in the Ulan Regiment No. 10, attached to the 1st squadron of the Dragoon Regiment No. 4.

⁷⁷ Ib., S. 65-67. (Extract.)

⁷⁸ Ib., S. 71.

Court-Martial Examination of Reservists Gustav Voigt, Fritz Marks and Henry Hartmann, of Infantry Regiment No. 165.⁷⁹

1. "In the morning of August 6, I and seven other comrades became detached from our troop. We had to sneak through the gardens of a village closely beyond **Herve** in Belgium to look for cover. Suddenly we saw how five Belgian soldiers threw up their hands and wished to surrender. They hailed us and we approached them and noticed that they had two Germans with them (of the 10th Hussars) bound with ropes. One of the latter drew our attention to a **third Hussar hanging up in a tree dead**. The two Hussars also told us that the five Belgians had hanged and mutilated their comrade, and that the five Belgians had just been getting ready to kill or mutilate them, if we had not come up. We disarmed the Belgians, took them prisoners and delivered them to a troop of the 5th Ulans who had already several captured Belgians with them. We joined the Ulans to get back to our company, and, while passing through the village, were fired at from cellars and windows. I do not know the name of the village, but it is situated between Herve and a big coal mine in the direction towards Liège.

On the day previous to that incident our company was engaged in a skirmish of outposts to the right of **Herve**; at that time a one-year-private of Company 5 of Infantry Regiment No. 165 was wounded and left where he fell. When we passed the spot the next morning we found the body of that private at a garden fence; **both his eyes had been gouged out**. Everyone of us was convinced that villagers had done this.⁸⁰

2. On August 5th our battalion marched through a village near **Herve** in Belgium. A man of the 5th company met us and exclaimed: "Such a dirty trick, now they have **gouged out the eyes** of one of our men." He pointed out where the man lay. We all had to pass the spot and there saw the dead man lie by the fence with both eyes gouged out. We were certain that villagers had done this. When on the next day we again passed through the village we were **shot at from cellars and windows**, and orders were given to disarm and arrest the villagers. We entered the houses and executed the order. But when the shooting continued all the same six guilty Belgian peasants were executed by order of an officer."

3. "I, too, saw the private of Company 5 with his eyes gouged out. The officer in charge of our company, Captain **Burkholz**, ordered us to search the houses of the village. In the house by the fence of which the body of the private had been found, we discovered a big, strong middle-aged man who lay in bed and feigned sleep. We arrested him and led him before the officers who examined the man. He was then shot upon order by a musketeer of Company 4. "While we marched on **Liège** we passed a German **infantryman** who had been **submerged, head down, in a bog** and was dead."

Appendix III, 13.

Court-Martial Examination of Reservist Ernst Baldeweg of Infantry Regiment No. 35.⁸¹

"On or about August 8, 1914, I personally observed in a stable near the village of **Verviers** that the tongue of a horse had been cut off and in another stable I saw that the tongues of four horses had been cut off. The tongue of the horse in the first stable was not quite severed, but hung out of its mouth by a little band at the palate. I presume that Belgian civilians mutilated the animals so that they could not be of service any more to the Germans.

Either on Sunday, August 9, 1914, or on Monday, August 10, 1914, in a place which adjoins Herve, Belgium, I saw a German hussar tied by his hands and his feet to a tree. Two big nails had been driven through his eyes so that he was spiked to the tree by the two nails. The hussar was dead. In the same village, near a wooden fence in front of a farm, lay an infantryman of the 52nd Regiment whose eyes were gouged and whose ears, nose and fingers had been severed and abdomen cut open so that the intestines protruded. The dead man also showed stab wounds in his chest which had completely lacerated it. Both cases can only have been perpetrated by Belgian civilians.

I wish to affirm that I have stated only my personal observations and that I have carefully avoided to exaggerate anything."

Appendix III, 14.

Court-Martial Examination of Captain Troeger of Infantry Reserve Regiment No. 204.⁸²

"During the march from **Ghent** to **Thourout** two volunteers of Reserve Infantry Regiment No. 203 who had fallen by the roadside through fatigue, were **mutilated by Belgian village inhabitants**. **Their noses and ears were cut off**,

⁷⁹ *Ib.*, S. 74 u. 75.

⁸⁰ Finally, it is also reported that another German soldier was found dead, who had been mutilated in an indecent manner.—Author.

⁸¹ *Ib.*, S. 78.

⁸² *Ib.*, S. 87.

the abdomen ripped open and the head of one of them was crushed in with the heel of a boot. This fact was reported to us by Company-commander, Captain of Reserve County Councilor **zur Nleden**, of whose company the two volunteers had been members.

Another case which occurred in **Eessen-Kappel** is as follows:

Non-commissioned officer **Schnitzer** of the 5th company of Reserve Infantry Regiment No. 204 reported to me on October 26 or 27 that he had found a mutilated Prussian Cavalry man lying near **Eessen-Kappel**, whose **ears and nose had been cut off, and whose abdomen was slashed open** by the inhabitants. The non-commissioned officer searched the surrounding farms with a detachment of soldiers, and shot some inhabitants who were found armed.

During our march across Belgium from Ghent, we were continuously subjected to the firing of the village population out of houses and church steeples."

Appendix III, 15.

Court-Martial Examination of Sergeant-Major Weinreich of the Infantry Regiment No. 20.⁸³

"One day in the middle of August I was driving with the conveyances of our company in the rear of our men engaged in battle. At the entrance of Neer-Linter I saw a German hussar lying near a house, covered with a sack. I dismounted, took up the sack, and noticed that the hussar was dead. His face was covered with blood, the eye sockets were empty, and the eyeballs were cut out. The coat was unbuttoned, the chest was bare and showed about twenty gaping wounds. The hands were tied together on his back. I covered the body again with the sack."

Appendix III, 16.

Revolt of the Belgian Population at Aerschot on August 19 and 20, 1914.⁸⁴ SUMMARY REPORT.

The officially appointed Belgian Investigation Commission and the foreign press have, among their numerous defamations of the German warfare in Belgium, discussed the Aerschot incident. Both dwelled at length on descriptions of the "barbaric" conduct of the German troops and their officers toward the "harmless" population and the lack of cause for the retaliatory treatment meted out to the "peaceful" city. The true facts of the case, which were ascertained through a number of sworn affidavits carefully drawn up with reliable witnesses present show an entirely different picture:

On August 19, 1914, **German troops** of the eighth infantry brigade were quartered in **Aerschot**. The staff of the brigade entered the apparently peaceful city on this day. Colonel **Stenger**, Commander of the brigade, despatched Captain **Schwarz**, his Adjutant, ahead to provide for quarters for the members of the staff. Captain **Schwarz** was cordially received by the mayor and his wife. The mayor placed his own home, situated on the market place, at the disposal of the officers, as the best quarters available. Colonel **Stenger**, and his orderly-officer Lieutenant **Beyersdorff**, arrived there between four and five o'clock in the afternoon. (Appendix 1.)

From the beginning the relations between the officers and their host were quite polite and courteous. (Appendix 1.)

Colonel **Jenrich**, Commander of the Infantry Regiment No. 140 who had been appointed as post-commander, summoned the mayor before him and questioned him whether any dispersed Belgian soldiers were in hiding in the city and whether Belgian soldiers in civilian clothes were hidden in the houses. The mayor answered these questions in the negative. Colonel **Jenrich** warned him expressly against attacks by the civilian population for which he, as mayor, would be responsible with his head, and requested him to look after the surrender of arms by the inhabitants. This request had to be repeated twice by Colonel **Jenrich**, because it was found that large quantities of arms had been retained by the population. (Appendix 2.)

Suddenly at eight o'clock in the evening an especially loud shot was heard in the city. This was the signal for the commencement of a general shooting upon the German soldiers in the streets and in the market place. (Appendix 2, 4.) The firing—and evidently the signal shot, too—started from a window in the attic of a corner house near the market place, situated opposite to the house of the Mayor. (Appendix 3.) Three volleys were fired from this house. Then the firing subsided for a short while, after which it was followed by lively rapid fire from many houses. Most of the shots came from attic windows. All doors and windows in the house out of which the first shots had been fired were tightly closed and had to be forced open by the soldiers. The house was set on fire. A number of civilians who had attempted to escape were apprehended, many among them with weapons in hand. (Appendix 5.) Of these, 88 grown-up men were shot as franc-tireurs. (Appendix 3.)

⁸³ *Ib.*, S. 85.

⁸⁴ *Ib.*, S. 91-92.

Colonel Stenger had remained alone in his room in the mayor's residence. A notice posted in front of the house clearly marked it as headquarters of the brigade staff. Relying upon the simulated friendliness of the inhabitants Colonel Stenger had spent the afternoon on the balcony in front of his room, in plain view of everybody. Toward evening he had stayed near the open balcony doors in the well-lighted room. (Appendix 1.)

When Captain Schwarz and Lieutenant Beyersdorff went to call on him after eight o'clock that evening to receive his instructions relative to the attack, they found Colonel Stenger lying mortally wounded in the middle of the lighted room breathing his last; the doors leading to the balcony were open. A physician was immediately summoned but could only establish that Colonel Stenger was already dead. (Appendix 1.) The shots, therefore, were fired upon the Colonel at the same time at which the first heavy firing commenced from the houses situated across from his room. This was a well-planned attack upon the German troops, devised to deprive them of their commander and thus throw them into confusion. For this reason the firing ceased after the first volleys had been fired, and the criminals, seeing that the murder of the Colonel had been accomplished, started their attack against the, as they thought, leaderless German troops in force. The events are so clear that the preceding simulated friendliness of the inhabitants only serves to strengthen, and not to weaken, their connection, as the Belgian reports claim.

That also the family of the mayor not only knew of, but even participated in the hostilities was established by an immediate search of their residence: Shots had been fired from the locked cellar, the key to which the family claimed to have mislaid and which had to be broken open. A step had even been placed near the cellar windows, to ease the position of the marksman. (Appendix 1.) One of the musketeers was positive to have observed a shot coming out of the house. (Appendix 3.) Only the son of the mayor could be the perpetrator. He had been hidden by the family and was dragged forth from a dark room. (Appendix 1.) As complicity in the murder of the, according to Belgian presentation "hospitably" received, Colonel fell upon the family, father and son were shot on the following day, August 20. (Appendix 2.) The Mayor's brother, in whose home Captain Karge, who had been quartered there at the suggestion of the Mayor, was also attacked, met with the same fate. (Appendix 2, 3.)

The sequence of the shootings alone bar all doubts that it was a case of a well-planned treacherous attack upon the German force of occupation. This was also admitted to Captain Karge by an educated civilian who was taken prisoner. (Appendix 3.)

The participation of the Mayor's whole family proves how systematically the Belgian authorities took part in the treacherous actions against German troops which unfortunately occurred so frequently. In Aerschot the official participation culminated in the foul murder of the military commander.

Berlin, January 17, 1915.

Military Bureau for the Investigation of Offenses against the Laws of War.

Signed: Major Bauer.

Signed: Dr. Wagner, district court councillor.

Note: Space does not permit publishing the five extensive appendices referred to in the report.—Author.

Appendix III, 17.

Extracts from the Report of Battle of the 1. Field Company of the Pioneer Battalion No. 12 in Regard to the Exploration of August 21, 1914, Executed Under Great Difficulties, in Co-Operation with the 2. Battalion, Regiment No. 10S, Sharp Shooters.⁸⁵

As soon as the first houses of Dinant were reached, the street lights were destroyed; the columns marched closely alongside of both rows of buildings and came to the first cross street. Here the infantrymen in the front were welcomed with strong firing from the house on the right corner, to which they replied immediately. Suddenly there came firing from all the houses, and a violent street battle ensued. The pioneers opened the closed doors with hatchets and axes, threw hand grenades in the lower parts, and set other houses on fire with the torches lighted in the mean time.

Lieutenant Brink turned into the side street on the left, which was barricaded with wire; stones were thrown from the houses, and shots were fired.

All of a sudden the division was fired upon from the rear, and had to return to the corner of the street. Corporal Grosse, who was hit by several stones and lay unconscious on the wire obstruction, was taken along.

The first detachment had 15 slightly wounded and one seriously.

⁸⁵ *Ib.*, S. 129.

Appendix III, 18.

LA MALMAISON, December 5, 1914.⁸⁶

In matters of investigation of the offenses committed against German troops contrary to the law of nations, Müller, private in the transport service of the reserves, 2nd field engineer-company, engineer battalion 12, appeared as witness. The solemnity of the oath was impressed on him, and he gave evidence as follows:

My name is Erwin Müller. I am twenty-six years of age, a Protestant and a fruit grower.

On August 25, 1914, in the afternoon Sergeant Fehrmann and I noticed the corpses of a number of male civilians and one woman lying outside a house in a cross street at Dinant. We entered the house. In the room to the right lay an officer, lieutenant of Infantry Regiment No. 182, a cushion below his head. His head and part of his chest were covered with a white cloth. Two soldiers lay on one side of him, one soldier on the other. All three soldiers wore the uniform of regiment No. 182. In the adjoining room a sergeant and five soldiers of the same regiment lay likewise dead.

I raised the cloth from the dead lieutenant's body and noticed that he had a gun shot wound in his head. I noticed no further wounds on him.

By the side of the lieutenant lay a soldier with his abdomen exposed. He had been shot in the abdomen. Blood was coming from a gash which extended at least 10 centimeters from the larynx, sideways to the left; the edges of the wound stood about one centimeter apart. The blood had trickled down to his side. In my opinion it could only be a wound caused by cutting.

There was a soldier in the other room who also had his abdomen exposed. He had a wound about three centimeters wide in his abdomen. The wound was due either to a cut or to a stab. The clothes of the other soldiers were not disarranged, they had all gunshot wounds.

I had the impression as if the officer, the sergeant and the men had been taken by surprise in their quarters during sleep. I think so because I found the officer with a sofa cushion, and the others with a blanket or their knapsack under their heads. Their rifles stood in a corner.

Reserve Engineer Kretzschmann was in the house together with Fehrmann and myself.

Read, approved, signed.

Signed: Emil Erwin Müller.

Appendix III, 19.

PROUVAIS, February 24, 1915.⁸⁷

Summoned by Field Artillery Regiment No. 12 there appeared this day Colonel von Lippe of the Light Munition Column of the 2nd section of the 1st Field Artillery No. 12, to be examined under oath as witness to the events at Dinant. Colonel von Lippe declared:

My name is Fritz von Lippe, my age forty, I am a Lutheran, by occupation a farmer; enlisted on August 4, 1914, with the light munition column of the 2nd section of Field Artillery Regiment No. 12.

On August 23, 1914, I saw behind the firing line of the 2nd section of the 1st Artillery Regiment No. 12 the bodies of a rifleman and a sharpshooter. One of the bodies had the eyes gouged, the other lay half-charred under a heap of straw with its hands and feet tied.

Colonel von Lippe then swore to the truth of his statement, after having been impressed with the meaning of the oath.

Read, approved, signed.

Signed: Fritz von Lippe.

Appendix III, 20.

Summary Report.⁸⁸

I. The revolt of the city of Louvain against the German troops of occupation and the punitive measures taken against the city have stirred the whole world.

The reason was, first of all, that Louvain is a city noted for its ancient university and its precious monuments and treasures of art, the fate of which was of far-reaching interest. The principal reason, however, was the fact that the enemies of the German people, especially the Belgian Government through the press and its foreign diplomatic representatives and through commissioners, sent everywhere, disseminated news throughout the world adapted to prejudice public opinion against the Germans.

The Commission appointed by the Belgian Government to investigate violations of international law and offenses against the laws and customs of war, attempted with all means to put the blame for the disturbances in Louvain on the German troops. In several reports the commissioners accuse the German

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, S. 214.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, S. 219.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, S. 233-237.

troops of having, without any cause whatever and in violation of international law, attacked the, presumably, unsuspecting and peaceful citizens of Louvain, many of whom were ill-treated and wounded while a large number was killed; the city was said to have been pillaged, devastated, set afire, and even completely destroyed.

These accusations are false; it has been established, on the contrary, that the German troops were not guilty of objectionable conduct and did not commit acts which were contrary to international law. It is the civilian population of Louvain and vicinity who stand charged with having disregarded the provisions of international law, and with having caused through their thoughtless and criminal actions, damage to the German army as well as to the city of Louvain.

II. According to the investigations which were instituted the happenings in Louvain were as follows:

The first German troops marched into Louvain on August 19, 1914, and were billeted about the town. The relations between the population and the troops whose numbers and composition were subject to constant changes during the following days, were at first quite cordial. Not one excess occurred. The German troops conducted themselves, as even the Belgians admitted, in exemplary manner. But the population too, showed such friendly demeanor, that many of the German soldiers went about unarmed, because they felt quite safe in Louvain (Appendices 2, 3, 7-9, 11, 18, 31, 36, 38, 40, 45, 48).

This peaceful picture suddenly changed on August 25, 1914. On this day Belgian troops sallied forth from Antwerp in the direction of Louvain. The German troops stationed in and about Louvain advanced to meet them; additional troops were sent from Liège over Louvain to the front. Fighting occurred on the road to Malines at Bueken and Herent in the vicinity of Louvain. The engagement ended with a severe defeat of the Belgians who in the evening were forced back toward Antwerp.

The inhabitants of Louvain who, even after the occupation of the city, had maintained secret communication with Antwerp and knew therefore of the impending sortie of their countrymen, had evidently not counted upon this result of the fighting. They had the mistaken idea that the Belgian army, supported by British auxiliary troops, ought to be successful in breaking through the German lines, and they regarded the temporary advance of the Belgian troops as a sufficient success and encouragement to warrant their own participation in the fighting (Appendices 1, 3, 45, 48).

Before the battle was decided, toward 7 o'clock in the evening, a German "Landsturm" company marched back from the Northwest exit of Louvain to the East side of the city, to take up its position in the square in front of the railway station. The city appeared still quiet when they marched through. A few ammunition and transport columns and several small detachments of German troops were in the streets. There were no especially large bodies of German troops in Louvain at this time (Appendices 3, 7, 8, 35).

Among the people of the city who watched the "Landsturm" company march through the streets were an unusually large number of young men, evidently of the better classes. They stood in small groups about the streets and gradually withdrew into the houses (Appendices 7, 10, 34, 46). Women and children were not visible.

The return of the "Landsturm" company and of other small military detachments evidently led the citizens of Louvain to believe that the Germans had been defeated and were retreating, and that gave the external impetus to the execution of a plan, evidently laid long beforehand, to annihilate the Germans during their retreat through the city. Shortly after the "Landsturm" company had arrived and made camp on the station square, toward 8 o'clock in the evening (German time), sky rockets were sent up in the city. Many of the soldiers observed first a green and then a red rocket appearing in the dark evening sky (Appendices 7, 8, 12-17, 22, 38, 45, 46).

Simultaneously with this signal the inhabitants of Louvain opened a violent fire in various parts of the city upon the German troops on City Hall Square, Station Square and in the intervening section of the city. Rifles, revolvers and pistols were used, and the shooting was done from cellars, windows and chiefly from attics (Appendices 1-8, 7-13, 18-22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 45-49). In some places the firing sounded as if machine guns were also being used (Appendices 2, 29, 38, 40, 42, 46, 49). The German soldiers were completely taken by surprise. Many of them were wounded and some killed, before they could rally to defend themselves. Much confusion was caused among the transport and other columns which were lined up in the streets, because the horses which were either scared through the firing, or hit by bullets or small-shot, tore themselves loose and raced through the streets (Appendices 8, 18, 19, 37, 47).

A particularly heavy fire was directed upon the market place, where the first Echelon of the "General-Kommando" was stationed. Several officers and men were wounded and killed. The staff of the "General-Kommando" alone lost five officers, two clerks, twenty-three men and ninety-five horses (Appendix 1).

The heaviest firing raged in "Station Street" and near the station. The "Landsturm" company, posted there between baggage wagons, was forced to

retreat into the station for better cover. Heavy firing was also directed against the troops who had taken position on the "Place du peuple" (Appendices 6, 20, 46).

The horror of this attack was increased by the darkness which enveloped the city because the street lighting system had been destroyed. The attacked troops attempted to concentrate, assumed the defensive and returned the fire. When the firing ceased momentarily the troops, acting upon orders from their superiors, forced their way into the houses from which shots had been fired, and commenced a search for the culprits. Some of these were killed during the fray (Appendices 1, 3, 29, 37), others were captured with arms in hand, and shot, according to the customs of war, after they had first been convicted of illegitimate participation in the fight (Appendices 19, 20, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 48). Many effected their escape through rear exits of the houses, and took part at other places in the street fighting which would break out again and again.

While the fighting was in full swing, General von **Boehn**, the commander of the XI Reserve army corps returned to the city from the field. This was around 10:30 P. M. On his way to the City Hall, several shots were fired at him. To put an end to the street fighting General von Boehn ordered a "Landwehr" brigade to advance into the city and had the Mayor and other citizens of standing seized as hostages. By his orders the hostages were led through the streets, and compelled to call on the citizens to cease hostilities. Although severe punishment was threatened, this request was not heeded. The population continued making attacks upon the troops. In their anger the people even shot at physicians, at members of the sanitary corps, and at sick and wounded who were under the protection of the Red Cross (Appendices 9, 21, 25-28, 47). They had so little regard for the provisions of the Geneva Convention that they fired also from houses which flew the Red Cross flag (Appendices 29, 33), and they even directed their fire on a hospital (Appendices 25, 27, 28). In several cases the use of explosives and bombs has been testified to (Appendices 36, 37, 46), and it has also been proven that boiling tar was poured on the German troops (Appendices 25, 29).

In some instances the population resorted even to the abominable cruelties against German soldiers who had become defenseless. Private **Hoos** discovered in the cellar of a house the body of a German soldier whose abdomen had been ripped open with a sharp knife, so that the vitals protruded (Appendix 35). Another German soldier was so horribly mutilated by the fiendish populace that he died as a consequence (Appendix 37).

In view of these brutal attacks the German troops were compelled to resort to energetic countermeasures. Carrying out their warnings inhabitants who had participated in the attacks were shot and the houses from which shots had been fired were burnt down. The spreading of the fire to the other houses could not be checked and thus several rows of houses burned down. In this manner the Cathedral, too, caught fire (Appendix 4). A further spread of the conflagration was stopped by our troops who, under direction of their officers, heroically worked to extinguish the flames (Appendices 4, 6). It is due to their efforts that only a comparatively small section of the city—the section situated between the station and City Hall Square—suffered from the fire. The magnificent City Hall was saved thanks to our soldiers. The fire from the burning houses illuminated the night and made it possible for our troops to meet the attacks more effectively. Thus, gradually the firing subsided; only a shot here and there was heard during the rest of the night. But the next morning the attack was vigorously renewed, and the disorders continued all day and lasted through the following day, although the hostages were again led through the streets on August 26th and 27th, to counsel the people to keep quiet (Appendices 1, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 47).

III. Besides the sky-rocket signals, which had been observed at the beginning of the attack, the following facts let it appear that the revolt did not start on the spur of the moment, but was the result of long and careful planning.

(1) Arms in considerable quantities were found, although the Mayor declared that they had been surrendered as early as August 19th (Appendices 1, 20).

(2) It was observed that a large number of young men came to Louvain and scattered over the city (Appendices 3, 4). It was easy for them to find quarters in the hotels and in the bachelor rooms left vacant by the students.

(3) Numerous supplies of cartridges and explosives, which had been hidden by the population, exploded in the burning houses (Appendices 1, 2, 6, 37).

The attack, which was conducted with great stubbornness for several days, must therefore have been premeditated. The long duration of the sedition against the German military authority precludes the idea that it was a planless action of a few excited individuals. The leadership of the treacherous revolt must have been in the hands of higher quarters. Everything points toward the participation of an official organization. Louvain was the headquarters of the Chief of the so-called "Garde-Civique." He had been in the city immediately before the outbreak of the rising and the revolt was started with the despatch to Louvain of untrained young men who wore no distinctive emblems and who, together with the soldiers who had been transformed into

civilians, hid themselves in the houses, for the purpose of firing, unseen, upon the apparently retreating German troops at the proper moment. Even the Belgian Government has never dared to assert that regular troops of the Belgian army co-operated in the venture. Thus we have here the treacherous action of franc-tireurs who were readily given shelter and places of concealment by the population of Louvain. The misdeeds of the "Garde-Civique" stand revealed to the whole civilized world by the typical case of Louvain (Appendices 1, 30, 45, 48). Unfortunately also a number of clerics permitted themselves to abuse their influence over the civilian population and to induce them to shelter the franc-tireurs; it has been ascertained that a number of clerics even actively participated in the revolt (Appendices 1, 19, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 48). He who considers that the authentic verifications of the German Government in the case of Louvain are not based on the hurried examination of greatly excited, mostly ignorant persons, by equally excited inquisitors, but have their foundation upon thorough and calm investigations, may draw his own conclusions as to the merit of other similar accusations raised against the German troops by the Belgians.

In the case of Louvain the official Belgian Investigation Commission attempted to explain the inconvenient but irrefutable fact of the shooting in the streets by claiming that it had been caused by German troops firing upon one another. The commission suppressed the fact, however, that the shooting lasted for days and was constantly renewed. With this simple statement the threadbare attempt to explain the start of the street riots collapses.

While the Belgian Investigation Commission passes in short order over the main question under consideration, that of the violations of international law, it attempts by individual charges to cast aspersions upon the German army. It has not been possible on the German side to trace any of these cases, it must not be overlooked by those who want to judge impartially, upon what testimony the accusations are based, which in comparison with the main question as to the cause of the street revolts, are of secondary importance. They were made by the same persons on whose testimony the assertions, scattered broadcast over the world by the Commission, were based that Louvain was totally destroyed and that, as we read in the third report of the Commission, only the City Hall and the station building remained intact! The actual extent of the conflagration is shown in the accompanying sketch (50)—not even the sixth part of the city, and chiefly only that section situated near the station, was consumed by fire (Appendix 50). The truth of one of these calumnies can be actually proved because of its foolish attempt to cast aspersions upon the whole German military administration. According to the fifth report of the Commission "a large portion of the booty (alleged to be the result of pillaging) was transported on military wagons and later sent to Germany." This assertion is a pure invention; the army administration determines what shall be transported on military wagons or railroad cars, and it never issued such an order.

How little value the Commission itself attributes to the stories which were brought before it, and which it unfortunately circulated without verification, is demonstrated in the fifth report which mentions the execution of Bishop **Coenraets** and Father **Schmidt**. After dwelling on, what the Commission itself calls the "alleged" execution, the report unhesitatingly adds the story that the involuntary spectators of this (alleged!) scene were compelled to show their approval by handclapping. A stronger admission cannot be made that the hurriedly gathered material is published for sensational reasons, no matter whether truth and justice are ignored. In this connection it is of interest to know—what can hardly have remained concealed from the Belgian Commission—that Mr. **Coenraets** is living safe and sound to this day in the home of Professor Dr. **Toels** in Jirlen, Holland.

Berlin, April 19, 1915.

**Military Bureau for the Investigation of Offenses against
the Laws of War.**

Signed: Major Bauer.

Signed: Dr. Wagner, District Court Councillor.

Note: Space does not permit publishing the appendices referred to in the above report.—Author.

Appendix III, 21.

From a Letter of Mr. Sittart, Member of Parliament, to the Author, June 8, 1915.

... The fact that in days of excitement, especially at this time of our world war, testimonies of witnesses must be considered very critically, has been brought home to me rather vividly on repeated occasions. On August 30, 1914, I journeyed in an auto to Louvain in company with the Apostolic Prefect, Father Adalbert Rielander, who was appointed rector of the German mission in Kaiser-Wilhelm-Land in New Guinea, but was prevented to go to his post owing to the outbreak of the war. We greeted in the College Léon XIII. two Reverend Professors of the Louvain University, personally known to Father Rielander, and we conversed with them on the sad events that had occurred on August 25. The gentlemen told us among other things that the

dean of St. Pierre had been shot with others by the Germans. A machine gun—it was said—placed on the tower of St. Pierre, fired on the German troops. Evidently the Germans were ignorant of the fact that church towers are almost exclusively property of the communes, and that, therefore, the parish priest cannot be held responsible, if shots were fired from the tower. The Belgian troops made use of the tower, and placed on it the machine gun. At their retreat before the advancing Germans they abandoned the gun; and the Germans who found it held the parish priest responsible and shot him. The death of the venerable priest, they continued, affected greatly the whole city, because he was well liked and esteemed, owing to his mild and kind disposition, not only among the faithful Catholics but also among the Liberals and Socialists. The death of this parish priest, attested by such well-known and eminent professors of the University, left no doubt on my mind, and I told the sad incident to my friends in Aix-la-Chapelle. A few days later, my friend, the well-known Dr. Carl Sonnenschein of M.-Gladbach, called on me on his return trip from Louvain, and I heard from him that the good priest was still alive, and hale and hearty. Nothing was done to him.

A few days before the above date, about August 27, on the desire of Father Rielander, I called on the Vice-Rector of the Louvain University, Monsignor Conraets, who was in the sanitarium of the Luetticher Strasse (in Aix-la-Chapelle), the charge of which has been taken by the Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Family from the motherhouse in Louvain. It was with those Sisters that Monsignor Conraets came to Aix-la-Chapelle. He told me that he was marked by the Germans as hostage, that he was convinced, and expressed his conviction to the German officers, that the citizens of Louvain would remain quiet and would do no harm to the German soldiers. He was then summoned to go through the streets of Louvain in company with an officer and German soldiers and read a proclamation to the effect that attacks on German troops would be severely punished. Scarcely did he begin to read the text, when shots were fired upon the German soldiers, and the soldiers were on the point of seizing him as hostage, when the officer interfered, saying: Let him, the gentleman is not responsible. The officer then took him to a house, probably a convent, and told him to remain there meanwhile. After I had obtained the necessary pass for the Vice-Rector I took him, on said August 30, to the convent of the Franciscan nuns, Gensterbloom, located near Henri Chapelle, and continued then my journey to Louvain. The above named Dr. Sonnenschein told me after his return from Louvain the following interesting episode. He met on the streets of Louvain a gentleman known to him from a previous sojourn in that city, who complained bitterly about the conduct of the Germans. He claimed to have known a number of prominent persons shot by the Germans, among them the Vice-Rector, Monsignor Conraets. Dr. Sonnenschein, who on his way to Louvain paid a visit to Monsignor Conraets at my suggestion asked in astonishment, where he got the information. And there came the most astonishing answer: he had seen the shooting with his own eyes. Upon the further question of Dr. Sonnenschein, where it happened, the man took him in front of a house and said: There he stood, when he was shot. It was only then that Dr. Sonnenschein told him of his visit to Monsignor Conraets on the morning of that same day, how he was hale and hearty, and how he wrote a letter to his friends in Louvain and told them that all was well with him.

During my visit to Louvain I had occasion to verify, how grossly exaggerated were the accounts of the destructions in the city which was said to have been completely devastated. In the same manner I found that the reports about destructions in Visé and Herve were greatly exaggerated. From Fort Berru near Reims I saw with the naked eye as well as with the assistance of field glasses the towers of the cathedral standing erect. They were said to have disappeared, and yet only on one of them were there any marks of the bombardment.

Appendix III, 22.⁸⁹

Report of Ordnance Officer Count Reichenbach to the Assistant Military Inspector of the Volunteer Hospital Service in Berlin.

VALENCIENNES, September 24, 1914.

Yesterday 13 men of the volunteer hospital service, while engaged in the transport of wounded, were attacked by the civil population, although their red cross marks were very distinct. The event occurred in the vicinity of the main provision depot in this district, which is usually rather safe. Six of the men are dead, one is wounded. Acts of the hearings will follow later, possibly also the employment books of those that fell.

Signed: Count Reichenbach.

⁸⁹ Appendices III, 22—III, 26, are taken from the official publication: "Verletzung der Genfer Konvention vom 6. Juli 1906 durch französische Truppen und Freischärler.

Appendix III, 23.

Report of the Commander of the 2. Sanitary Company to the 10. Infantry Division.

ST. MAURICE, September 24, 1914.

When on September 22 the first aid squad of the 2. Sanitary company was engaged in searching the battlefield for wounded soldiers, hostile infantry, about 40 or 50 men, appeared suddenly from the east end of the forest of St. Remy, under the direction of two officers. Although they saw or at least must have seen that before them were only hospital men, who were carrying wounded on stretchers or were searching for wounded with stretchers, and although they must have seen the ambulances in the neighborhood, they opened a violent fire on the hospital men and the ambulances at a distance of about 50 meters; some of them with the shouts of "Vive la France" ran upon the nearest ambulance, shot the three wounded that were inside, the officer of the convoy, the coachman and the two horses.

The 2. Sanitary company owes to this procedure of the French the loss of 8 killed, 9 seriously wounded and 2 slightly wounded.

Most of the other hospital men were grazed in some spot or other by the bullets of the enemy.

Signed: **Uecker,**
Cavalry Captain and Commander.

Appendix III, 24.

Court-Martial Examination of the Cavalryman Francis Mevissen of the Cavalry Regiment No. 7.

"After the battle with the three French squadrons, which occurred on the 7th of this month, about 10 kilometers southwest of Arlons on Belgian territory, I hid myself in a haystack. From my hiding-place I saw how the French stabbed with their lances several German riflemen who were wounded but still living. I saw them walking around the battlefield during the night, and stabbing here and there the poor soldiers who by their movements gave sign of life. At one time one of them tried to rise over his horse, he was stabbed immediately."

Appendix III, 25.

Court-Martial Examination 1. of the Musketeer Kampen of the Infantry Regiment No. 78, and 2. of the Physician Schlichthorst, in Charge of the Reserve Hospital in Aurich.

1. "On August 29 I was wounded in the right knee during the battle of St. Quentin and was left in the vicinity of the village Guise. When our troops retreated a certain distance, about 50 French soldiers under the direction of several officers came upon the scene at about 9:30 o'clock. They went zig-zagging over the battlefield, and I saw how they stabbed with their bayonets several wounded soldiers, among others one only about 10 steps away from me. As he called for help, a French officer shot with a pistol into his mouth, and he was killed instantly. I am absolutely certain, that the perpetrator was an officer.

Then they came upon me. I feigned to be dead; and they stabbed me several times, but the wounds, of which I received nine, were not very deep. They turned me with the points of their bayonets on the other side. One thrust of the bayonet went straight through my helmet and struck the last two fingers of my left hand, which I must have had on the left side of my head.

The enemies then administered the same treatment to a few more wounded, and then retired, as Prussian troops were approaching."

2. "When the wounded was handed in for treatment I saw—besides the main wound at the right knee—several minor wounds in other parts of the body, which were partly healed or in process of healing. According to the statement of the wounded these scars were caused by thrusts of bayonets administered to him by French soldiers, when he was left behind on the battlefield. Judging from the manner and appearance of these scars I entertain no doubt on the correctness and reliability of the statement of the witness."

Appendix III, 26.

Report of the Physicians Neumann and Gruenfelder of the Bavarian Pioneer Regiment to the Commandery of the General Depot, of the 7. Army, Concerning the Robbery and Mutilating of German Soldiers Near Orchies.

VALENCIENNES, September 26, 1914.

The 1. battalion of the Bavarian pioneer regiment received the commission to proceed against the town of Orchies, distant about 24 kilometers from Valenciennes. When about 500 meters from Orchies the men in the front

ranks noticed in the ditch along the road the body of a German soldier of the Landwehr regiment No. 35. We found at once all the marks generally found with our dead soldiers, i. e. the body was stripped of shoes, stockings and of all signs of identification. The man was shot from behind, was lying on his back, and had his mouth and nostrils filled with sawdust. The right arm was stretched out in self-defense, and the rigidity caused by death was still present.

After further search of the great field we found 20 more soldiers of the same regiment. One man who was found about 300 meters from the windmill of the place, was hit at the right ear and then maltreated in barbarous fashion. The left ear was cut off. The face showed a bluish red color, a consequence of his death by choking; the mouth, the nose, and eyes were filled with sawdust, and the neck showed marks of attempts at choking. The grass all around him for about 20 meters was trodden down, from which it appears that the barbarous act was committed by a number of men. In addition to these men we found an acting sergeant whose skull was fractured, so that the brains flowed out. Another showed on the left temple a knife wound, which cannot have been fatal; the ring finger was cut off; and in the abdomen there were four shot wounds around which there were marks of powder smoke, a sign that the shots were fired at close range; to these wounds corresponded the four openings in the back. Five other men were killed, who showed injuries that were caused by blunt weapons. One of them had a shot wound near the right nostril which tore away the upper lip and the chin. The face was blackened by the smoke of powder, and the rims of the wound were burned, all a sign of the close range of the firing. The most barbarous act of all was done to one man whose eyes were cut out, the right one completely and the left one still hanging on his face. Death in this case can have been caused only by this injury.

From the ascertained facts it is evident that a great many of these men were not wounded when they fell into the hands of the enemy. To prevent their flight their suspenders were cut, all buttons were torn off their clothes, and they were stripped of their shoes. The rings of all the men were gone, but the marks where they had been were plainly visible on their fingers.

The 1. battalion of the Bavarian pioneer regiment buried the 21 men in their graves near the road, about 500 meters southeast of Orchies. Their names were ascertained only in part.

Signed: Dr. Neumann.

Staff physician of the Bavarian pioneer regiment, 1st battalion, 1st reserve company.

Signed: Dr. Gruenfelder,

Staff physician of reserves of the Bavarian pioneer regiment, 1st battalion, 2nd company.

Appendix III, 27.

A Sample of Textual Interpretation from Bédier.

On page 17 of the work of Bédier is found a facsimile from the diary of an unnamed German soldier. The extract contains the following: "25 Caffres seize. (?) At 1:15 marching to occupy the bridge. 10:00 o'clock departure for Orchies, arrived at 4:00 P. M., searching of houses. All civilians were arrested. One woman was shot, because she would not stop at the command 'halt,' but tried to escape. Thereupon burning of the entire place. At 7.1 departure from the burning—"

The extract given in the facsimile is certainly too abrupt to enable us to understand the meaning of the beginning. The continuation, however, is in itself intelligible. The question is of the village of Orchies (Nord), where a punishment had to be administered (Cf. the previous Appendix). The writer of the diary took part in it. At first all the inhabitants were arrested and guarded. One woman tries to escape; the guard calls "halt;" a word understood by the French. She pays no attention to it and is shot. Then the town is set on fire. The telegram from headquarters announced: "Orchies was razed to the ground." The extract of the diary gives a description of that event.

What does Mr. Bédier now make of it?

He reports as follows: "In order to prove that these assassinations of women and children are a daily necessity for the soldiers of Germany, I can produce some other texts:

1. The author of an unsigned diary (fig. 7) relates that at Orchies (Nord) a woman was shot to death for refusing to obey the command: "halt." Whereupon, he adds, followed the burning of the whole locality. (Et, pour témoigner que ces assassinats de femmes et d'enfants sont pour les soldats de l'Allemagne besoins coutumiers, voici quelques autres textes: L'auteur d'un carnet non signé (fig. 7) rapporte qu'à Orchies (Nord) "une femme fut passée par les armes pour n'avoir pas obéi au commandement de Halte. Sur quoi, ajoute-t-il, incendie de toute la localité." In a foot-note he gives the following German text: "Saemtliche Civilpersonen werden verhaftet. Eine Frau wurde verschossen, weil sie auf 'Halt' Rufen nicht hielt, sondern ausreissen wollte. Hierauf Verbrennen der ganzen Ortschaft." (Bédier, p. 17-18.)

Be it remarked: 1. Bédier makes of a secondary incident the main thing: the shooting of the woman.

2. He intimates in his translation that the woman was shot in accordance with judicial procedure (*fut passée par les armes*), although there had been no trial and no sentence. The translation, to say the least, is ambiguous and liable to be misunderstood.

3. He makes his French readers understand the incident in this way, that the woman did not obey the summons: "halt," and for that reason proceedings were instituted against her which ended with the execution. In his translation he omits the words: "but she meant to escape" ("*sondern ausreissen wollte*"), which give the true sense to the whole narrative.

4. He connects the burning of the town with the refusal of the woman to stop (by translating the German "hierauf" with "sur quoi"); as if the disobedience of the woman had been the cause of the fire.

5. He makes use of this one incident to prove that the shooting of women was an "habitual practice" with the German soldiers.

When he speaks of "verschossen," instead of "erschossen," he betrays his limited knowledge of the German language; though that may be of secondary consideration.

Appendix III, 28.

Letter of a Belgian Soldier to a Relative, August 21, 1914.⁹⁰

"My dear Joseph: At last we have a day of rest, the first since the outbreak of hostilities. We no longer receive any news from anywhere. The letter I received from you was dated August 14th. Not one of those whom I told this would believe it. I tell you that it gave me very much pleasure. In my last letter I told you of the battle of Haelen. Then we had to flee as quickly as possible in the rain of bullets. We remained in Haelen until the very last; and we set the tower of the church afire when they were only a hundred meters away. This was lucky for us, for the enemy would have had a good view from the church tower of the fields into which we retired. From there we retreated to Aerschot to serve as reinforcements. On the following day a fight of considerable magnitude took place there, and our troops retreated—not from necessity, but in consequence of a stratagem in order to fool the 'boches,' and so far we have fooled them. We have great hope and lots of courage. Today I saw Jacques Indheu; he has volunteered to carry wounded, as he told me he regrets not to have been present at a battle. I answered him that I wished there would be no battles, and that the war would soon end.

"We have here retired behind the fortified positions of Antwerp, and for the moment have nothing to fear. In addition everybody says Antwerp is impregnable, especially as Liège is again in the hands of the French.

"I am being called, dear Joseph. More soon. Regards at home."

Appendix III, 29.

Note Concerning the Alleged Outrages Against Belgian Nuns, by German Soldiers.

Since the beginning of the present war one of the objects of a hostile press in enemy and neutral countries has been to besmirch the honor of the German army by the unheard of accusation that German soldiers in their march through Belgium have made themselves guilty of outrages against cloistered women, in numerous cases and in various localities.

The German government has deemed it its duty to secure unimpeachable material, so that the foundation of such absurd accusations, which are entirely in contradiction with the German character, may totally collapse. The German governor general of Belgium therefore has addressed to all the Bishops of Belgium the request to make to him an official declaration as to whether facts from their dioceses were known to them which might give a coloring to the aforesaid accusations.

The answers establish the complete nullity of the assertions. The Bishop of Liège said, that in his diocese no case had occurred of outrages against cloistered women; the Bishops of Namur, Ghent and Bruges signified that no such case had come to their knowledge; the Archbishop of Malines and the Vicar Capitular of Tournay declared that they were unable to produce any facts on that subject.

BERLIN, June 13, 1915.

The Foreign Office.

Appendix III, 30.

The Events in Louvain. Merchant Richard Gruner, Hamburg, Testified Under Oath:⁹¹

" . . . Amongst the persons brought forward were several clergymen; altogether ten or fifteen of them have been shot. I myself established that one priest carried a loaded revolver from which a cartridge had been fired. The empty shell was still in the chamber of the revolver. In the case of another priest I am perfectly sure that he was the very man who had inten-

⁹⁰ Cf. Grasshoff, p. 82.

⁹¹ Die volkerrechtliche Fuchrung. . . . S. 303-305.

tionally lured our soldiers, according to their own evidence, into the franc-tireur fire. There is no doubt that those two men were genuine clergymen. But a third man wore civilian dress under his clerical garb and I found a military mark (Erkennungsmarke) on him.

All the time the examination was going on I stayed at the railway square. So I can confirm from my own knowledge that there was no mock-execution of clergymen and that none of the involuntary observers of those scenes were compelled to express any approval.

Amongst those who were brought up were many civilians who, when they noticed that I spoke French, called out to me that they were innocent, and that the priests alone were responsible for what had occurred. They expressly pointed to those priests who had been rounded up with them.

I remained at Louvain until August 26th, 1914, 4 P. M. During that day, I constantly saw and heard, every now and again, the firing which proceeded from the houses; comrades of mine were wounded in my immediate neighborhood, as e. g. volunteer Wuppermann. During the forenoon of August 26th I conversed with two of the many women who were held prisoners at the station square. They belonged evidently to the better classes. One of them—an American woman from St. Louis—addressed me in English and begged me to liberate her and a woman friend, declaring that they were innocent. She declared that the clergymen had caused the whole trouble. She then fetched the other woman—a Belgian lady—with whom I talked in French. She, too, told me that the firing out of the houses was due to the attitude of the clergymen, and narrated the following story: In the evening Belgian soldiers in civilian clothes had entered the houses and forced the inhabitants under threats to take them in, and to allow them to shoot out of the windows; previous to this, the clergymen had made the rounds of the houses and told the inhabitants that it was their duty to take the Belgian soldiers into their homes and to assist them, because the German troops were waging war against the faith of the Belgians.

Appendix III, 31.

From the Deposition Upon Oath of the Bank Official Hans Albert Hermann Koch of Luebeck, Concerning the Events in Louvain.⁹²

" . . . In my presence only two ecclesiastics were shot. According to statements made by soldiers about 350 or 400 unused English guns with ammunition were found with the one; with the other a Browning revolver with six bullets unused and two shells used. This second one abused in the filthiest manner both Germany and its emperor."

Appendix III, 32.

From the Deposition Upon Oath of the Turner Otto Paweldyk, Concerning the Events in Andenne.⁹³

" . . . I received orders to guard the Belgian men and women gathered from the houses and put together in the market place of Andenne. At this occasion German women, married to Belgians, or also Belgian women, as far as they could speak German, told us guards that the parish priests of Andenne had announced from their pulpits that it was a patriotic duty of the civilian population to fire upon the German soldiers. The same ecclesiastics had spoken of a certain ringing of the bells, at the sound of which all the civilians were to shoot upon the soldiers that were passing through. And thus the ringing of the bells was to be the beginning of the general war of snipers against our soldiers.

Some of the women told us also that the mayor of Andenne tried to restrain the civilian population from doing violence to the German soldiers; but his advice was not followed. He was powerless against the influence of the ecclesiastics who had preached war to their people from the pulpits."

Appendix III, 33.

From the Deposition Upon Oath of Captain Hermann Folz, Concerning the Events in Aerschot.⁹⁴

" . . . The result was that the revolt was systematically suppressed, and the houses were searched for sharp-shooters. At this occasion about 40 civilians, among them several, at least two, priests were found with weapons in their hands."

Appendix III, 34.

From a Report Concerning the Events in Etalle.⁹⁵

"A witness, who during the shooting, was in the village with a corporal and a few of the men in a place opposite the home of the Vicar, observed distinctly, as he declared under oath, how a young person, in cassock, was standing

⁹² Akten des Kriegsministeriums. 3320/15 ZVI.
⁹³ Akten. . . . 3421/15 ZVI.
⁹⁴ Akten 668.1. 15. ZV.
⁹⁵ Akten No. 1423/15 ZVI.

behind the window post, holding a book—a prayer book to all appearances—in his hand, and the Geneva band around his arm. From time to time he stepped in front of the opened window and fired with his revolver upon a German corporal in the garden, whom, however, owing to the distance, he did not strike. When after a brief time this house was opened by force by another witness, as repeated knocking had no result, the Vicar was standing close behind the door and presented a ticket identifying him as belonging to the Red Cross. He was likewise brought to the church. In searching two houses about 20 or 30 bayonets and cavalry sabers and a loaded infantry gun were found in an old store room, which, as he said, were used for theater plays. When later a sharp-edged sword was found under his cassock, and he was asked whether that also was used for plays, he could give no answer. Bl. 17, 18, 28, 29, 33, 34.

There is no doubt that this younger person in ecclesiastical garb was the Vicar of the place. He was pointed out as such by the older parish priest of Etalle to the corporal on guard, who speaks French fluently; and he became convinced that the attitude and the exclamations of the inhabitants in the church betrayed their intimate acquaintance with him: in short, that he was their Vicar. Bl. 34. Since he was caught in the act of hostilities against our troops he was dealt with according to usages of war and was hanged.

IV. THE GERMAN "CONCEPTION OF WAR."

A) The French Charges.

On page two of the French book it is said that the Germans have a new and anti-Christian conception of war. "The German Ego refuses to acknowledge an objective and absolute rule, be it in religion, morals, or law. That is literally true, and introduces into the world a completely new law of war of which we all are bearing the monstrous consequences."⁹⁶ Gaudeau holds that Kant disconnected legal and moral obligations, and that the consequences were very injurious to ethics. But even worse than Kant's frank divorce of law and right is, according to Gaudeau, the *hypocrisy* in which the German Ego is clothed. "Falsehood is embedded in the very nature and essence of the German Ego. . . . The German way of thinking repeats all such words as God, religion, Christianity, ideals, right and morals, law and justice, but they are merely hollow symbols of the German Ego. This carefully preserved facade serves simply to conceal the deified Teutonic I. The "old God" whom William II invokes is literally Germany self-deified.⁹⁷ Germany "is to become 'the world's conscience' according to Buelow, and 'Europe's brains,' according to Wilhelm Ostwald." Gaudeau takes up those words⁹⁸ and says that they must be taken in an absolute sense: "The German Ego is to replace on earth the true God, the God of human reason and of Christianity."⁹⁹ All laws of war, asserted by Gospel and Church, must be overthrown in favor of German egoism, says Gaudeau.

The German Ego is the standard of justice. What is useful to it is just. Every means is justified as long as it serves the German Ego and its ends. Mercy in war means hitting hard. Every means is permissible to terrorize the enemy: burning, killing, looting, tormenting, all that leads more quickly to the goal and is, therefore, to the interest of the opponents themselves. With such horrible ideas of barbarism German rule threatens the world. No Catholic, no sensible and conscientious man should remain neutral or indifferent to that savage attitude.¹⁰⁰ Goyau's opinion is the same.¹⁰¹ Indeed, all educated France seems to be ridden by that delusion. The professors at the Catholic University of Paris proclaim the same thought in their written reply. They trace the German world-thought, the idea of universal dominion, back to Kant and Nietzsche. They blame the Germans for their conceit, for regarding themselves as superior beings and supermen, for claiming the right to be above the common rules or modifying them according to this arbitrary fancy.¹⁰² They do not hesitate to pass the following severe judgment: "For men of action a treaty will only be a scrap of paper which they may tear up if it is convenient. 'Scraps' are to such people the rights of weak nations that have the misfortune to hinder the progress of a powerful state.

⁹⁶ B. 25: ". . . le moi allemand ne reconnaît au-dessus de lui dans le monde aucune règle objective et absolue, ni religieuse, ni morale, ni juridique. Cela est vrai à la lettre et cela introduit dans le monde la notion d'un "droit de guerre" absolument nouveau, et dont nous subissons les conséquences monstrueuses."

⁹⁷ B. 25: "Le mensonge est installé à l'état constitutionnel, au centre le plus intime du moi allemand. . . . Droit, morale, justice, loi, idéal, Dieu, religion, christianisme, la pensée germanique répète tous ces mots, garde toute cette façade, mais ces mots ne sont qu'un vain symbole du moi allemand; cette façade ne cache que le moi allemand divinisé. Le 'vieux dieu' qu'invoque Guillaume II c'est, à la lettre, l'Allemagne divinisée."

⁹⁸ B. 26.

⁹⁹ B. 26: ". . . car le moi allemand doit remplacer dans le monde le vrai Dieu, le Dieu de la raison humaine et du christianisme."

¹⁰⁰ B. 26.

¹⁰¹ B. 40, seq.

¹⁰² B. 284: ". . . pleins de confiance en leur propre esprit et se tenant eux-mêmes pour des êtres supérieurs, se sont cru le droit de s'élever au-dessus des règles communes, ou de les faire plier à leur fantaisie?"

'Scraps' again must be all those restrictions which the unrestrained right of force experiences in war. Far from apologizing for acting according to such principles they boast of them after the example of Bismarck, the greatest among them."¹⁰³

To be brief, Germany recognizes no moral law, her only standard is self-interest. Nothing is forbidden to her; all things are permissible, even the most disgraceful and outrageous acts as long as they help her progress.

B) The German Answer.

IT is hard, almost impossible, to fight against phantoms and illusions such as we meet here. The charge is substantiated by no actual facts. Such cannot be established by the mere act of tearing quotations from isolated German authors out of their context and presenting them as absolute theses. The only grain of truth which the charges contain is that there are a few individuals in Germany (and they are rare exceptions) who hold to the idea that "might is right." Among them we find race-fanatics; among them we also find Nietzsche. But this very same Nietzsche, that unhappy and gloomy philosopher of aphorisms who had lost all sense of tangible realities and could see things but grotesquely distorted, as they appeared to his vision when illuminated by the lightning-flashes of his intuitive conceptions—hardly left any deeper traces on the German mind. Moreover, far from being a German enthusiast, he loved to live in Italy and was an ardent admirer of the Slavic race and Russian absolutism. Thus his sympathies lay chiefly with France's great ally. By the way, Gabriele d'Annunzio, about whom we have heard so much of late, is an enthusiastic admirer of Nietzsche, who really concerns the German people very little. To say that the Kaiser and the whole of Germany embody Nietzsche's ideas is such an empty and superficial assertion that only gross ignorance can excuse it.

And good old Kant would turn in his grave if he knew that people look to him to account for all the alleged abominations of this war. He is held responsible for them because he teaches that man is to act so that his actions may become the general exemplar of all men's actions. When the professors of the Catholic University of Paris dug up that Kantian sentence in order to exploit it for their purposes,¹⁰⁴ did they not perceive that it is diametrically opposed to their own theory? All that Kant wanted to say is that generalization or nationalization of individual actions brings out their rational or irrational characteristics and thus creates a norm and standard for action. For example, if an individual thief wants to apply Kant's rule, he will find that theft is not permissible; according to Kant, his actions would first of all, have to become the general rule, i.e., everybody would have to steal first! In that case, all notions of private property and of its theft would vanish. Therefore theft, is not permissible. Likewise the supposed conception of war would have to be generally accepted. But then all civilization would be at an end, and men would not live together in nations. The Germans certainly have not that conception of war and Kant most decidedly would not accept it. *The passage has been altogether misunderstood and twisted to a contrary meaning. The new conception of war only exists in the imagination of the over-excited French critics who project and utter it.* From other points of view critics may attack and repudiate Kant's philosophy, which hits the Catholic doctrine hard enough, but the French professors of the Catholic University at Paris have selected the most harmless sentence of Kant's teachings to prove the most terrible things. Kant must not be held responsible for such a horrible conception of war.

¹⁰³ B. 285: "Pour les hommes d'action, un traité ne sera qu'un "chiffon de papier" que l'on déchire au gré de ses intérêts; chiffon aussi, le droit des peuples faibles qui ont le malheur de gêner le progrès d'un grand Etat; chiffon, toutes les restrictions apportées, dans la guerre, au droit illimité de la force; et, loin de s'excuser d'agir d'après de tels principes, ils s'en feront gloire, à l'image du plus grand d'entre eux, Bismarck."

¹⁰⁴ B. 285.

By the way, the influence of Kant's teachings in regard to separation of ethics and religion in Germany has been quite insignificant. In France, on the other hand, in every State and Public school "morals" are taught as a subject apart from religion. *The charges of the French Catholics should therefore be rather directed against their own country.*

Quite as untenable is Gaudeau's theory of the deified German Ego. It is a phantasmagoria so flimsy and filmy that the first serious thought must destroy it. The German Emperor in exhorting his people "go to church and pray to God!" and doing so himself, is said to adore deified Germany and even his own self. That is an absurd, inconceivable thought and it is not to be wondered at that the author tries to make his assertion believable by calling the Germans rank hypocrites, who simply keep up an "outward show" (façade). Gaudeau follows in the footsteps of his countryman Auguste Comte, whose ideas he wants to apply to Germany. Thus the religion of Germany is made to resemble that of the totem tribesmen.

All the minor French arguments are equally false. Major-General Stenger is said to have ordered the killing of prisoners and wounded.¹⁰⁵ This charge is repeated by Bédier.¹⁰⁶ Conscientious enquiries have convinced the author that Stenger's alleged order of the day *never was given out—neither in writing nor orally.*

Another fable has caused much uncalled-for indignation. A new meaning is applied to the old phrase: "c'est la guerre"; it embodies the belief that everything is allowed in times of war, so we are informed; German officers and men have used that expression by way of apology when their attention had been called to durous events of the war. "Officers," says Bishop Turinaz in his pastoral letter, "would call themselves good Catholics; soldiers would show their rosaries and scapulars; and these same men being reproached would tell you: C'est la guerre. They are taught, then, that in war all crimes and all atrocities are permitted."¹⁰⁷

That answer, "c'est la guerre," has nothing in common with the meaning the pastoral assumes. It merely signifies that in times of war all kinds of terrible things do happen, necessary and unnecessary things, things that are allowed and things that are not. But the same men answering thus know to distinguish between acts that may be excused and such that are transgressions of the moral law, and deplore every infamous and abominable deed even in war. Bédier (although he wants to prove something entirely different), may be cited as witness. He refers to a facsimilized page of a diary in which a German soldier speaks of a rude act committed by a comrade in a church. Angrily he exclaims: "*How can there be such creatures.*" The same soldier relates how a militia-man tries to abuse the young daughter of his host and threatens with his bayonet the father whose interference foils his attempt. At once the soldier's conscience is aroused and he vents his feelings by irately exclaiming: "*How is it possible that such things happen!*" And he finds consolation in the thought that the guilty ones cannot escape. "*That fellow,*" he writes, "*now is awaiting his just punishment,*" and he signifies his satisfaction over the fact by underscoring these words. Unfortunately Bédier neglected to translate that last sentence!¹⁰⁸

Unrestrained hatred only can account for another insinuation. In relating how the German prisoners in the cathedral at Reims rested on straw which had been piled up by the Germans themselves, the French book asks whether that straw was to serve solely as resting place for the soldiers.¹⁰⁹ Every reader thereby is led to believe that the Germans obviously intended to set fire to the cathedral.

French thought is often very one-sided, and anxiously clings to external events without considering the inner motives. In 1870-71, the diplomatic and military history of Germany attained a solution which the French

¹⁰⁵ B. 139.

¹⁰⁶ Bédier, p. 29, 39, 40.

¹⁰⁷ B. 245: "Des officiers se déclarent bons catholiques, des soldats montrent leurs chapelets et leurs scapulaires, et aux reproches qui leur sont adressés, ils répondent: C'est la guerre." On leur enseigne donc que la guerre autorise tous les crimes, toutes les atrocités!"

¹⁰⁸ Bédier, p. 25.

¹⁰⁹ B. 90: "était-ce uniquement pour servir de couche à leurs soldats?"

characterize as a policy of might, whose typical representative is Bismarck. But they overlook the fact that the outcome above all has been due to moral strength. During the forty years of its existence the German Empire has shown the abundance of moral sentiment and strength with which it is possessed. It has perfected its system of national defense, and in order to do so, a strong and united will was necessary, and the profession of a national ideal the material foundation of which had to be safeguarded. Above all, in the most varying spheres of life Germany has accomplished successes which could not have been achieved without moral and religious backbone. The Empire is composed of many States, but how magnificent has been its organizing power in this war. Such wonderful co- and subordination presupposes intellectual and moral strength. The Emperor knew exactly what a powerful weapon the army was in his hand. He knew the secrets of Krupp's guns and of the submarine war. If he had been guided by the *mere policy of might*, he would have seized *more favorable opportunities* and would have struck long ago. But *religious and moral forces kept his sword sheathed*. And the great mass of the German population is also free from the principle of the policy of might and from the lust of conquest of which they are wrongly accused. Moreover, strong moral forces are apparent in Germany's social legislation, rivalled by no other State in the world.

Regrettable events in the war are judged quite differently by the French and Germans. No German dreams of holding French army leaders, or Joffre, or the French nation responsible for misdeeds done by French soldiers. But the French endeavor to attribute individual offences of German soldiers to an army system and to a particular war-idea and to make the Emperor, the army, and the whole German nation responsible for those offenses. That does not correspond with justice and truth.

V. MISREPRESENTATIONS OF GERMAN KULTUR.

A) The French Charges.

The authors of the French book have once for all defined German "culture" as uncivilized and barbarous. One of them, whose essays on religious conditions in Germany have been awarded a prize, and are appreciated at least by some German thinkers, Georges Goyau, has written a special essay to define German "culture" in which the word "culture" is always contemptuously enclosed in quotation marks.

Goyau starts with the "evangelical" German Kaiserdom, and assigns to the history of the new Empire two phases of development wherein German "culture" endeavors to assert itself. First of all, its direction is inward, desirous to conquer the Catholic third of the German population. In the second place, "culture" takes an outward direction. In both cases German "culture" shows brutal characteristics. In the first case its brutality is proved by the incarceration of priests and bishops and the vexation of the Catholic people. In the present war, German "culture" slew "on Walloon, Flemish and Lorraine soil a certain number of martyrs who were suspects because they were priests, and who were shot because they were suspects."¹¹⁰

Churches fared no better. Every modern means of destruction was applied to them. Since archaeology had discovered that Gothic cathedrals were the work of French architects, "nothing protected them longer against the assault of 'culture,' because they were born of French genius and because they sheltered 'Roman superstitions': both crimes deserved death. And the death sentence was passed. The cannons carried it into effect."¹¹¹

What then is the nature of this culture and whither does it strive? That question is answered by Goyau who identifies German "culture" with Protestantism. Germany is a Protestant country, hence she ought to rule over the Latin races. William II, thus Goyau's logic proceeds, eagerly embraced that idea. He regards himself as pope of the Protestant Church. In order to secure that fatherly position, he went to Geneva, the home of Calvinism, supported the evangelical community which had been established at Rome, and even went to Jerusalem for the consecration of the Protestant church of the Holy Redeemer. Even in Spain and Austria he sought to pave the way for Protestantism. Germany gave her active support to the "Los von Rom" movement ("Away from Rome") in Austria, and to Fliedner's activity in Spain. Hence German culture is nothing else but Protestantism.

Protestantism, however, is by no means Christianity. German philosophers deny the distinction between good and evil which Christianity asserts. Evil works out good, but everything is good which promotes German thought. That end sanctifies every means. *There is no higher moral law.* If the Latin nations refuse to submit willingly to German "culture," it serves them right if they are compelled to do so, be the means just or not. Gospel, treaties and international law signify nothing. Germany must expand. That inbred desire to expand and to conquer, that historic development, is the "old German god" who, in the opinion of some Germans, is entirely distinct

¹¹⁰ B. 32 and 321: "Le second Culturkampf, celui de 1914, a couché sur le sol wallon, sur le sol flamand, sur le sol lorrain, un certain nombre de martyrs, suspects parce que prêtres et fusillés parce que suspects."

¹¹¹ B. 32: "Rien ne les protégeait plus, dès lors, contre les assauts de la 'culture': d'être les filles du génie français et d'être hospitalières à la 'superstition romaine,' c'étaient là deux péchés dignes de mort. Et la sentence de mort fut rendue, et les canons l'exécutèrent."

from the God of the Jews. The "old German god" is the pagan deity of elemental force, is Wotan, Odin, Thor. Hence Germany feels that she must break with Luther. "It may be that Luther is typical of the very cream and essence of German manhood and virility. Yet, Luther's Christ remains a Jew, while the German divinity is Wotan. Wotan is German to the core—kerndeutsch."¹¹² All the dreaming, all the yearning of Germany is God's will. Hence let Germany, with all her heart and soul, return to the old pagan mythology, and worship Thor. Thus certain Pan-Germans cry out.

So German "culture" appears at first as Protestantism, but at the end of the indictment as old Germanic paganism, inspired by "hatred against Rome, hatred against the Latin name, hatred against Romanic civilization, hatred against Christ."¹¹³

B) The German Answer.

A consistent unity pervades the whole French book although it is composed of essays by various writers. Thus Goyau's conception of German "culture" is retained throughout the book and album.

The first illustration in the album is a reproduction from "Jugend," representing a growling giant with gaping jaws. His left arm embraces one of the two towers of a church, whilst his mailed right rests on a parapet. A quotation from Heine's "Deutschland" is added. Christianity, says Heine, has appeased the old brutal Germanic lust of fighting, but the talisman of the Cross will collapse. Then Thor will rise and smash, with his giant's hammer, the Gothic cathedrals. "And Thor has risen," the album explains.¹¹⁴

Thor and his giant's sledge open the series of pictures of demolished churches. The "culture" war of the Germans sweeps across Belgian and French lands like a destructive hurricane, and the first victims it demands are the masterworks of religious art. The words of Heine are hardly pertinent; they bear no reference to Belgian or French, but to German cathedrals as the context clearly shows. Heine invites the other nations to witness the spectacle of "mad Berserk fury," but the French neighbors are to take care "not to concern themselves about things which we do at home in Germany."¹¹⁵ Even the quoted passage clearly implies no more than that.

Again and again, the quotations given by the French writers are most unhappy. For example, the album illustrates the bombardment of the Reims cathedral, and the appended text states that thus the ardent desire of Joseph von Goerres, the great Catholic adversary of France, was fulfilled. "Was it not J. J. Goerres who wrote as early as April, 1814, in the "Rheinische Merkur":¹¹⁶ "Tear it down and pulverize it, that basilica of Reims! Set fire to the cathedral where Clovis (Clodwig) was crowned and where the Empire of the Franks arose."¹¹⁷ We carefully looked through the "Rheinische Merkur," but were unable to discover the thundering philippic in the April number of 1814, nor in any other issue of that or the following year. To make quite sure we wrote to the editor of the Collected Works of Goerres, and that gentleman confirmed our own conclusions.¹¹⁸ Anyhow, the quoted passage does not occur where the album locates it.

But most probably Goerres *never* wrote those words. In numerous passages he expresses his abhorrence of wrong and violence. We may refer, for instance, to No. 1 of January 23, 1814, No. 40 of April 11, 1814, or to No. 284 of August 16, 1815, in which he publishes a communication of a militia-man against those who pillage in the enemy's country and adds: "Man never should become a monster, especially not in a war worthy of most precious laurels." François Veuillot, too, quotes Goerres' supposed

¹¹² B. 44: "Encore que Luther soit le type de l'homme allemand, de l'homme kerndeutsch, le Christ de Luther demeure un Juif: avec Wotan, on a le dieu allemand, le dieu kerndeutsch."

¹¹³ B. 46.

¹¹⁴ A. 1.

¹¹⁵ Heine, "Deutschland" I, Leipzig, Hesse, Ausgabe Karpeles, VII, p. 110.

¹¹⁶ Koblenz. Gedruckt bey B. Heriot.

¹¹⁷ A. 10 and 11.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Appendix V., 1.

ravings,¹¹⁹ in order to prove that German hearts long since glowed with hatred against the cathedral of Reims. His great uncle has been falsely accused of having uttered a very wicked word. He at least should know how poisonous such slander is, and should have been careful all the more to make use of a quotation that is nowise verified.

The bombardment of the cathedral of Reims cannot be regarded as barbarian vandalism, because military necessity alone was responsible for it, and not barbarism, or destructive mania. The German army-command, having evidence that the cathedral was used for military purposes, was compelled to bombard it. As soon as it noticed that the sanctuary no longer served military purposes, the bombardment ceased.

The French book specially emphasizes that Cardinal Luçon and, in his name, Canon Landrieux have repeatedly declared that "at no time an observation post has been placed on the towers, or a battery in the cathedral grounds."¹²⁰ What is the German answer? *Official German documents* say that aviators ascertained the existence of an observation post and a signal station on the cathedral. Only when observation through the periscope had proved the existence of a signal station, did Headquarters sanction the bombardment, with the proviso that the observations were indubitable. The officers in command looked through the periscope themselves, and saw the signalling going on. The "Times" of September 22, 1914, ascribes the bombardment to the fact that the French had placed artillery in the city. The "Illustration" of September 26th, 1914, says that on September 13 an electric search-light had been placed on the northern tower. In the issue of the same magazine of October 19, the maître de chapelle, Abbé Thinot, confirms that fact in a signed article, while it is still more clearly described in the English publication "The Wine and Spirit Trade Record," of November 8, 1914.¹²¹

If in spite of this, the French reports are to be credited, at least the bombardment should not be branded as barbarism. It would be fair to assume that the Germans had made a mistake. But this is not done because evil intentions of the opponent are taken for granted.

The whole German nation was jubilant, it is said, when their most ardent wish was fulfilled and the cathedral was bombarded.¹²² This sentence contains two untrue assertions. For one thing, the Germans never desired such an event as the bombardment of the cathedral, and secondly, Germany never rejoiced when it happened. The passages quoted from the "Berliner Tageblatt" nowhere mention the cathedral, and speak in a general way only of the magnificent splendor of the city. But even supposing said paper had the cathedral in mind, the generalization would remain untrue all the same. Germany, far from wishing to see the cathedral destroyed, dreaded such an event, and when it occurred the fate of the sanctuary was lamented everywhere. It is of no significance whatever that the "Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger" published a poem of an infidel rhymester who rejoices because the bells of the cathedral have ceased to ring, and the Germans have sealed with lead the portals of the "Maison d'idolâtrie." No faithful Christian—and the great majority of the German people is Christian,—much less a Catholic, will approve of such fanaticism. They rather condemn the breach of confessional peace perpetrated by the above-named Berlin journal, and it is a deplorable falsehood to claim that that poem is nothing but a lyric expression of the "pensée allemande"¹²³ or the "sentiment unanime."¹²⁴

Artistic sentiment even would restrain the Germans from such wilful destruction. During that raging battle which the Germans fought under the leadership of Major von Manteuffel, measures were taken to save the Town Hall of Louvain. The art treasures of St. Peter's Cathedral at Louvain were brought, as far as was feasible, to the less menaced Town Hall. The

119 B. 125.

120 B. 126.

121 Cf. Appendix V, 2.

122 A. 13.

123 B. 88.

124 A. 13.

Swedish Deputy, Dr. Charles Hildebrand, specially mentions that fact,¹²⁵ and asks whether such troops can be called barbarians.

But the French ultra-nationalists believe that the Germans are capable of any barbarous act. Forty-five years ago, it is said, the German "intellectuals" were lost in admiration when the tower of the Strassburg Muenster was bombarded. So Veullot assures us,¹²⁶ and relates on the testimony of André Michel, conservator of the Louvre, that General von Werder was made Doctor of Philosophy h. c. by the University of Frelburg i. B. for having shot down the finial of the spire and for having smashed the precious stained windows. Such the honors, we are told, German "culture" bestows upon those that bombard churches.¹²⁷ The historian Heinrich Finke, at present professor of history at the same University, has searched the archives with the following result. On February 6th, 1871, Werder received an honorary degree because in the opinion of many his victories in January had prevented the invasion of Southern Germany by the enemy—whatever cause there may have been for such apprehensions. "Enthusiasm because of a deliverance from serious danger has filled our city and its intellectual centre, our University," it says verbatim in Prof. Dubois Reymond's statement of reasons.¹²⁸ Quite as absurd as the Werder myth is the narrative that the Prusslan Government, in the reign of Frederick William III, wanted to carry Lutheranism, the foster-mother of Germanism, into Latin lands, and for that reason entered into negotiations with the Pope.¹²⁹

It is incomprehensible that so highly educated a man as Goyau can caricature German "culture" so hideously as he has done. All cultural endeavors are meant to satisfy human needs. Those who have no needs can never have culture. Animals have no culture; their instincts adapt themselves to their natural environments, they have no higher aspirations. The animal goes to rest when it becomes dark while man endeavors to master nature. He produces fire by friction, he then uses a pine torch to enlighten darkness. But he is not satisfied and continues his search. And so he succeeds in inventing other lighting contrivances—candles, oil lamps, gas and electric light. And what may be said of this particular case pertains to all other necessities of life. Thus man rises to a higher level of civilization.

Progress, however, is not confined to material life; it extends to intellectual life as well. Intellectual culture aspires to the true in science, to the good in morals, and to the beautiful in art. These aspirations are never satisfied to the full extent; there is always a longing and craving for the heights of perfection; needs ramify and grow more refined; cultural mechanism becomes complex and illimitable to the eye. The highest culture and its crowning piece is religious culture which embraces and unifies all departments of life.

If Goyau, therefore, wanted to describe German culture, he ought to have gathered in the first place cultural facts in all manifestations of life; and if then he would have proceeded to prove that rich variety of individual achievements as sprouting forth from one single idea: then his would have been a wonderful deed. But in that case he would have discovered, in the course of his investigations, the impossibility of explaining the whole of German culture presupposing a religious uniformity. As a matter of fact, Germany is the land of religious dissensions and this fact should not be overlooked. There is a specific Catholic religious culture in Germany, and there is a specific non-Catholic religious culture, which again is split and appears in the concrete as several religious cultures. One of the latest of these is the cult of Wotan—if that really can be called a "religious" culture. In fact it is diametrically opposed to religion.

In taking a bird's eye view, so to speak, of Germany's religious culture, we look down upon a widely ramified network of rivers and canals. For a long time all were fed by the powerful current of Catholicism which has its

¹²⁵ Ein starkes Volk, Berlin, Mittler. S. 72.

¹²⁶ B. 125.

¹²⁷ B. 87.

¹²⁸ "Frankfurter Ztg.," June 6, 1915.

¹²⁹ B. 36.

hidden source in the Supernatural and its visible one in Rome. In the course of history a dike burst. Rushing out the water found a new bed to which a great part of the German population sought access, while another part kept up its connection with the old stream, the dikes of which had been re-inforced. By far the greatest part of the German people and the German country is governed in its religious culture by Catholic and Evangelical Christianity. There are also Germans that will have nothing to do with Christianity, as such may be found in any country of the globe. Among them there is a small group particularly noticeable that disavows any connection with Catholic and Evangelical Christianity and digs its own canal which leads straight into the arid desert of paganism. This group of neo-pagans prevails in Austria rather than in the German Empire. Here we have Wotan's loyal adherents. And Goyau, while the French survey does not concern itself with Austria at all, commits the grave mistake to deal only with this insignificant organization, blind for all else, and to accuse the entire German "culture" of paganism.

It is true that there are in Germany people who dream and speak of an "Evangelical" Empire, but neither in political law nor in reality does such a thing exist. The German Emperor *personally* professes the Evangelical faith and is the head of the Evangelical Church. But the *German State* is not Evangelical. The "Kulturkampf" which wanted to force the Catholic Church into a more dependent attitude towards the State in Prussia and in Germany in general, proved a failure. Emperor and Pope concluded peace. Since that time, the religious conditions of Catholics are better regulated in Germany than in most other European countries. It is plain nonsense to identify German "culture" with Protestantism, since the Catholic Church in Germany is a religious institution recognized by the State. Even if only the moral side of German culture is at issue, Goyau's endeavors are inadequate. He could have inferred its real value from this war alone. Because war reveals the innermost characteristics of nations according to their worth and unworthiness. Could it be imagined that in Germany the property of alien enemies is looted and destroyed, as it has been looted and destroyed in Russia, England and Italy? Where have dum-dum bullets been found in large quantities? Where are prisoners of war and civilians placed under the command of colored soldiers and made to work in loin-cloths? Which country wants to starve women and children of the enemy? When military cripples were exchanged, thanks to the Pope's endeavors, France sent a part of these poor men who would have been so glad to get home again back to hospitals where their families could not communicate with them. Are they champions of true culture and civilization who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with Turcos, Senegalese, Arabs, Hindoos, Goorkhas, Sikhs, Kirgise, Tartars, Tscherkesse, Kalmucks, Turkmen, Tschunguse and hordes of every description?¹³⁰ A report will shortly be issued about the "cultural deeds" of the colored people with whom the Allies make common cause. The report will be compiled from diaries of French officers and men.¹³¹ Then Goyau will have an opportunity to study "culture" in quotation marks. *But that is not the German culture.*

C) APPENDICES TO V.

Appendices V. 1 and V. 2 have reference to the firing upon the Cathedral of Reims. Appendices V. 3 to V. 5 illustrate some French cultural conditions.

Appendix V, 1.

Aix-la-Chapelle, June 4, 1915.

Dear Professor: A couple of weeks ago Dr. Cardauns referred to this alleged expression of Goerres in the "Koenigliche Volkszeitung," and rejected it, owing to the result of my investigations. At that time I notified him that

¹³⁰ Which country claims the Minister who did not shrink from killing a man in order to do away with a person that was inconvenient to England?

¹³¹ Employment, contrary to International Law, of colored troops upon the European arena of war by England and France. Foreign Office.

according to my belief such an expression from the mouth of Goerres is impossible. However, I was not satisfied with an assertion a priori, but looked through the volumes 14 and 15, which I have here before me, and I found nothing. On the contrary from his utterances concerning Paris and its capture we may conclude that he places in God's hand all punishment, and does not at all desire a chastisement through fire and sword by the allies. (Cf. essays in No. 12, 16.) It is, of course, intelligible enough that he demands the restitution of the treasures of art taken from elsewhere. Good use may be made of the very pertinent remark concerning the French papers in No. 3, Review of the latest events.—I have looked once more through the essays in question in volume 14 from January to April, and again I found nothing. And thus I can only repeat that such or a similar expression is not to be found in the "Rheinsche Merkur." Nor did I find anything like it in other writings of Goerres; the great friend of arts that Goerres was could not write in that way.

I am always ready for further service.

Yours respectfully,

Dr. W. Schellberg.

Appendix V, 2.

Extract from "The Wine and Spirit Trade Record," London, No. 487, vol. 43, p. 974 (November 8, 1914).

Note: The London wine merchant, Frank Hedges Butler, left London towards the middle of September to go to Champagne. He came also to Reims. Here is what the magazine has to say about his sojourn there:

"The day after his arrival at Reims he visited the cathedral and from the top of one of the towers witnessed the fighting. At the top he found telephones, electric lights, soldiers' beds and a bottle of Moet and Chandon's champagne. Red Cross flags were mounted there because of the German wounded having been taken into the cathedral."

Appendix V, 3.

Open Letter to Monsignor Dr. Alfred Baudrillart,

Rector of the Institut Catholique de Paris, the author of the work: *La guerre allemande et le Catholicisme*.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor: I have seen you once in my life. It was in a memorable place. You were in the sacristy of the church of the Institut Catholique in Paris, which before the revolution belonged to the Carmelites. I went with your sexton to the corridor adjoining the sacristy and saw the spot where, on September 2, 1792, a large number of your "confères" were led two and two before an unlawful court and immediately massacred. Through the open door my eye saw the garden, where the butchery began, until the victims were driven into the church, where with death before their eyes they imparted to each other the absolution. Through the other door I saw you in the act of putting on the sacred vestments to celebrate High Mass. And then I descended into the crypt, to offer at the tomb of these unfortunate victims a tribute of admiration and veneration to those who died martyrs of their conviction, although they could have saved their lives with a word of lie. Deeply moved I left the spot so seldom visited by your countrymen. Within two hours 120 priests were murdered here under the pretence of judicial procedure. The proceedings of the court lasted then about two minutes for each one. That is what one may call prompt justice; after the massacre the villainous murderers shouted: *Vive la nation*. That was to your nation, Rt. Rev. Monsignor. You know also that the most influential historian of the present republic, Monsieur Aulard, did not only extenuate but defended outright these and the other massacres of September. You know also that Aulard's ethical catechism has replaced the Catholic catechism in the schools of France.

But you accuse us Germans before the Catholic world. If you would take the trouble and gather from all the chronicles and other sources of German history, the number of ecclesiastical ministers of the Catholic and Protestant denomination, who, in the most difficult times of German history, during the 16th and 17th centuries, were executed or murdered for their convictions, you would fall very short of the number of victims massacred within one hour "aux Carmes."

Further, those victims of the September massacres were not put to death by the enemies of their people, but by their own people. And to do this the mockery of a judicial court was resorted to.

You, Rt. Rev. Monsignor, aware of this very earnest admonition of the world's history, think it reconcilable with your conscience, to reproach a people, who for centuries have been law-abiding, with barbarism. Just ponder in calm examination, what you in your position of scholar and priest, owe to the truth. You are under the influence of an hypnosis, such as instigated the murderers of September to their ghastly deeds. You judge like them without giving even a minute's hearing to your victims.

Aloys Schulte, Dr. Phil. et jur. hon. c.

Ordinary professor of history at the university of Bonn.

Appendix V, 4.

The French Fear of Truth.¹³²

General Headquarters, June 10.

The well known Gazette des Ardennes, which appears in the occupied French territory in an edition of 90,000 copies, and is read widely by the French population, publishes in No. 53 the following characteristic communication:

"List of the French wounded returned to their country."

We publish herewith besides our list of prisoners a catalogue of those that were seriously wounded, have returned as exchange prisoners to their country, and are now in France. This list, which is to be continued, has for its object to inform the families of the whereabouts of their relatives. For this reason we point out in each case the manner of the wounds received. This publication seems to correspond to a duty of humanity, which is the more urgent as we have good reasons to believe that the relatives of these unfortunate ones are not always informed as to what happened to them, since the republic continues to hide its seriously wounded soldiers.

Letters from France continue to arrive in the German military hospitals intended for wounded prisoners who long since have returned to their country. And hence our question, published in No. 46 of the Gazette des Ardennes, continues to stand, and the following conclusion imposes itself:

The French government does not want these invalids to return to the life of the nation. It fears that their lips made earnest from the pains suffered, will uncover some of the truth concerning their treatment in Germany, which the government holds back from the French people, with the object of not hindering those disreputable endeavors, which consist in nourishing a blind hatred against the German people.

Then follow the first 200 names of the exchange prisoners, amongst them those of numerous officers.

W. Scheuermann.

Appendix V, 5.

Extracts from Letters of German Prisoners, Interned in Dahomey.¹³³

Letter of a chief engineer, November 15, 1914:

"For seven weeks I languished as a prisoner in the hands of the French in the interior of French Africa. At the capture of..... I just saved my life, all other things I lost. Only the clothes I had on my body were left to me. In rags and neglected, with the hardest and most degrading labor, I try to sustain my wretched life, in the hope that salvation will come soon. Only the thought of you keeps up my courage. At night, while lying on the straw matting on the ground, brooding for hours over what may have become of you, as I have heard nothing from you since the beginning of July. As this letter is carefully examined by strangers I cannot give you any further information.

This much is certain, that neither you nor my dear children would recognize me in the dull, bent and ragged laborer, if you had a chance of seeing me."

The same writer, November 28, 1914, under the supposition that the first letter may not have reached its destination:

"I wish to inform you that I am still living in spite of the terrible fatigues and depression of soul, and I hope that I will survive happily all tortures. . . . Within recent time I have been dispensed from heavy bodily labor, because my heart refuses."

And on December 2, 1914:

"To my greatest sorrow I heard yesterday from French sources that our sojourn here may last still four or five months. Up to that time I surely will have become insane, if no other affliction takes me away. Life here is so humiliating and soul-killing that an intelligent man cannot hold out for long. I received the advice to write to you for the necessary clothing. I am just clothed with rags; I patched up my trousers repeatedly, but they are so used up that new holes appear again and again, and I cannot hide my nakedness. My feet are covered with rags, my tropical helmet falls to pieces. The impossibility of washing myself properly engenders very bad skin diseases.

In the day time we have 50 degrees of heat, and at night sharp, cold winds. Through sleeping on the ground I contracted a severe cough, which has been torturing me for weeks.

I have gone through terrible ordeals."

On February 14, 1915, a stenographed letter from.....

"We all suffer terribly. We are abused like criminals, we are beaten and get nothing to eat. If that lasts much longer, we shall all perish. We are all sick; three have died. We fear the worst for the rainy season. Can you do nothing towards our deliverance? But it must be done in all haste.

"My health is good, but everything else is beneath criticising, because we are treated worse than criminals."

January 22, 1915 an officer writes:

"The march up to this place was very difficult. We are guarded here most strictly.

¹³² Appeared in the "Germania," Berlin, June 15, 1915.

¹³³ Published in many German papers, June 10-12, 1915.

Our imprisonment here is really shameful; we all feel that with great depression. I have stood well the great fatigues of the march up here, and I owe my iron health and my healthy body to . . .

My boots and other belongings are all torn. We do our own cooking and washing; we are not permitted to keep servants."

On February 15, 1915, from.....
"I can still report the best with regard to my health. Many a poor comrade of mine of this place cannot write the same thing to his home."

On February 3, 1915, from.....
"You would lift your hands in astonishment if I could tell you all just as it is. Why do the people at home care so little for the colonials, and refuse them all help and relief? It is quite likely that many a one wished to have been struck by a bullet rather than to live this wretched existence. A man in jail is decidedly better off than we, and from this you may get some understanding as to our life. The heart burns in the bosom if you are bound to see this misery every day. May this letter be a saving angel to us."

From a report of a German lady, who also at first was a prisoner, and describes the horrible treatment:

"..... That was about the treatment accorded to the prisoners along the coast, the poor man in the interior fared a great deal worse. From..... they had to march 30 kilometers every day. They received no coffee in the morning nor any other drink; at noon they stopped on the road and received the first breakfast. A large part of the men became weak; they had then to remain on the road until the auto came to take them. These tours were too much of a strain for Europeans; even the negroes found them hard. The French officers were carried in hammocks. During the transportation some of the men took sick from fatigues, and two died on the road. At first the French took the half invalids to the coast, but after three days they were sent to the interior. A merchant, who was amongst them, died during the march.

The men were not allowed to take more than 30 kilograms of baggage; they could carry no field beds but only chairs. Their luggage was hauled in auto trucks. Some of the men had lost their boots; an officer had only one pair that was half torn at the time he was on the steamer. The same was the case with clothes; many had lost everything. They helped each other as far as they could; but now in the interior none can have anything left, because eight months have already elapsed. We learned that they were put with bare feet to work on the roads, and had no clothes left. Houses there were none, nor did they have any fly nets; the report is that many are sick.

A Frenchman, the son of the 1st officer, was himself in..... and related of the conditions existing there. There was an intimate friendship between the two, whence it came is unintelligible to me. . . . he was informed on everything planned concerning us; he said little, but what he said was founded on truth. There were, he said, 300 men from Kamerun in A..... They were forced to cut stones and build roads under the supervision of the black. They were put to work with bare feet and in the greatest heat. They lived in straw huts and slept on straw mattings without mosquito nets. The Frenchman himself is reported to have said that they were treated like black prisoners. The poor unfortunate ones, who were not used to such hard labor, and then too in that tropical heat, with insufficient food; it is unheard of. The black brought us also the war news, and some came to bring us the latest.

In..... the legs of a wounded man were tied together above the knees, and thus he was left the night. He had a wound in the upper arm. He told us also of a brother of the missionary . . . who was cast into the prison of the natives. It was said he had no more clothes, was forced to sleep on a straw matting stretched on a stone floor, and his food was abominable."

On February 21, 1915, a prisoner writes:
"We have it very warm here now, 40 or 50 degrees in the shade; to work under that condition is very bitter.

So far not one of my companions has received anything from home."

A telegram through the ambassador in Madrid, that:

"Prisoners of war in Dahomey are employed in work on the roads. They have little in the line of clothes, shoes and quinine, four are dead, many sick."

On November 15, 1914, letter of a merchant:

"With scanty food we are compelled to do hard labor for seven hours every day in this tropical climate."

The same on November 22, 1914:

"Our condition at present is absolutely wretched."

A letter from an English prison camp:

"From a reliable source we know that the German prisoners in Dahomey are forced to labor in the interior under supervision of the black on farms and at road building; for all clothes they have a band around the hips. Several of them have died."

A woman testifies:

That the prisoners in Dahomey are compelled to do hard labor for seven hours in the intense tropical heat.

An official of the government writes:

"A missionary in my vicinity was clubbed to death with great knives by the negroes in sympathy with England; a corporal with his four colored soldiers was eaten up; another German division surprised the allies of England as they were preparing a meal of human flesh, and cleaning the bones of Europeans."

A chief engineer reports on March 15, 1915:

"We were informed yesterday that over a hundred of our letters had been destroyed, because they were too long; hence I must make my more important communications in about fifteen lines. I am still "vegetating," although the little flame of hope to see you again grows dimmer right along. Many more months will pass before we can return home. I am still waiting in vain for money and package. Why? My quinine is declining. If I fall into a fever I am lost. Send me in any case a small box of quinine capsules. May God keep you all, as I hope He will do with me.

Ever Yours.....

The same on April 4, 1915:

"Unfortunately I forgot to ask for the most necessary, a mosquito net and quinine. That will be my ruin. The reaper Death cuts mercilessly with his sickle amongst us. Yesterday we buried with whom I often spoke about the return to our families. For a long time I have not been able to write, because I was in prison; today I was released from it."

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS FROM NORTH AFRICA.

Another soldier writes from North Africa, February 5, 1915:

"We are treated like the worst criminals, and I say this for the public. Are all so weak; does a German in the colonies count for nothing any more, and is there no help forthcoming? We are dying from starvation and maltreatment; if salvation does not come soon, there will be many dead."

A man of the "Landwehr" writes on February 14, 1915:

"Some of the days at present are very hot. If only we were there (at the new place of work); for the march there is very fatiguing, and it is apt to be very hot. Things are getting worse right along; we have to work on the road on which we march for three and one-half hours. They are now practicing their rage upon us. The wind is very strong here, and the sand is blown about. Often we cannot see a thing and are expected to walk without spectacles. The skin of the face tears open and the sand causes inflammation, and nowhere a physician. The desert is like a heap of gravel and we are forced to run about on it all day long. Quite a few have lost the soles from under their boots."

A grenadier of the guard reports from Morocco, February 15, 1915:

"Many of our companions have died of fever. The heat in March and April is said to be unbearable. It is to be hoped that we won't have to work then under that scorching sun. We are employed here in building roads; sometimes I have to work in the stone quarry, and so I may act the stone cutter in the future. We did get that thing, but now it has been taken from us. The reason given for it is the saying: "As you to us, so we to you." As the French prisoners are treated at home, so will we be treated here. We sleep in tents on orange boxes. If they leave them to us, it will be better than right on the ground. Everything is modeled after the prisoners in Germany."

A corporal of the sanitary department writes on March 15, 1915:

"The treatment of prisoners prescribed by the French government defies all description. . . . While on the march we camped at night either in open stables on horse manure, or in small tents on the bare ground. The prisoners are compelled to work here at road building; and this work is extremely hard in the great heat we are having. As a compensation we receive 15 centimes for nine hours labor and a march of ten kilometers. The time allotted for eating at noon is only three-quarters of an hour. There is very little water, and we cannot think of washing ourselves every day. When the men do not work, they are punished; and three of the prisoners were beaten by the second lieutenant P. Shoes and socks are torn; shall we receive new ones? Our bodies are tortured by lice, against which we have no means of defense. It is really true that our treatment must be modified, otherwise we will all be sick. Trusting in God and in our emperor we expect the dawn of the return to our loved ones."

A professor writes to a newspaper on April 10, 1915:

"I wish to add that the physician of the German colony of C., who had petitioned four times for permission to practice his profession in the prisoners' camp, had his petition returned to him three times with the comment: "Insolent;" the fourth time a singular punishment was inflicted on him, viz.: to clean out the privies of the prisoners' camp for 14 days; and the remark was added that such an occupation might be more adapted to his profession than to cut wood."

A prisoner of war writes from Tunis on May 3, 1915:

"Since we departed from K., we are camped in tents in the midst of the colony of Tunis and exposed to all kinds of weather. We suffer much from the heat, and receive very little drinking water. We also suffer considerably from vermin, and have no opportunity for making our toilet. The transport consisted of 200 men, and all had been wounded; there are still some with open

wounds, with lame limbs or shortened legs; so that even the French physicians declined all responsibility for the transport. We are compelled to labor; the building of a road is planned, for which the payment is four sous (4 cents) per man. Punishments are inflicted for poor work. We are watched over by the convict colony, and the leader is extremely severe with us. To us are applied the well known penalties of the foreign legion. Apparently the French forget that we are prisoners of war and not convicts. For seven weeks we have received no more packages; and if some did arrive, things like chocolates, cakes, etc., were taken out. So far 650 packages for this transport are missing."

A German lady received from a Frenchman in Morocco (who found a post card with her picture and address sent to her bridegroom), the following letter of March 9, 1915:

"Your beloved will die here in B., the dirty German, as you all are, filthy brood. I will see to it that the mosquitoes eat him up. You have abused long enough women, children and old men; now it is our turn to avenge them. . . ." (Further obscenities cannot be reproduced.)

With this document of a high civilization demonstrating French chivalry towards unarmed German prisoners we conclude our selection. Hundreds of similar missives are still extant; and how many perhaps were discovered by the censor and destroyed, so that they could not reach Germany.

Appendix V, 6.

The Dutch merchant, Victor Schmier, a Catholic, living in Bruges, has testified to the following on the "cultural" deeds of the colored warriors, who fought on the side of the French:¹³⁴

"After I was liberated, I stopped at Koxyde and Ostduinkerke for about four weeks. There I met, among others sitting around the fire in the dunes, Moroccans. They were Gommiers, absolutely black, wearing turbans. In the course of the conversation I started with them, I asked if they had already been at the front and shot at the Germans. One of them answered: 'Oh, yes.' Then he stooped and drew from his wide baggy trousers a string with ill-smelling pieces of flesh. He spread out the string and counted the numbers of pieces. They were, as I saw, white human ears. Altogether, there were twenty-three of them. In connection therewith he stated explicitly that he had cut them off from wounded Germans. It was a most horrifying and gruesome sight.

"Another, as a proof of his bravery, also produced from his baggy trousers, a man's head, which he took in his hand and held out to me. The eyes were closed and full of sand. The head was beardless and red-haired. Then the black again put the head in his trousers and, afterwards, as he walked, I could see that head swinging about the back of his knee. The sons of driver Woet, also drivers themselves, can bear witness to this occurrence. They both are from Ghent. There were no officers in the vicinity, but it cannot be doubted that the officers must be aware of such barbarities and beastliness; in fact, it is quite self-evident, for it was known among the entire civilian population."

The same witness speaks of the Belgian and French armies as follows:¹³⁵

"I saw that the Belgian army, as well as the French, acted like Huns. If one considers that the members of these armies claim to belong to civilized states, one can only say that they have acted worse than the Huns. Almost all houses and villas left by their owners have been robbed and plundered. Within them there reigns indescribable filth and chaos. . . . It is impossible to give more specific details. One could talk and write about it for days.

"I was present when, in the 'Grand Hotel de la Plage' in Nieuport-Bains, a cellar was emptied by Belgian soldiers. One of the men, who was unable to open a champagne bottle, angry at his failure, threw it into the mirror, which, of course, was shattered. One night, a small group of houses between Woelpen and Ramskapelle was to be evacuated. A woman begged the Belgian soldiers commanding there, to be permitted to get her earrings and jewelry. This was refused. When the woman returned the next day, everything was broken open and looted. I found her weeping in the street. Others also told me that the Belgian soldiers had unanimously stated: 'If we do not take everything that we can, the French will, and if the Belgians and the French do not take it, then the Germans would get it.'

"I was in the district in question for twenty-seven days all told."

¹³⁴ In Grasdroff, p. 86, 87.

¹³⁵ *Ib.*, p. 87.

VI. FRANCE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A) The French Charges.

Book and album purpose to draw two pictures. The first is to depict the attitude of Germany and her army, and the second, that of France and her army to the Catholic Church. We have already discussed the misrepresentation of the former attitude in the French book. We shall now investigate the second picture in as far as it contains attacks on Germany and the German army.

First of all, it is rather strange that everything blameworthy in France should have its origin in Germany, which is even made out as having originated the fight of the French Government against the Catholic Church. "Bismarck had the diabolical thought of transplanting the Kulturkampf to France after it had come to a finish in Germany. He succeeded only too well. After having inoculated into our body politic that virus which has poisoned and disfigured us, virtuous Germany appeals to the Catholics of Italy, Spain and other lands, piously pointing her finger at us and saying: 'Look at those atheists and degenerates! What can the Church expect from them in the future? But we . . . God with us!'"¹³⁶

The expressions of vain glory which pervade the French pages are repulsive. Bishop Gibier of Versailles, formerly pastor of S. Paterne at Orleans, holds that "the French are the chosen people of God, the friends of Christ, the true and faithful servants of Holy Church,"¹³⁷ that nine-tenths of the French soldiers pray¹³⁸ that God "needs France!"¹³⁹

Contempt of German Catholicism runs parallel with that vain glory. "In fact, Bismarck's Kulturkampf has borne better fruit than people generally think. Its purpose was to nationalize German Catholicism by separating it from Rome, so that it might become a docile tool in the hands of the Emperor and the Empire. The means have failed, but the end has in a manner been attained."¹⁴⁰ To prove this assertion Catholics too are said to "have succumbed to that Germanic delirium (delirium germanicum) which has affected the whole German nation." More naive, though no less implacable, is the same missionary when he gets excited over the German expression "Our God." That appears to him as if Germany, "because government on earth is no longer sufficient to her, aspires to dominate Heavens."¹⁴¹

And then even the infidel Turks are allied to Germany! That fact alone dooms her to defeat. How gloriously different is the other side! France is the champion of Catholicism, England will reform, too, and Russia,—well, one cannot praise Russia altogether, but on the whole "Christian Russia stands higher in the judgment of God and for the eternal salvation of souls than Mohammedan Turkey and Lutheran Germany."¹⁴²

But is it not enough to depreciate German Catholicism. Even episcopal pastorals contain the worst kind of condemnations which are neither true nor just. Archbishop Mignot of Albi in his war-letter quotes from the "Temps" more than two closely printed pages of supposed German war atroci-

136 B. 48.

137 B. 278.

138 B. 278.

139 B. 277.

140 B. 49: "Au fond, le Kulturkampf a eu plus de succès qu'on ne le pense communément. Son but était de nationaliser le catholicisme allemand, en le détachant de Rome pour en faire un instrument docile à l'usage de l'empereur et de l'empire. Le moyen a échoué, mais le résultat a été, à sa manière, obtenu."

141 B. 52.

142 B. 78.

143 B. 272.

ties. According to him, the Germans are typical barbarians who set might before right, "whose minds and hearts are corrupt through lies"¹⁴³ and "who try to deceive the whole world."¹⁴⁴

Much needless dust is raised because of the "songs of hatred" composed by a few individual Germans, which have been universally disavowed in Germany. In his war-epistle, the Archbishop quotes the 108th Psalm with its imprecations, not all of which, however, he wishes to be fulfilled in the case of Germany. But suddenly he repents of his conciliatory sentiments and asks: "Why should we not declare anathema on those Teutonic robbers which they so richly deserve?"¹⁴⁵

Bishop Gibler of Versailles declares: "How can Holy Church fulfil its task with reference to such a nation which only believes in brutal force and follows mechanically the lead and impulse of its false intellectuals? No, Lutheran and Prussianized Germany is not and cannot be in this world the helpmate and apostle of Christian civilization."¹⁴⁶

B) The German Answer.

THE album pictorially represents the attitude of the French army toward the Catholic Church. There are 27 pages of pictures showing burned and demolished churches and damaged articles of ecclesiastical use and shelled hospitals, in order to show the German attitude. Then five pages of pleasant illustrations follow: A clergyman in the midst of French officers and soldiers; a military funeral at the front; Masses said in the trenches; blessing of the graves of the fallen, etc. Most theatrical are the two illustrations with the appended text saying that "French soldiers, instead of smashing crucifixes and demolishing churches, pray to Christ before the battle, and give Him thanks after the victory."¹⁴⁷ The mad notion is to be conveyed thereby as if the only relations of the German soldier with God consist in destroying churches and smashing crucifixes. Our French brethren should not entertain the thought that that sort of illustration is apt to impress anyone. The pictures are a gross insult to the intelligence of the reader. Even the simplest-minded must feel that it would be easy enough for German troops to take thousands of similar snapshots, aye, that the latter are undoubtedly far more religious than the French.

One illustration is directly droll and comic. It represents Poincaré and Millerand, the President of the Republic and the Minister of War, speaking to two French clergymen at Belfort.¹⁴⁸ The picture evidently is intended to impress people that those two statesmen too have remained loyal to the Catholic Church. It can hardly be expected that it will succeed, seeing how reluctant the military authorities were to admit volunteer field chaplains to the front, and remembering how Count de Mun at last attained that object. There were French hospitals in which religious pictures, rosaries and medals were not allowed to be distributed among the wounded, absolute neutrality of the State in religious things being given as the reason. The Government declined the proposal made by Cardinal Sevin, Archbishop of Lyons, to establish "national prayers in the name of France and for France," in spite of 180,000 signatures. There is even a worse case which Maurice Barrés, the well-known nationalist, communicates: A woman, mother of five children, whose husband had been called to the colors, had to subsist on an insufficient government allowance. When she needed shoes for her little ones, she went to the bureau where shoes are given away to needy school children. But she did not get any because her children attended the *Catholic* parochial school instead of the *State school*!¹⁴⁹ That is "Kulturkampf" even in the midst of war, and waged against those who share in its burdens and who must be ready at any moment to sacrifice their lives for their country.

144 B. 273.

145 B. 276.

146 B. 278.

147 A. 30.

148 A. 31.

149 "Figaro," October 24, 1914.

And that is not an isolated case, but rather typical of France. If one is acquainted with all that, the above-mentioned picture in the French book can only be considered self-deception.

Nor do the Germans rely on what Bishop Gibier of Versailles says, that 90 per cent of the French soldiers are religious and say their prayers. Experiences with French prisoners of war in Germany invite our contradiction.¹⁵⁰ In some places a little more than 50 per cent. attend Mass on Sunday. But in very many places 90 per cent. or even more are absent. Vast numbers never received the Sacraments for many years, and did not even go to confession before marching out to war. Let us joyfully acknowledge that some French soldiers, on being made prisoners of war, rejoined the Church from which they had turned away ever since their first communion. It is only reasonable to infer that religious conditions are similar among the soldiers at the front. So the statements made in the pastoral cannot be true. The hopeful Bishop is deceiving himself. But such is the mental disposition of many Frenchmen. They cannot see their own faults, and try to minimize them in the face of grave and substantial facts: "The re-converted men had not been to confession since their first communion or since their wedding day. But that was not the ordinary irreligious spirit, it was mere negligence which gradually led to religious indifference," thus a priest attached to the army says in the book itself.¹⁵¹

Nor is it true that the soldier-priest is everywhere respected and welcomed by the men in the French army.¹⁵² Many do not take any notice of him. Blasphemy and obscene talk are often indulged in in his presence. There is no respect for the priest's cassock. On the other hand, the "barbarians" and the Emperor protect the French priests. In the Senne camp the French soldier-priests who minister to the spiritual needs of the men now stay at the officers' barracks, and wear the soutane. Others live in the Franciscan monastery in the town. Thus they escaped many an unpleasant experience to which they would have been exposed on the part of the other French prisoners of war. A Trappist brother wrote to his Superior: "Every day I go to work together with the other cultivators of the soil. I have not asked for that work, but it was done by *French sergeants who wanted to make fun of me because of my being a Trappist.*"¹⁵³

Great things are expected from the conversions but the expectations might not all be fulfilled. In France, the moral foundation of the nation has long been undermined and run into silt. The Catholic faith does not thrive in such silt. For decades, prudent France has taken the fleeting things of this earth more to heart than the everlasting truths of religion. France was possessed by the "fear of the child." In order to make life easy for one or two children savings were invested in Russian stock. If not all signs are deceiving us, many millions have been lost. Instead of saving for their child French parents have saved for Russia. Thus the world's history avenges the sins against God's holy commandment. The voluntary restriction of children rendered France more and more impotent against Germany. Because she would not renounce her desire of revenge she had to find allies. And now she herself is forced to sacrifice the lives of French citizens, while England lets mercenaries fight her battles. France sheds her life blood for British interests. That is the second instance where God punishes the offenses against His holy commandment. The mothers in France shrank from the pains and labors and troubles caused by children; and today they mourn the loss of their "only" sons. That is the third instance where Nemesis claims atonement. After the war, French bishops may take the opportunity to point, in their pastorals, to that gaping wound in the body politic of France. There the bitterest foe is to be found. "Thy ruin cometh out of Thy own self." A nation that sins so grievously against

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Appendices.

¹⁵¹ B. 160.

¹⁵² A. 31 and B. 56.

¹⁵³ "Je vais au travail tous les jours, avec les autres cultivateurs du camp. Ce n'est pas moi qui ai demandé, mais des sergents français pour se moquer de moi parce que j'étais trappiste."

matrimony and the Sixth Commandment, which protects the child, is not easily converted to Catholicism in its fullness and force.

The tendency to trace to Germany whatever is bad and reprehensible in France is morbid. It is quite true that germs of modernism may be found in Kant. But why is it that modernism was allowed to spread in France to such an alarming extent, whilst the German Catholics were hardly affected by it? To claim that even the combat against the Church was transferred to France by Prince Bismarck is an absurdity. "Kulturkampf" is no article of export. Besides, Bismarck would have been the last man to make things palatable for France. And again, it is hardly flattering to the French to regard them as stupid enough to take from Bismarck's hand the worst poison and swallow it without looking. The misinterpretation of our German expression "The Old God" or "Our God" has been almost ridden to death. Most Germans hold that every occurrence in the lives of individuals and in the history of nations is not merely human work, but subject to divine guidance, and that all things are subservient to God's providence and dispensation in the end. It is a truly Christian conception that the growth and development of the German nation, and the rise to its present glory are not merely achievements of German intellect and strength but that God has helped the Germans, and therefore that they should give thanks to him. They hope and trust that the "old God," who has graciously led them so far will also be their guide and help in the future, so that from the precious gifts bestowed upon them they may derive sacred duties to be carried out under His guidance and according to His divine intentions. That "God of the Germans" is the same "old God" who guides the other nations. There is only one true God, not a special national God of the Germans.

It is another false notion that the Kulturkampf has nationalized German Catholicism, and thereby attained its object. Long before Bismarck's time, German Catholics fostered national sentiments which were severely tested by the Kulturkampf. But the Catholics stood the test, and remained truly national.

And surely it is not a crime for a Catholic to be national. On the contrary it is his moral duty to be national and patriotic. Therefore, no German Catholic feels offended if Catholics of other countries are national, too. But there is a wide difference between national and nationalist. National sentiments may be carried to an extreme and become disastrous. In that case everything, even Catholicism, is sacrificed to the nationalist principle. Many French Catholics, including the authors of the book which we refute, have distorted the national idea in that sense. There is no other explanation for the fact that they distort everything German and hate us with a blind rage. Even the pastorals of bishops teem with unjust attacks and insults to Germans. We realize the fact that the bishops in the dioceses which the Germans have occupied must pour some healing balm into the burning wounds of their dutiful parishioners, but they use wrong methods. They increase and stir up feelings of hatred, and their words do not carry consolation into the desolate homes, because they do not endeavor to overcome sentiments of revenge by love. They even tampered with the papal document so full of love and sadness, so noble and beneficent by its impartial tone. They gave a nationalist interpretation to various passages in that document, and printed them in italics. But even as it stands in the French book the papal document is like an innocent lamb among howling wolves. Nationalism was the fruitful source of sermons of hatred that were preached against Germany from the pulpit. A suspended priest, Wetterlé, who has betrayed his country, is allowed to incite the people against Germany from French pulpits. A positive blasphemy was the Belgian doxology which the most celebrated preacher in France recited in the presence of Cardinal Amette at Notre Dame de Paris amidst the applause of the congregation.

It would be a matter of great satisfaction to German Catholics if the religious hopes of their French co-religionists were fully realized. But they know that two of the most important elements which help to confirm a man's philosophy of life are wanting among the French Catholics. Where there is freedom of the press, and where the Catholic faith is constantly exposed to

doubt and unbelief, we need a firm press and above all Catholic schools. French Catholics are without either. If they fail to use those two means, their hopes for the future will not be realized.

French Catholicism is like a sick man. Bruised and broken by the French Government which French citizens have elected, it bleeds from a thousand wounds. Its priests are isolated in the churches of the country. The churches themselves fall to decay, so that even Barrès, the sceptic, feels touched to the heart. In most schools the children grow up without God and religion. In a session of the Chamber, Viviani could boast that the "lights of heaven are extinguished." There is soreness and sickness to the very marrow of the bone, in Church and State, among families and individuals. And those whose calling it is to heal France are blind and do not see their own misery, but raise threatening fists against an imaginary foe.

APPENDICES TO VI.

The appendices contain extracts from official reports of ecclesiastics having spiritual care of the prisoners of war. Most of the reports read about like the following:

Appendix VI, 1.

May 2, 1915.

"About 120 French miners have been employed for several weeks in the mine Tremonia, located in the Holy Cross parish. To my question whether they were Catholics nearly all answered that they were free-thinkers. For almost two hours I argued with them to induce them to assist at the services arranged in the church of Dorstfeld for them and for the prisoners of the mine Dorstfeld. I begged them to go at least out of curiosity. On the first Sunday there appeared 35; on the second Sunday those of the mine Tremonia were absent. When I called there the officers on duty told me that only ten volunteered to go, and that number seemed to him too small. To a French master-miner, who still holds dear his religion, I expressed my surprise over the conduct of his countrymen. He replied, that nothing was to be done with the men; they did not want to hear of religion. As I master the French language, I propose to renew my visits frequently, but I doubt that I will accomplish anything."

Appendix VI, 2.

May 26, 1915.

"Since the middle of March there are in this parish 50 prisoners of war, 46 French and four Belgians; all fifty are Catholics. Every second Sunday there is service for them with an instruction in French during Mass. On Easter eight of the prisoners went to the Sacraments; the others, unfortunately, could not be induced to it."

Appendix VI, 3.

May 27, 1915.

"At the beginning of April there were here fifty prisoners, for whom I said a special mass, because the military authorities would not allow other arrangements. In spite of pressing invitations only from seven to ten men came. Gradually the number of prisoners grew to about 200, to whom, most likely, will be added 200 more, as soon as the barracks are completed. About forty came to the services. On two different occasions opportunity was given to them to go to confession. A Father from Oeventrop came for that purpose. Unfortunately only nineteen presented themselves. Most of them are infidels, and have not received the Sacraments since their first communion; one never received them. We have distributed good books amongst them, such as: *Le bon soldat*, etc., and from time to time we shall give them opportunity to receive the Sacraments."

VII. THE RESULTS OF THE WAR AND CATHOLICISM.

A) The French Charges.

The result of the sanguinary struggle must affect the Catholic Church. The charges preferred in the French book turn to fear of a German victory. The French authors clearly recognize that there are more and greater issues in this war than territorial acquisition, political preponderance and economic victory. Says Monsieur Gaudeau: "My attitude to the militant atheism in France is not effeminate and passive. But on my honor and my priestly conscience I declare with a conviction which a long life of study has matured that Germany lies when she tries to persuade Catholics in neutral lands that her victory will be a triumph of religion and order, while the triumph of France would be a victory of unbelief and anarchy. Germany lies; the real enemies of Holy Church, the enemies of Christ and God, the 'viri obscuri' who have knowledge and yet work in the dark, all these side with Germany."¹⁵⁴ To prove this Gaudeau appeals to Goyau's equation, "Protestantism-Germanism." Goyau, too, holds that German thought is essentially anti-Catholic, nay, anti-religious, German Catholics, he says, cannot effectively oppose the resistless wave of agnostic Germanism. They are kept under that strong anti-religious current, aye, carried away and swallowed up by that mighty flood in politics, social life and science. France and her Allies have actually resumed the work of the Crusades in the East. Gaudeau sums up with the words of Joan of Arc: "To war against France is to war against God!"¹⁵⁵

The same thought often recurs. Germany's aspirations are overlordship of Europe, and even universal dominion. The fruit of a German victory would be to bring into German service Austria, Luxemburg, Belgium and Holland, Switzerland and the three Scandinavias, as well as part of France. German might is German right! Germany would subjugate the whole world. Her victory would be a triumph of Lutherdom and Islam. But the victory of France and her allies would be a triumph for Catholicism. In that case, German "Kultur" would be ousted by the Graeco-Latin civilization, which Christianity has permeated and crowned with a halo of glory. The Eastern question would be solved, and the Cross would soon replace the crescent in the Hagia Sofia at Constantinople. Jerusalem would become free, and the Balkan nations might live in amity and peace. The liberty of the Catholic religion would be proclaimed wherever Slav nationalities dwell.

Even the Roman question would find an adequate solution. The French people would heave a sigh of relief because they would be freed from the yoke and pressure of their formidable neighbor: Germany was always an insolent threat in the face of France. Peace within would be restored, there would be no more domestic upheavals and revolutions in France. Permanent peace and happiness would prevail.¹⁵⁶

B) The German Answer.

NOBODY can foretell with certainty what the results of the war will be. All arguments concerning the effects of the war in their relation to the Catholic Church are at present preliminary inferences drawn from facts known so far and from the presumption of victory for the one or the other side. Uncertainty regarding the final results must exist even for this reason

¹⁵⁴ B. 281.

¹⁵⁵ B. 30.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. B. 76-80.

that no one can tell how complete the victory will be, nor what the condition of the victor's strength. French Catholics say that it is a war of religion waged by German Kultur against the Catholic Church. Kultur, of course, in the eyes of those gentlemen, is anti-Catholic, anti-Christian and anti-religious. They do not take into account the large number of Catholics who fight under the flags of Germany and Austria-Hungary. These 65,000,000 men, to large numbers of whom the Catholic religion is a living faith, would hardly have gone to war with such fervent enthusiasm if they were convinced that it was a war against the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the Allies comprise schismatic Russians and Protestant Englishmen, who would certainly not put in all their strength, and sacrifice their blood and property if everything, in the end, would simply turn out in favor of the Catholic Church. The whole problem has been presented in a wrong light. In the first place, the war is not a war of religion, more particularly not a war between Catholicism and the forces opposed to Christianity. A passing glance upon the two groups of belligerents brings that fact back to mind.

It would be wrong, however, to say that religion is not concerned at all in this war. In this connection a singular observation may be pointed out. In neutral countries all those groups that are attached to Catholicism are really neutral and even pro-German. On the other hand, non-Catholic circles (excepting those who are of German birth), and above all nominal Catholics who are perfectly indifferent to their religion, are the bitterest enemies of Germany. If the argument of the French Catholics were correct, Protestant Holland and Scandinavia would openly side with Germany. But the contrary is the case. The serious Catholic newspapers all favor Germany, the other section of the press the Allies.

Thus it is in South America, Spain and Switzerland, and thus it was in Italy before she broke her pledged word and entered the war. All practical Catholics in Italy were opposed to the war to the last moment, and were well disposed towards Germany. This observation suggests a different solution. The declared enemies of the Church in all nations have made common cause against Germany. Above all, the Freemasons, who are politically so powerful in all Latin countries, have endeavored to let loose the furies of the war. All those who took a stand against the Catholic Church in the Ferrer affair years ago, again appear in the opposite camp today. They are opposed to any form of Christianity and not merely to the Catholic Church, and that is where their unity sets in. Only recently the German lodges have detached themselves from the Freemasons of Southern Europe. The latter fight against three things which draw strength from the Central Powers. They fight against the Christian idea, the monarchial form of government, and particularly against the Pope. But the Central Powers are represented at the Papal Court. Their constitution is monarchial, their princes not being mere shadows, and German-speaking nations are pervaded by the Christian spirit.

The Catholic Nationalists of France are undoubtedly largely responsible for the war. They throw in their lot with the anti-clerical party, which is the real instigator of the war. Its object is to *crush Catholicism*, and not to strengthen it. If France and her allies triumphed what would be the fate of the Catholic Church? Germany's defeat would be a victory for Russia, England, France, and now also for Italy. What attitude then would these Powers take towards the Catholic Church?¹⁵⁷

Everybody knows what to expect from Russia for the Catholic Church. Russia and the Holy See have so far been almost in a state of war. The history of the Muscovite Empire is abundant in Catholic persecutions, and the Orthodox State Church is the religious ideal of Russia. Under the pressure of modern currents of thought the Czar has indeed proclaimed religious liberty, which decree, however, hitherto has not been carried out. When the Russian armies victoriously entered Galicia, propaganda was immediately made in favor of the Orthodox Church, and Russian priests were sent into the occupied territory. A Russian victory would be a hard

¹⁵⁷ Cfr. Schroers, *Der Krieg und der Katholizismus*, Kempten und Muenchen, Koesel 1915.

blow at the Catholic Church; all the more so since Russian power over the Balkan Slavs would increase. Russia would certainly use her influence and work in the Balkan countries against Rome.

For centuries, the British Empire has been fiercely anti-Catholic. Even today the "no-popery" cry is heard broadcast throughout the bigoted country. Only recently when the fight for Home Rule in Ireland brought the country to the verge of civil war, the religious strife of old was revived. How hard it is to England's pride to do justice to Catholic Ireland, the martyr of the Catholic faith! The Catholics in England will not have to suffer fresh persecutions from their Protestant countrymen, but an English victory will certainly not help the Catholic cause. In the course of the war England sent a Minister to the Vatican, but merely for political reasons and political purposes. The English press bitterly complained that the Pope did not join in the outbursts of hatred in which the Allies indulge and that the "Clerical" press of Italy (led by the *Osservatore Romano* and the *Corriere d'Italia*) were enthusiastically "pro-German." But since Italy has joined the ranks of Germany's enemies England will be a negligible quantity as regards the regulation of the Roman question according to Papal wishes, because England must avoid a friction or breach with Italy.

And what about France? Her victory would consolidate the present Government for a long time to come. "It has thrown down hated Germany, has reconquered the old French prestige in Europe, has quenched the national thirst of revenge, and restored the military glory which is indispensable to Gallic pride. Party-torn France will join in unanimous admiration for and gratitude to the present regime."¹⁵⁸

Such would be the position of the present French Government if the Triple Alliance were to be victorious. But French Catholicism would, indeed, fall on evil days. Hitherto anti-clericalism has been characteristic of the present French Government. Bitter enemies of the Church and Atheists, led by the radical French Freemasons, have fettered Catholic vitality in France. Religious teaching has been banished from all schools and most teachers are anti-clerical. The name of God is no longer tolerated in school-books. The State has confiscated the churches, vicarages, episcopal seminaries and bishops' residences. The budget for public worship by which up to the time of separation of Church and State a small indemnity was granted for the church-property confiscated in the Revolution, is suppressed. The religious orders have been expelled from the country, and their property has been confiscated. Catholic priests are starving in France and must make a living of some sort. Chaplains in the army and navy were discharged and have been re-admitted in but small numbers at the beginning of the war. Even the Sisters of Mercy had to give up their work and leave the land. Priests gain admittance to hospitals on condition only that the patients expressly request it. No Crucifix, no religious symbol whatever, is permitted in schoolrooms, in the courts of justice and in public places. Religious processions and festivals that are celebrated in the open are strictly forbidden. The priests must serve in the army as soldiers. In hospitals, medals, rosaries, or religious pictures must not be distributed among the wounded soldiers. The law which separated Church and State even attempted to change the Catholic constitution by rendering the Catholic Church in France schismatic and severing it from Rome. *During the first three centuries of cruel Christian persecutions no Roman Emperor so systematically persecuted and oppressed the Christian religion as the present atheistic Government of the French Republic.*

Those conditions would become permanent. "The rulers who have laid the power of the Church low will live, personally and politically, on the hatred of Church and religion. Crowned with the laurel of victory, their persecution will be more cruel still, and the country, dazzled by their splendid successes, will follow their lead. The radicals want to abolish the freedom of Catholic instruction, and to make the atheistic state-school compulsory . . . Who doubts that the republican tyrants, raised to the highest power by

¹⁵⁸ Schroers, *Ibid.*, p. 17.

military triumph, will make such attempts, and that the Deputies, elected by the pressure of the Government, will uphold them. Catholics would then have to drink the cup of bitterness to the dregs."¹⁵⁹

It is similar with Italian Catholicism, since that country stabbed its former allies in the back.

As stated above, that breach of faith is due to the enemies of the Church, especially to Freemasonry. A victory would give tremendous impetus and strength to the instigators of Italy's participation in the war. But alas! Italian Freemasonry never has been particular in the choice of its means when warring against the Church. Italian Catholicism and the Pope himself would at once perceive the increased power of Freemasonry.

Catholic hearts are dismayed at the thought of what is in store for the Holy Father. Pope Benedict has remained in Rome. The Ministers accredited by the Central Powers to the Vatican have left and made abode at Lugano. The German ecclesiastics, though protected by the Law of Guarantees, have likewise left, because the Pope himself advised them to do so. The Supreme Pontiff still towers like a mighty rock in a surging and storm-swept sea. No one dares to predict what the future will reveal.

Would the victory of the Allies solve the Roman Question in accordance with the Papal dignity? A victorious Italy would make no concessions to the Papacy. France has had a diplomatic rupture with the Vatican since Church and State were severed. Russia does not worry about Rome, and would welcome its enfeeblement. England merely sent a legate to Rome with a political and selfish end in view. The entry of Italy among the belligerents has complicated conditions even more because the Roman question can be solved by the Allies only in accordance with their confederate. The German Catholics, in their annual convention, have demanded that the Holy Father have full liberty in exercising the Supreme Pontificate. The development of political conditions in Rome at the present time has justified that claim. German States and Austria have diplomatic relations with the Holy See on the basis of political and juridical principles. It cannot be indifferent to them that the Pope is deprived of all outward means to safeguard his holy office.

Catholicism has to fear nothing and to hope much from a victory of Germany and Austria. Conflict and strife will be its lot in the future as in the past. In all countries, and not only in Germany, there are intellectual currents of an anti-Christian nature which the French book tries to represent as typically German. But German Catholics have been good at defending their holy faith in the intellectual contests of the past. They shall be wanting even less after the war. Many a one who formerly was animated by anti-Catholic feelings, will be of a different disposition after the war. Above all, the German Catholics trust that the Government of the country will not in the least take part in a warfare against the Church. The lessons of the "Kulturkampf" are not forgotten: Vestigia terrent. As to its inner development, German Catholicism has made splendid progress. On all sides there is keen Catholic activity. German sense of organization has achieved its most conspicuous results in the realm of German Catholicism. The German Catholics therefore are fully conscious of their strength and are ready to defend their religion against any and all attacks. None is worthy of life and liberty but he who acquires them every day anew and knows how to defend them if need be. The German Catholics trust in the living God and in their own strength. They do not seek the conflict, but neither do they fear it, and they view the future calmly.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

VIII. CONCLUSION.

A RESUME of the preceding analysis shows that the French book and album purpose to create the impression on the reader that Germany is hostile to religion and Catholicism, whereas France is the refuge for both. The colors are mixed accordingly. Book and album present horrible pictures whenever they want to show up Germany in her alleged hatred of religion and of the Catholic Church. Anything which is open to attack, even in the slightest degree, is seized upon gratefully and greedily, everything else is passed over. But when France is to be depicted, the landscape is sunny and serene. Peaceful and attractive pictures are presented. Everything that is in any way defective is either eliminated or glossed over with the light hue of palliation.

The aspect of both pictures is utterly wrong. Germany is represented as a devil of darkness and France as an angel of light. Neither is true.

Germany is slandered unjustly. National passion has outraged truth. It represents Germany as having prepared a frivolous war of aggression for many years, and of having groundlessly and unjustly attacked her peace-loving neighbors at a favorable opportunity, whereas she was in reality forced into war and must defend herself. National passion accuses Germany, who crossed the Belgian frontier in justified self-defence, of the breach of Belgian neutrality, although this certainly has not existed since 1906, and France and England were for their part ready to enter Belgium. It accuses Germany of atrocities in her methods of warfare, which have by no means been established as facts. It makes use of indicting pamphlets which have been proven to contain false assertions. It calls those acts atrocities which were only justified defense against the franc-tireur war. It makes use of witnesses who may open their mouths only in accusation; it even calls German soldiers as witnesses in quoting parts from their diaries which seem able to throw dark shadows on the German methods of warfare, and passes over in silence everything that might disseminate a friendly light. In doing this it often imputes to German words meanings which they do not have; often the text is turned and twisted until it has the desired meaning. It has admitted witnesses for the *prosecution* but none for the *defence*. It denies irritation and grave provocation of the German soldiers by the embittered and unlawful franc-tireur warfare of the Belgian population which, in ignorance of what the Government of the country had done, regarded Belgium as a neutral country and, misled by the press which trusted blindly and frivolously in the Allies, indulged in the hope that by participating in the fighting it might cause the defeat of the German army. It has violated the basic principle governing any just proceeding: *Audiatur et altera pars*.

That in an army of millions there are inferior elements that are guilty of excesses is natural and will by no means be denied. But it is unjust to place the blame for the actions of a few individuals on the entire

army, when it is certain that the army leaders are endeavoring with the greatest earnestness and energy, to prevent such excesses and to punish the guilty ones.

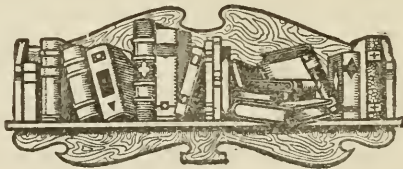
National passion imputes to Germany a conception of war and civilization which she does not have, and which she rejects. It endeavors to build up such conceptions partly from invented or misunderstood individual statements of events, or by making the entire nation responsible for such isolated statements made by irresponsible persons.

Hatred of the enemy has drawn the picture: it is a caricature.

France is glorified beyond measure. No shadow darkens the angelic picture. Whatever can serve this glorification is seized upon and skillfully used, everything else is passed over in silence or is at least lit up by the light of understanding and loving apology.

Vain glory has painted the picture; it is an apotheosis.

Dispassionate reason will reject both pictures in order to serve truth. "Great is the power of truth, and it shall prevail in the end."



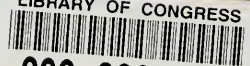
CORRECTION.

On page 78, note 130, read hiring instead of killing.

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