

The Nation

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Summary of the News

As we write, there is every indication that the present week may prove the most momentous one in the fortunes of the Allies since Gen. Joffre rallied his forces at the Marne. Rumors of dissension in the British Cabinet and severe criticism of the Government's diplomacy in the Balkans culminated on Tuesday in the definite announcement that Sir Edward Carson, the Unionist Attorney-General from Ulster, had resigned. For some days previous Sir Edward had ostentatiously absented himself from meetings of the Cabinet. Early comment on the withdrawal of the Attorney-General took the view that the dissension in the Cabinet was not over the question of conscription, but over the Government's policy in the Balkans. Further complications were added to the situation by the news on Tuesday of Mr. Asquith's illness.

Simultaneously with the news of Sir Edward Carson's resignation came the announcement by the official press bureau that Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton, the British Commander-in-Chief in the Dardanelles, had been recalled to England "to report," and that Major-Gen. Sir Charles C. Monro had been appointed to succeed him. Rumors that the campaign in Gallipoli might be abandoned and the troops transferred to the Balkans have been abroad for the past week and received additional currency through a suggestion that this course should be adopted, made by Lord Milner in the House of Lords on October 14. On the same day in the House of Commons Sir Edward Grey made a statement on the situation in the Balkans, giving a résumé of Allied diplomacy there during the war.

In France, also, a Cabinet crisis arising out of the Balkan situation has been narrowly averted. As a result of friction in the Cabinet over the foreign policy of the Allies, the resignation of M. Delcassé, the Foreign Minister, was announced to the Chamber of Deputies by Premier Viviani on October 13. M. Viviani himself has assumed the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in addition to the Presidency of the Council. A considerable amount of criticism was directed at the Government in the course of the debate, but the Ministry finally received a decisive vote of confidence—372 votes to 9—although many Deputies abstained from voting.

Events have moved rapidly in the Balkans. Diplomatic relations between England and Bulgaria were broken on October 13, and war was formally declared by Great Britain on October 15. On the same day a note was received by the British Government from Greece announcing her decision not to intervene in the war on behalf of Serbia at present and setting forth the opinion that the treaty with Serbia did not in the circumstances call for intervention by Greece. On October 12 Greece had presented the same contention in her reply to the Serbian inquiry as to whether the Greek army was ready to operate against Bulgaria. The Greek excuse

for repudiating the treaty with Serbia is that it was meant to apply only to a purely Balkan struggle and not to a general conflagration. The Rumanian Cabinet also declared for neutrality on October 13.

M. Viviani, in the speech in the Chamber referred to above, announced that Russia would take part in the war against Bulgaria, and on October 15 he told the French Senate that Italy would also take part. So far neither Italy nor Russia has furnished troops for the Balkan campaign, but a formal declaration of war was made by both of these countries on Tuesday. Russian forces could only be sent to the field in two ways, through Rumania or by effecting a landing on the Bulgarian coast on the Black Sea. For the latter purpose it is not thought that Russia possesses sufficient transports. There were reports last week that Russia had asked Rumania to allow the dispatch of troops through her territory, but these reports have not been confirmed. A blockade by the Allied fleets of the Bulgarian coast on the Ægean was announced on October 16.

The Allied expedition that landed at Salonica has made progress, and on the quick success of this expedition, it is believed, depends not only the fate of Serbia and more far-reaching results affecting British interests in Egypt and the Orient, but the solution of the political situation in Britain. As we write, the military situation appears, if anything, to favor the Allies. The progress of the Teutonic forces which have invaded Serbia across the Save, the Danube, and the Drina continues to be slow, and obviously the Serbian army has so far offered more stubborn resistance than was expected by the German General Staff. The Allied expedition from Salonica has crossed the Bulgarian frontier at a point just north of the Greek border, and has taken the fortified town of Strumitsa. On the other hand, Bulgarian troops have cut the Salonica-Nish line at Vranja. A second Allied expedition on Sunday or Monday effected a landing at Enos, on the Ægean Sea, at the frontier of Bulgaria and Turkey, and has seized the railway running east from Dedeaghat (twelve miles away) to join the main line from Sofia to Constantinople. Dedeaghat, a strongly fortified port, is therefore threatened both by land and sea.

The extent to which the German submarine campaign continues cannot be accurately gauged, since the official press bureau, in reporting the destruction of vessels, has adopted the practice of not always stating the agency. During the past week three British, one Swedish, and one Norwegian vessel have been reported sunk. News was received on Monday that the French steamship Amiral-Hamelin had been sunk without warning by an Austrian submarine in the Mediterranean, with the loss of seventy-one lives. On the same day Count Bernstorff gave out a statement that German submarines had recently sunk twenty-three vessels of the Allies, including four transports, in the Mediterranean. British submarines in the Baltic have continued a successful campaign. Official announcement was made in Petrograd on Sunday of the sinking of five German transports. Late last week a German destroyer and a torpedo boat

were reported sunk. Recent dispatches have indicated that the activity of British submarines has virtually brought to an end traffic between Germany and Sweden in the Baltic.

Two more Zeppelin raids were made over London on the night of October 13-14. According to a long official report of the raid published on Monday, 127 persons were killed or injured, and "except for one chance shot the damage was exclusively on property not connected with the conduct of the war."

The text of the latest note on the Frye question to be sent by the United States to Germany was published in Tuesday's papers. The note, which is dated October 12, is in response to the German note of September 19.

Formal recognition of Carranza as head of the *de facto* government of Mexico was accorded by the United States and the South American republics which have participated in the Pan-American Peace Conference on Tuesday.

At a dinner of the Republic Club in New York on Monday night several speeches were made by prominent Republicans urging ex-Senator Root to accept the Republican nomination for President in 1916.

In the election in New Jersey on Tuesday the Woman Suffrage amendment was defeated by a heavy majority. Early returns yesterday showed an estimated plurality against the amendment of some 55,000.

President Wilson has definitely come out in favor of a considerable increase in preparation for national defence. The programme to be adopted by the Administration, it is stated, will involve an expenditure of close on a billion dollars and includes a large increase in ships and personnel of the navy and extensive reorganization of the army, with special attention to the creation of a reserve force. The President, it was announced this week, will outline his plans in an address at the Manhattan Club of New York on November 4.

Count Bernstorff on Monday announced that he had forwarded to Secretary Lansing affidavits of some American mulemen alleging that the British patrol vessel Baralong, while flying the American flag, had attacked a German submarine, and that the crew of the patrol had killed several of the German survivors when they were endeavoring to reach or had reached safety on the Nicosian, the vessel from which the incident was witnessed. As the use of a neutral flag as a *ruse de guerre* is legitimate, and as it is not the business of the United States to inquire into the good faith of the affidavits, the document has been put on file.

News came on Saturday that the American Embassy had notified the British Foreign Office of the execution by the German authorities in Brussels of Miss Edith Cavell, an English school teacher, after her conviction by court-martial on a charge of having assisted British and French soldiers and Belgians of military age to escape from Belgium. Sir Edward Grey has requested the American Government to investigate the case.

The Week

A witty American has said that the English are just now acting as if they were "bears on themselves." It is certain that the political squabbles and the Governmental differences of opinion and the violent press campaign, occurring as they have in the midst of a war which Englishmen have been told means life or death for their Empire, make a bad impression. They seem to imply a lack of unity, and even of patriotic determination, in the face of a great national crisis. But to conclude that this is true would be a mistake. If such manifestations were made in Germany, then, indeed, we might think that the foundations were breaking up. In English history, however, events such as we are now witnessing are familiar. In England, war is not permitted to still the strife of tongues. For bitterness and for recrimination, nothing that is passing now equals what took place at the time of the Crimean War. We Americans would do very much what the English are doing if we were engaged in a war going badly. We, too, would be crying out on our blundering Government, demanding scapegoats, and all that sort of thing. All this is in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. It has to be borne constantly in mind when trying to get a true measure of such political agitations as are now afflicting England.

Behind the whole undoubtedly lies the feeling that British ill success in the war has been due to mismanagement. This is believed to be partly military and partly diplomatic. But any fair consideration of the matter must take into account the enormous difficulties that had to be faced. In the whole question of foreign policy, for example, both military and diplomatic, it must be remembered that the British Government has not been free to play its own hand. It has had to consult with its allies. And if it is hard to make a Coalition Government run smoothly, to conduct a gigantic war through a Quadruple Entente is vastly harder. Long-range consultations are necessary. Different views have to be compared and reconciled. Conflicting interests have to be composed. All this takes a great deal of labor and a lot of time; and the misery of it is that, when a decision is finally reached, the situation may have so changed that the work has to be begun all over again. Under such conditions, the real wonder is, not that there have been so many delays and disappointments, but that there

has been such marked and unbroken harmony, among Russia and France and Italy and England, and that together they have accomplished so much. All told, the political excitements in England are superficial—not to say a trifle artificial. They do not go to the heart of the English attitude or the English purpose. The members of the Government know that the reproaches now heaped upon them are only of the sort that were showered upon the Aberdeen Ministry in the '50's, upon Gladstone at the time of the Sudan campaign, and upon Salisbury and Chamberlain in the first months of the Boer War. These things will pass, and, so long as the strength and will of the English people continue bent to the great tasks laid upon them by the war, cannot materially affect the long result.

To what extent the departure of Théophile Delcassé from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the sign of national dissatisfaction with his policies, to what extent it is the outcome of personal politics, we cannot say. We know that even in the midst of great national crises personal interests and ambitions persist. We have an example in England. Assaults upon Kitchener and the campaign for conscription have not been actuated by pure patriotism. The supposed personal ambitions of Lloyd George not so long ago agitated the English people. Factional politics could not ask for a better opportunity to drive home its attack than a situation like that which has developed in the Balkans. There the Allied diplomacy has unmistakably suffered a severe defeat, with corresponding loss of prestige for the responsible Ministers, whether it be a Delcassé or a Grey. Under any other interpretation the resignation of the Minister who has been correctly described as the co-author with Edward VII of the present anti-Teuton alliance, and as the architect of the French policy of colonial expansion which sharpened the perpetual conflict between France and Germany, might be taken as a sign of discontent among the French people with their present situation. But against Delcassé's departure we must put the decisive vote of confidence granted to the Viviani Ministry, and the overwhelming evidence from every quarter that there is no thought in France of crying quits until the great issue has been fought out.

The departure of Delcassé means the going of one of the nation's Elder Statesmen. For a people whose parliamentary life is

supposed to undergo exceptionally violent fluctuations, France has made use of its veteran politicians to a greater extent than any other Government. If we take the English Cabinet, we find that many influential members are comparatively new men, of the generation after the Boer War. Balfour and Lansdowne alone go back to the nineteenth century, but their position is one of prestige rather than of direct influence. Asquith was Home Secretary as far back as 1892, but Lloyd George and Grey began their Ministerial careers in 1905. Bonar Law and Winston Churchill's growth are of a later date. New men are in power in Germany, in Russia. But Delcassé was a member of the national defence Ministry organized by Waldeck-Rousseau in the Dreyfus days of 1899. He had for colleagues then Millerand, who is now Minister of War, and Caillaux, whose departure from the Cabinet shortly before the outbreak of the war has apparently not destroyed his influence in Parliament. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the Opposition has concentrated its attacks against the veterans, Delcassé and Millerand. In times of national emergency there is a demand for new blood, new energy, new methods.

The sending of a formal letter of recognition to Carranza will bring at least to a pause a Mexican programme that has zigzagged along ever since President Wilson took the oath of office on March 4, 1913. President Wilson's own friends acknowledge that there have been many inconsistencies in the record, and they realize that it will be one of the grounds upon which the Wilson Administration will be attacked with the greatest effect.—[The New York Sun.]

For I must assail something, then why not you? Apparently, that is to be the attitude of President Wilson's critics towards his Mexican policies. It is a position of little promise from the point of view either of practical politics or of broader national issues. The practical politician is the first to recognize that nothing succeeds like success, that we are a people of quick forgetters. Let Carranza reestablish peace in Mexico, and we shall forget quickly enough the painful preliminaries. Let our difficulties with Mexico be settled, and few will care to think back whether the result has been attained by zigzag or by flank movement or by frontal attack. This is the practical side of it. On the moral side of the issue we do not envy the anti-Wilson orator who tries to make out a case against a policy dictated by a sincere regard for the strivings of the Mexican people towards a freer government, a policy which will have attained