

ond, in 1861 there was no executive machinery for dealing systematically on a large scale with criminal cases. The Attorney General received only by the act of August 2, 1861, authority to supervise and direct United States marshals and district attorneys. Prior to that date these officials were under no specific executive department. This accounts for the utter confusion in the handling of disloyalty at the outbreak of the war. In 1917, on the contrary, the Attorney General was the head of the Department of Justice, equipped with complete authority and a numerous personnel throughout the nation. All powers vested in the President by the legislation referred to were by executive order turned over for exercise to the Attorney General in May, 1918. The secret service of the Department of Justice established at once close relations with the Military Intelligence Office of the army, and the joint activity of these two was responsible for the striking results achieved.

The spirit and record of the Wilson administration must give much satisfaction to those who seek an abiding reign of law. It would, however, be a highly sanguine student of history who would assert that the normal course of justice would have been consistently maintained in our last war if the enemy had been as near to Washington as he was in 1861, or if the conflict had lasted four years, or if great reverses had been experienced, or if our coasts had been threatened at close range by a high-seas fleet instead of by a lonely and furtive submarine.

W. A. DUNNING.

HISTORICAL WORK BY ARMY GENERAL STAFFS¹

WITH the growth of a general staff in an army, when a feeling of responsibility for the sources of information which general staff co-ordination brought together was recognized, and when the necessity for the study and authorized dissemination of the information

¹ The writer desires to make grateful acknowledgment to Col. C. W. Weeks, G. S., chief of the Historical Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, and to Col. J. R. M. Taylor, U. S. A., librarian of the Army War College, for the opportunity and incentive which made possible the writing of this article.

Excellent critical bibliographies of the South African and Russo-Japanese wars are to be found in earlier numbers of this *Review*: "The Literature of the South African War, 1899-1902", by a British Officer, XII. 299-321 (1907); a supplementary communication, by Dr. H. ver Loren van Themaat, XV. 430-432 (1910); "The Literature of the Russo-Japanese War", by a British Officer, XVI. 508-528, 736-750 (1911). Inasmuch as the general staff histories of these wars were still in process of publication, reference to them in these articles is brief and incidental.

was seen, the writing of military history by army officers, except in the guise of memoirs, began to cease. The formation of a historical section in a general staff composed of officers with historical training or aptitudes, was therefore only a matter of course.

Inasmuch as the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 was the first great war the direction of which was dominated by a general staff, it would be expected that the first general staff history would deal with that war. Such is practically, if not exactly, the case. Officers of the Russian General Staff published, in the generation after Waterloo, a large history of the Seven Years' War.² A Russian history of operations of the year 1812 was written, and a translation of it into German published in 1862 and 1863, which bears every mark of the beginnings of general staff control,³ and a French work in 1865 shows in its title a further step in the same direction.⁴ The year 1867, however, saw a work by the Historical Section of the German Great General Staff on the campaign of the year 1866. It is a single volume, issued as a sort of trial effort in a new field, with none too great assurance, recognizing in the introduction that its presentation is one-sided. It seemed good enough, however, to merit the English translation which followed five years later.⁵

But it was with the Franco-German War that general staff history really began. In the introduction to the English translation made by Major Clarke of the work begun by the German General Staff in 1872 and finished in 1880,⁶ this statement appears: "The account will ever remain a standard military classic of one of the most remarkable campaigns in the world's history." The history deals almost exclusively with operations, treated in an over-strict chronological fashion, although here and there are scattered well-written criticisms and summaries. There seems to be a certain lack

² *Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, von den Offizieren des Grossen Generalstabes (8 vols., 1824-1847).

³ M. Bogdanovitch, *Geschichte des Feldzuges im Jahre 1812, nach den Zuverlässigsten Quellen, auf Allerhöchsten Befehl*, translated by G. Baumgarten (3 vols., 1862-1863).

⁴ *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon III. en Italie, 1859*, rédigée au Dépôt de la Guerre (1862).

⁵ *Der Feldzug von 1866 in Deutschland*, redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstabes (1867). Translated into English by Colonel von Wright and Capt. H. M. Hozier, *The Campaign of 1866 in Germany* (1872, repr. 1907).

⁶ *Der Deutsch-Französische Krieg 1870-71*, redigirt von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abtheilung des Grossen Generalstabes (20 Hefte in 7 vols., 1872-1880). Translated into English, *The Franco-German War, 1870-71* (5 vols., 1874-1884), by Major F. C. H. Clarke in the Topographical and Statistical Department of the War Office. Another edition of the German (5 vols., 1875-1881).

of balance, and the lack of an analytical index had to be supplied in the English translation. Nor is the work free from an occasional taint of propaganda—an unhistorical mark which reappears in nearly all the later work of the German General Staff—such as is found at the end of Heft 8, written in 1875 (pp. 1305-1306), which glowingly explains the expectant glances of the German army Parisward.

Among other reasons why the French were late in publishing general staff histories of the Franco-German War, must be taken into account the fact that French history on the modern plan was only begun with the establishment in 1868 of the *École des Hautes Études*. Also the archives of the general staff of the French Second Army and a large portion of the archives of the General Staff itself were destroyed March 18, 1871. General Ducrot was authorized by the minister of war, April 22, 1872, to publish a history of the defense of Paris.⁷ Here there is something besides a description of operations, for two chapters are devoted to political and diplomatic matters, five chapters to economic mobilization, and one book in the third volume to civilian morale.

Beginning in 1873 there were various commissions of inquiry which published documents of all kinds, but it was not until 1901, at about the same time that the General Staff began to publish hitherto unedited memoranda in the *Revue Militaire*, 1899, and in the *Revue d'Histoire*, 1901, that the elaborate French General Staff history in forty-three volumes began to appear.⁸ In the opinion even of French officers this is the poorest of all general staff histories. It was followed in 1906⁹ and in 1912¹⁰ by two volumes practically supplements, and these by two monographs by Lieut.-Col. E. Picard, chief of the Historical Section of the General Staff.¹¹ On page 293 of the second volume of *Sedan*, after mention of the present state of men and matériel, the following striking passage appears: "Voilà certes de quoi permettre à la France de regarder l'avenir avec confiance et d'envisager sans crainte l'heure où elle aurait à défendre son sol et à assurer ses destinées."

⁷ A. A. Ducrot, *La Défense de Paris, 1870-1871* (4 vols., 1875-1878).

⁸ *La Guerre de 1870-1871*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (43 vols., 1901-1914).

⁹ A. Martinien, *État Nominatif des Officiers tués ou blessés, Guerre de 1870-1871*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (2 vols., 1902, 1906).

¹⁰ *Id.*, *La Mobilisation de l'Armée, Mouvement des Dépôts, Armée Active, 1870-71*, publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée (1912).

¹¹ E. Picard, *1870: La Guerre en Lorraine* (2 vols., 1911); *1870: Sedan* (2 vols., 1912).

The works on the wars of 1866 and 1870 were done by the War History Section of the German General Staff, but beginning with the war with Denmark there is a slight change in the way in which authorship is expressed, the General Staff itself assuming primary responsibility. That this has the importance which has been attached to it the present writer inclines to doubt. At all events it was felt necessary first to complete the cycle of the wars of Kaiser Wilhelm I., and this was done in 1886.¹² This cleared the way for the *magnum opus* which the Historical Section was finally able to begin.¹³ Although the First Silesian War of Frederick the Great began exactly a century and a half before the German General Staff history of it was started, it had not been possible earlier to get access to the Austrian, French, and Saxon archives, or the family archives of the Wolfenbüttel, Zerbst, and other German houses. The opportunity had now come, and recognition of the fact is made, in the introduction to the first volume of the twenty-one dedicated to the wars of Frederick the Great, in the following words: "Therefore there is now material at hand enough to allow the historical presentation of the deeds which surround the name of the Great King with everlasting glory, and which opened to Prussia the road to a place as a great European power." In the fifth volume of *The Seven Years' War* there is a chapter on morale ("Geist und Werth des Heeres"),¹⁴ which has an enlightening description of the method of instilling hatred of the enemy (*Feindeshass*) into a body of recruits who have no military tradition or stimulus for enthusiasm; and in the tenth and twelfth volumes are several unhistorical rodomontades on "mit dem Schwerte in der Hand" and "der Appell an das scharfe Schwert".

The French General Staff followed the lead of the German in going back to the wars of their military genius. In 1902 a three-volume work appeared,¹⁵ followed in 1907 by one of five volumes,¹⁶ on campaigns of Napoleon.

¹² *Der Deutsch-Dänische Krieg, 1864*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte (2 vols., 1886-1887).

¹³ *Die Kriege Friedrichs des Grossen: Der Erste Schlesische Krieg, 1740-1742* (3 vols., 1890-1893); *Der Zweite Schlesische Krieg, 1744-1745* (3 vols., 1895); *Der Siebenjährige Krieg, 1756-1763* (15 vols., 1901-1913), herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte.

¹⁴ Ch. VI., pp. 51-57.

¹⁵ Comm. Sasaki, *Campagne de 1809 en Allemagne et en Autriche* (3 vols., 1899-1902), publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée.

¹⁶ Comm. Balagny, *Campagne de l'Empereur Napoléon en Espagne, 1808-1809* (5 vols., 1902-1907), publié sous la direction de la Section Historique de l'État-Major de l'Armée.

The Russians were over twenty years in beginning a general staff history of the Russo-Turkish War. A colonel in the German army published three volumes of critical sidelights on the war based on the memoirs of Kuropatkin, which if it did not have general staff authority was certainly for staff and military consumption. When the Russian General Staff work did appear¹⁷ it was at once translated into German, with the recognition that it was *besonders wichtig*.

The South African War was not yet finished before histories of it began. The first official works of staff interest were the Canadian reports,¹⁸ which dealt mostly with equipment and transportation. The French General Staff began in 1901 to make studies on the war, and as soon as it was over published a three-volume history¹⁹ with the statement that although no one ought to dream of writing as yet the history of the South African War, nevertheless the lively interest it had aroused, the polemics it had created, and the often hasty conclusions which had been drawn from actions in it, had made it necessary to bring to the knowledge of the military public the information at present available from creditable sources. This work was followed by the report of the English Royal Commission²⁰ "to inquire into the military preparations for the War in South Africa and into the supply of men, ammunition, equipment, and transport . . . and into the military operations", etc. The German General Staff work was next. It treated the war in Hefte 32-35²¹ of a series of historical monographs—about which more will be said below—this being the first attempt of the German General Staff to deal with events in which the German army took no part, and to utilize the experience gained by other powers beyond the confines of Europe, particularly inasmuch as Germany had be-

¹⁷ *Der Russisch-Türkische Krieg 1877-1878 auf der Balkan Halbinsel*, verfasst von der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Commission des Kais.-Russischen Hauptstabes. Translated under the chief of the Austro-Hungarian staff and published by direction of the Kriegs-archiv, by V. Grzesicki and F. Wiedstruck (7 vols., 1902-1911).

¹⁸ *Organization, Equipment, Despatch, and Service of the Canadian Contingents during the War in South Africa, 1899-1900* (Department of Militia and Defence for the Dominion of Canada, Sessional papers, 1901, Supplementary Report no. 35a; *id.*, 1903, no. 35a).

¹⁹ P. V. Fournier, *La Guerre Sud-Africaine*, publié sous la direction du 2^e Bureau de l'État-Major Général de l'Armée (3 vols., 1902-1904).

²⁰ *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Military Preparations and other Matters connected with the War in South Africa* (1903); *Minutes of Evidence* (3 vols., 1903).

²¹ See note 30. Also a series of Hefte, *Die Kämpfe der Deutschen Truppen in Südwestafrika*. (Kriegsgeschichtliche Abteilung I. des Grossen Generalstabes) from *Vierteljahrsheften für Truppenführung und Heereskunde* (1906-).

come a colonial power. These volumes were translated by English staff authority in 1905 and 1906. The English staff was last in publishing its history of the war.²²

The General Staff of the United States army was the first to publish official reports on the Russo-Japanese War, a volume of reports of military attachés appearing in 1906,²³ and an epitome of the war in 1907.²⁴ The English staff history began to appear in 1908,²⁵ the Austrian in the same year,²⁶ and the German in Hefte 37-49 of its historical monographs. The Russian General Staff history appeared in 1910 and was at once translated into English, French, and German by their respective general staffs.²⁷ The Japanese official reports in twenty volumes began to appear in 1911.²⁸

The German General Staff early recognized distinct fields for its historical publications. It took under its aegis in 1892 Moltke's correspondence;²⁹ in 1898 it began a series of monographs, with a total of fifty Hefte to date,³⁰ which gave official sanction to certain chosen diaries, memoirs, criticisms of past operations, or plans for future ones, etc.; and finally in 1901 it began a series of studies on military history and tactics, beginning with the Franco-German War

²² *History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902*, compiled by direction of His Majesty's Government by Maj.-Gen. Sir [John] Frederick Maurice and a staff of officers (8 vols., 4 of maps, 1906-1910).

²³ *Reports of Military Observers attached to the Armies in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War* (War Department, General Staff, no. 8, 5 vols., 1906-1907).

²⁴ *Epitome of the Russo-Japanese War* (War Department, General Staff, no. 11, 1907).

²⁵ *The Russo-Japanese War*, compiled by the General Staff at the War Office (1906), continued as *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War*, prepared by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence (3 vols. in 6, 1908-1912); *British Officers' Reports* (5 vols., 1908).

²⁶ Austrian official reports, *Einzelchriften über den Russisch-Japanischen Krieg*, Beihefte zu *Streffleurs Oesterr.-Milit. Zeitschrift* (67 Hefte, 1905-1914). *Taktische Detaildarstellungen aus dem Russisch-Japanischen Kriege*, by direction of the Austrian General Staff by Col. von Habermann and Capt. Nowak (12 Hefte, 1908-1914).

²⁷ *Russko-Yaponskaya Voina, 1904-1905* (9 vols., bound in 17 large volumes, 1910), by the Military Historical Committee. Translated into German as *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg: Amtliche Darstellung des Russischen Generalstabes*, von Freiherr von Tettau (11 vols., 1910-1912). English translation of German translation, by K. von Donat (17 vols., 1908-1914). Translated into French as *Guerre Russo-Japonaise, 1904-1905*, traduction publiée sous la direction de l'État-Major de l'Armée, 2^e Bureau (18 vols., 1910-1913).

²⁸ *Japanese Official Reports* (20 vols., 10 of them maps, 1911).

²⁹ *Moltke's Militärische Werke*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte (15 vols., 1892-1912).

³⁰ *Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelchriften*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung (50 Hefte in 18 vols., 1885 [1898]-1914).

as being a new epoch in war operations.³¹ This monograph method will in all likelihood be the way in which all general staffs will deal with the publication of details of any sort as subsidiary and supplementary to the larger and more general histories.³²

The most noticeable thing in the general staff histories is the broadening of the subject field. At first nothing was treated but "operations", but gradually, as the general staffs through their coordinating branches began to understand that military operations were only part of a war, chapters of a political, topographical, and diplomatic nature were added; and the story of the mobilization of military forces was supplemented by the story of the mobilization of civic forces and industrial resources, until some of the later general staff histories devote as much as a fourth of their space to operations other than those of a strictly military nature.

Work has already been begun by the general staffs of the armies of several countries on histories of the late World War for civilization. This war ushered in a new epoch in warfare greater than did the Franco-German War in that the phrase "nations in arms" is correct and applicable. That the foreign general staff histories will give much space to civilian operations is certain, not only from the proof of increase in that direction in past histories, but from the nature of the case. The General Staff of the United States army, through its Historical Branch which is working under good auspices and with exemplary realization of its responsibilities, is preserving a good proportion in the assignment of space in its history to the various activities which carried the United States of America through to final victory.

RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN.

³¹ *Studien zur Kriegsgeschichte und Taktik*, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung (12 vols., 1901-1913).

³² The titles of several histories written by or under the direction of general staffs, and found in the Army War College library collection, are here added:

British Minor Expeditions, 1746 to 1814, compiled in the Intelligence Branch of the Quartermaster-General's Department (1884).

Col. J. F. Maurice, *Military History of the Campaign of 1882 in Egypt*, prepared in the Intelligence Branch of the War Office (1887).

C. de La Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte, 1798-1801* (État-Major de l'Armée, Section Historique, 1899-1907).

Scritti Editi e Inediti del Generale Giovanni Cavalli, per ordine del Ministero della Guerra (Turin, 4 vols., 1910).

Crónica Artillera de la Campaña de Melilla de 1909 (Madrid, Ministerio de la Guerra, 1910).

Bosquejo de la Campaña Turco-Balcánica de 1912-13, bajo la dirección del Jefe del Depósito de la Guerra (1913).

Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege 1812-1813, herausgegeben vom Grossen Generalstabe, Kriegsgeschichtliche Abtheilung II. (1912-1914).

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1917

WE have no precedents in the United States for official histories of the wars in which this country has been engaged. It is true that we have published voluminous reports, that we have issued state papers, sometimes with annotations, and that we have printed source-material, but so far no history properly speaking has been issued with governmental sanction.

The *Rebellion Records* are not only not history but they are hardly a model to be followed.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army was established in February, 1918, and assigned to the duty of preparing an official history of the participation of the United States in the European war which began in 1914. With the creation of a body to write an official history, it became necessary to decide upon the scope of the work. There are a long series of precedents in Europe for the writing of military histories, but they all describe the operations of the belligerent armies with only brief summaries of the diplomatic negotiations which began and closed hostilities, while the problems of supply and maintenance of the armies and their matériel are consigned to a subordinate place if discussed at all. They are essentially military histories, in which the moves of the pieces upon the board are described in minute detail, but in which the forces that set the pieces in play, the means of continuing them in operation, and the causes which produced the end of the movement are all ignored.

There were many reasons for this treatment. The German official history of the war of 1870-1871 is essentially a piece of adroit propaganda issued to impress the world with the invincibility of the German armies, and it furnished a model which was considered if not followed by subsequent writers and compilers of military histories. Then it must be considered that, prior to this war, armies, however large, were instrumentalities of the state rather than the state itself at war. The conception of the nation in arms remained an academic one until the war which has now closed embodied it in peoples engaged in the supply of the fighting armies. In the past, the service of supply ran from the army to bases which received what was necessary for the maintenance of the army, but about these bases the life of the community went on, disturbed perhaps, but fundamentally unchanged. In this war, with the extension of the powers of government in every one of the belligerents, with the enormously increased consumption of munitions, and with the great