

# International Relations Section

## Why Peace Without Victory Failed

THE following story of the secret peace negotiations conducted by Prince Sixtus of Bourbon and Parma in the spring of 1917 is abridged from *L'Opinion* (Paris) of January 3, 10, and 17, 1920.

The documents include autograph letters from Emperor Charles of Austria, and notes made at the time of conversations with President Poincaré of France, Premier Ribot, M. Jules Cambon, secretary general of the French Foreign Office, Mr. Lloyd George, and in Switzerland with Count Erdoedy, envoy of the Austrian Emperor, and at Laxenburg, near Vienna, with the Emperor Charles and his Prime Minister, Count Czernin.

The Princes Sixtus and Xavier, brothers of Zita, Empress of Austria, left Austria at the beginning of the war to return to France. They attempted to enlist in the French army but were prevented by the law excluding princes of royal families. They then attempted to enlist in the British army, again in vain, and finally became junior lieutenants in the Belgian artillery.

### THE FIRST TRIP TO SWITZERLAND

Late in December the princes received a letter from their mother asking them to meet her in Switzerland. At the same time the Queen of the Belgians received a letter asking her to urge the princes to go. Accordingly they spent Christmas Eve with the Belgian king and queen, and were authorized to leave the front and go to Switzerland. They returned to the front, leaving again on January 23, spent five days in Paris, and left for Switzerland, armed with the following special pass from the French Prime Minister:

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

*Protocol. Good for round trip. To be returned to the frontier authorities on reentering France.*

The President of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs [M. Briand, then Premier], has the honor to recommend to the authorities at Pontarlier and at the Italian frontier their Royal Highnesses the Princes Sixtus and Xavier of Bourbon, who are going to Switzerland and Italy, and will return shortly; they are accompanied by M. Charles Solomon.

*For the Minister, by his authorization,*

*The Minister Plenipotentiary, Chief of the Service of Protocol,*  
R. WILLIAM MARTIN.

The princes had similar special passes on their later trips when they went beyond Switzerland to Austria.

The princes met their mother at the prearranged rendezvous in Switzerland on January 29. Prince Sixtus's notes of their interview read:

My mother, accompanied by my sister Maria Antonia, had arrived two days earlier in the strictest incognito. My mother explained to us the Emperor's desire to see us to discuss peace directly. Everything had been arranged to take us to Vienna with the greatest secrecy. The colonel commanding the police at the frontier had received the Emperor's order to take us to him by automobile.

Absolute secrecy had been maintained regarding this project. If, however, it was impossible for us, the Emperor was ready to send a confidant of his to Switzerland to communicate his views to us. We considered that this latter solution alone was possible and that we could not go even so far without informing Paris.

Furthermore, to avoid suspicion, we should carry out our proposed trip to Italy, planned three months before, to attend to business affairs concerning our property there, and about which the Italian government knew.

My mother insisted, in the Emperor's name, that things be hastened as much as possible. She gave us a letter from the Empress accompanied by a few words from the Emperor, in which she urged us both to help realize the desire for peace which the Emperor had conceived on mounting the throne. At this I imparted to my mother what I personally considered to be the fundamental preliminary conditions of peace for the Entente: Alsace and Lorraine as of 1814 to France, with no colonial or other compensation in exchange; Belgium restored and retaining the Congo; similarly Serbia, with Albania eventually added; finally, Constantinople to the Russians. If Austria could conclude a secret armistice with Russia on this basis, that would be a good preparation for the desired peace.

### THE SECOND TRIP TO SWITZERLAND

The princes left Switzerland for their Italian estates on February 1, and returned to Paris on February 10. The next day the princes dined with M. Jules Cambon at the home of M. William Martin. M. Cambon remarked after dinner that this was the first time peace propositions had come from the Austrians. Hitherto only German propositions had reached the Allies: Constantinople and Bukovina to the Russians, Transylvania to the Rumanians, Russian and Austrian Poland to become an independent monarchy while German Poland remained Prussian, Serbia returned to the Serbs with Albania in addition, Trent and Trieste to Italy, no formal promise for France, and for Belgium vague promises not clearly excluding a sort of Germany supremacy. Such propositions were clearly an attempt to exploit at Austria's expense the Austrian desire for peace.

A draft convention was handed to Prince Sixtus—he does not say by whom—for submission to the Emperor through his envoy, on April 12, the morning of their departure. This draft, to be accepted by the Emperor, proposed an immediate armistice on all the Austrian fronts and discussion of peace terms on the following bases: (1) Austria not to oppose the return of Alsace-Lorraine, as of 1814, to France; (2) the same as regards complete restoration of Belgium, including the Congo, and free access to the sea for Antwerp if obtainable from Holland; (3) Austria's disinterestedness in the fate of Constantinople and the straits; (4) complete restoration of Serbia, including a free and sufficient access to the Adriatic.

Count Erdoedy, the Emperor's envoy, whom the princes met in Switzerland, declared that peace might be made on the following bases:

1. A secret armistice with Russia, on the basis of its disinterestedness in Constantinople.
2. Alsace-Lorraine.
3. Belgium restored.
4. The creation of a South Slav kingdom, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Albania, and Montenegro.

Prince Sixtus summarized the negotiations as follows:

He urges me to work actively to obtain such a peace. I reply that the growing difficulties with America greatly complicate the situation and that furthermore it seems to me that an action through diplomatic channels would have no chance of success because Italy and Germany would inevitably be interested in causing its failure. Austria need have no solicitude for Germany whose interests are quite different from hers, and who might well betray her. It would be better to make a decisive

stroke to save the monarchy, placing Germany face to face with a *fait accompli*. Such a decisive stroke would result from an imperial rescript by which, while keeping up the appearance of friendship and alliance with Germany, Austria would offer peace to her enemies on the conditions indicated, with the exception of Serbia, which should be restored integrally, with the acquisition of an equitable access to the sea by the annexation of Albania. If, however, the Emperor does not feel strong enough to act thus openly and if he wishes to seek peace through diplomatic channels, I ask the envoy to bring back to me as quickly as possible the propositions on which such diplomatic action might begin in a preliminary fashion. I insist that the points already mentioned be clearly indicated.

The envoy notes these suggestions and departs for Vienna. Only the Emperor, the Empress, and my mother knew of this interview. Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, knew only that the Emperor had found a way of opening negotiations.

The envoy returned February 21. Meanwhile the Emperor had relieved the archduke Frederick by a very vigorous rescript of February 12, and on the thirteenth Kaiser William had come to Vienna, and, despite the toasts and compliments exchanged, the Emperor had refused to break with America, so that the Kaiser departed rather discontented. The envoy brought with him (1) a note in French, signed by him (the copy of this note in German was written by Count Czernin or at his dictation); (2) a secret verbal note written in German by the Emperor; (3) a note from my sister Maria Antonia, written at the dictation of the Emperor and accrediting his envoy; (4) two letters from the Empress; (5) a long letter from my mother containing several personal details coming from the Emperor.

#### COUNT CZERNIN'S NOTE

1. The alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria is absolutely indissoluble. A separate peace for one of these states is out of the question.

2. Austria-Hungary has never dreamed of crushing Serbia. Nevertheless it is necessary to establish every guaranty that in future such political affairs as led to the murder of Serajevo shall be prevented.

3. If Germany should wish to renounce Alsace-Lorraine, Austria-Hungary naturally would not oppose it.

4. Belgium should be reestablished and indemnified by all the belligerents.

5. It is a great mistake to believe that Austria-Hungary is under Germany's political tutelage. On the other hand the opinion is general in Austria-Hungary that France is completely under the domination of England.

6. Similarly Austria-Hungary does not dream of crushing Rumania. Nevertheless she should keep this country as a pawn until she has obtained a guaranty of the complete integrity of the monarchy.

7. Austria-Hungary has publicly declared that she is waging only a defensive war and that her purpose will be attained as soon as she has obtained security for the free development of the monarchy.

8. There are no privileges for the different nationalities in Austria-Hungary. The Slavs always have the same rights as the Germans. People abroad are deceived about the feelings of the Slavs, who are faithful to the Emperor and to the empire.

#### THE EMPEROR'S ADDENDA

The secret personal note in the Emperor's own handwriting, consisting of addenda to the declaration prepared for his envoy by Count Czernin, read as follows:

add 3. We will support France and exercise pressure on Germany with all means.

add 4. We have the greatest sympathy for Belgium and we know that injustice has been done it. The Entente and we will indemnify the great damages.

add 5. We are absolutely not in Germany's hands; it was against Germany's will that we did not break with America. Our opinion has been that France is entirely under English influence.

add 7. Germany too.

add 8. No people has any privilege among us; the Slavs have equal rights; there is unity of all peoples and loyalty to the dynasty.

Our only purpose is to maintain the monarchy in its present frontiers.

#### M. POINCARÉ'S COMMENT

The princes returned to Paris March 5, and Prince Sixtus was received by President Poincaré that afternoon. The Prince read his memorandum of the negotiations in Switzerland, then presented first Count Czernin's memorandum, which the President regarded as "entirely insufficient," then the Emperor's addenda. The Prince reports the subsequent conversation as follows:

M. POINCARÉ. The secret note gives a basis for discussion which the other does not. I will communicate the two notes to the Prime Minister tomorrow, making him promise to maintain absolute secrecy, and this is what I plan to do with them: to pass the imperial propositions on to our two principal allies, by personal letter to the Czar (I cannot use the telegraph for I have no cipher with the Czar), and in the same fashion to the King of England and to Mr. Lloyd George, who is a discreet man. But there is one point which seems to be the stumbling-block—Italy.

The President develops his ideas regarding Italy. Italy will ask a share which will not be small and France cannot make a separate peace with Austria without her. The President agrees with the Prince that Trieste cannot be put on a footing with Alsace-Lorraine. Anyway Italy did not declare war on Germany on April 26, 1915, as she had promised. She wished to recompense herself at the expense of France, but neither he, Poincaré, nor any French government, would ever admit that. Italy fears England, which exercises a sort of patronage over her. Nevertheless France ought to try, after the peace, to live on good terms with all her allies. While asking more territory, Italy is so uncertain of her ability to resist a new Austrian pressure that she recently asked the support of British and French troops; Cadorna is urgently demanding French troops. France has promised aid to Italy in conquering Trieste, but not to compensate by her own losses for gains which the Italians have been unable to make. We, France and her allies, have not guaranteed Trieste to Italy, therefore we can converse with Austria, and France has promised only one thing, not to make a separate peace. After all, the alliance is a reciprocal contract. I can have confidence only in the King and in Sonnino. Finally, the people want peace. Italian indiscretions to Germany are to be feared, which is not the case with England and Russia, especially Russia, the Czar being an autocrat and having great confidence in me.

At the suggestion of the Prince, the President added that the course to take would be the following: to obtain from Austria the four essential points, to communicate this result to England and to Russia secretly, and to see if a secret armistice could not be concluded. Russia is making war only for Constantinople, and England asks nothing of Austria, nor do we. France's interest is not only to maintain Austria, but to increase it at the expense of Germany (Silesia or Bavaria). We will never make peace with Germany. . . .

The Prince had a second interview with M. Poincaré three days later, on March 8.

The President tells the Prince that he has seen M. Briand, and that he too considers the note quite insufficient, but that the oral comments containing a basis for formal propositions necessitate an exchange of views. The four points indicated are

our conditions sine qua non with Austria but not with Germany. Besides these formal propositions we must know on what conditions an armistice can be brought about. This armistice should be on all the Austrian fronts. The very serious menace of an Austro-German attack on Italy necessitates this guaranty. . . .

M. Poincaré planned that the princes should carry a personal note from him to the Russian Czar, but before the journey could be begun, the Russian revolution broke out. Prince Sixtus then made a new rendezvous with Count Erdoedy, preparing on March 17, before he left Paris, the following project of a note the acceptance of which by Austria would establish a basis for official negotiations:

1. Austria-Hungary, so far as she is concerned, recognizes the right of France to Alsace and Lorraine such as they were when France formerly possessed them; she will extend all her efforts to support France's demands in this sense.

2. Belgium should be restored to entire sovereignty, under the present dynasty, retaining all her African possessions, without prejudicing the indemnities she may receive for her losses.

3. Austria-Hungary has never dreamed of destroying Serbia. She declares her readiness to reestablish its sovereignty under the present dynasty. Furthermore, as a guaranty of her good will to that kingdom, and to assure it an equitable natural access to the Adriatic Sea, she is ready to give it the Albanian territory which she is now occupying. She is also disposed to insure friendly relations by large economic concessions.

4. Austria-Hungary proposes to enter into pourparlers with Russia on the basis of the disinterestedness of the monarchy in Constantinople, in exchange for the territories of the monarchy now occupied by Russian troops.

As soon as these propositions are accepted, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria declares his readiness to maintain his troops in their present positions in an attitude of expectancy, on condition that the enemy troops maintain the same attitude.

If the present agreement is signed by France and her allies, and if the German Empire, opposing it, summons Austria-Hungary to renounce it, France and her allies will immediately and with all their forces aid Austria-Hungary in resisting such a summons or a declaration of hostility by the German Empire.

#### THE FIRST TRIP TO VIENNA

When the princes met Count Erdoedy at Geneva on March 19, he insisted that they accompany him to Vienna and see the Emperor personally. The Emperor feared, he said, that their travels might attract attention, and that negotiations could be hurried by personal conversation. The next evening the princes left for the Austrian frontier. Traveling part of the way by automobile, they reached Vienna March 22, passed the night at Count Erdoedy's home, and the next evening went with him to the Emperor's residence at Laxenburg. Prince Sixtus paints a dramatic picture of his entry; the automobile stopped in a corner of the park, and an old captain of the guard led them on foot past the sentinels and up through a side door to the Emperor's apartments. They conversed first of family affairs, then of Germany, agreeing that the Germans were in no mood for peace. The conversation turned to peace terms. The Prince reports:

The disappearance of the Czar weakens Russia for the present. "I do not believe," the Emperor says, "that the present government can last. Consequently, I am forced to reserve any reply regarding Constantinople." The Prince says that personally he is glad of it: before this revolution it was our duty to insist upon this essential Russian aspiration, but it was obviously in France's interest to maintain the Turkish domination at Constantinople, tempered of course by international guar-

anties. In general Austria should, later on, support France in the whole Oriental question, and France in return should aid in extending Austrian economic influence at the expense of Germany.

The Emperor continues: "As to Serbia, the only really vital question for the monarchy is the suppression of the secret societies which conduct revolutionary propaganda within the monarchy's borders. It is the unfortunate policy of recent years which has brought us where we are. Not long ago the Serbians were our friends, even our proteges; Austria saved them from the Bulgarian invasion. By misunderstandings, aggravated by diplomatic imbecilities, we have created at our doors a small but bothersome enemy. That must be changed. We are disposed to give Serbia large opportunities, with the entire Albanian coast as an outlet." The Emperor talks further of the indisputable value of the Serbian troops, then, turning to Rumania, expresses the opinion that the status quo ante bellum is the best solution. Suddenly he says: "Apropos of the Balkans, one of the Entente Powers is secretly conversing with Bulgaria. Bulgaria does not think the secret has leaked out. It has not much importance because all these dreams of empire in the East will have to end in the status quo or very nearly that." The Prince replies that for his part nothing could be more agreeable than this perspective of the maintenance of the Turk in Europe. . . .

The Prince touches upon the question of Belgium and the Congo. Being an officer in the Belgian army, it is his duty to insist particularly upon this subject. The Emperor shares the Prince's point of view completely.

Finally the Prince reaches the most difficult question, that of Italy. He tells the Emperor that he fears that it may be the point which will cause the whole venture to fail. . . . Painful as it may be to the Emperor, the Prince cannot but counsel him to content the Italians within the limits of justice. The Emperor replies that he has no personal pride: he will treat this question with the same serenity as other questions, but in dealing with the Italians directly at the start one would get nowhere. First of all France, England, and Russia must be determined to make peace with Austria, then one can meet to discuss the Italian demands and to seek to satisfy them. Austrian opinion and the justified desires of her people must also be considered. . . .

At this point Count Czernin was brought in—"tall, thin, and cold, in a frock coat," the Prince describes him. He remained twenty minutes. The conversation was "rather glacial." He did not express himself clearly at first, then said that "peace must be made at any price" and that as he did not believe the Germans would ever abandon Alsace-Lorraine, some time Austria must secure a divorce. The Prince said peace with Germany would be impossible until Alsace was returned and the German troops withdrawn to the right bank of the Rhine, and repeated his insistence upon the Alsace of 1814, "the Alsace of Louis XIV, with Sarrelouis and Landau, more complete than that of 1815 mutilated by Waterloo."

Czernin called on the princes at Count Erdoedy's Vienna residence on the next day; this time he was more cordial but still rather reticent.

A second visit to the Emperor followed. The Emperor handed Prince Sixtus an autograph letter, begging him to maintain absolute secrecy, saying that "an indiscretion would force him to send troops to the French front, which would be very painful to him and would hurt the negotiations." Then, Sixtus reports, "he talked at length of M. Poincaré in whom he had full confidence, whereas the French ministers inspired little confidence." The Emperor spoke hotly about Italy. . . .

## EMPEROR CHARLES'S AUTOGRAPH LETTER TO SIXTUS

*Laxenburg, March 24*

. . . I beg you secretly and unofficially to inform M. Poincaré, President of the French Republic, that I will support the just French claims to Alsace-Lorraine by all means, using all my personal influence with my allies. As to Belgium, it should be restored to full sovereignty, retaining all its African possessions, without prejudice to the indemnities which it may receive for the losses it has suffered. Serbia shall be restored to sovereignty, and, as a guaranty of our good will, we are disposed to insure her an equitable and natural access to the Adriatic Sea, as well as large economic concessions. On its part Austria-Hungary will ask as a preliminary and absolute condition that the Kingdom of Serbia shall suppress and cease all relations with all secret societies or groups whose political purpose is the breaking up of the monarchy, especially the "Narodna Obrana," and that it shall loyally and by all means in its power prevent all such agitation either in Serbia or outside its frontiers, and that it shall give such assurance under the guaranty of the Entente Powers. The events in Russia oblige me to reserve my ideas on this subject until a legal and definitive government shall have been established there.

(Signed) CHARLES

## INTER-ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS

On his return to Paris, Prince Sixtus was again invited to call upon M. Poincaré. Meanwhile the Briand ministry had fallen; the Ribot cabinet succeeded it. M. Ribot was to have met with Sixtus and the President, but at the last moment was held up, and sent Jules Cambon. The Prince reports his conversation with M. Poincaré and M. Cambon as follows:

. . . The first point on which M. Poincaré and M. Cambon ask explanations is Constantinople. The Prince replies that the cession of Constantinople is no obstacle to Austria, but that on the one hand the Russian events and on the other the rumors of pourparlers between one of the Entente Powers and Turkey lead the Emperor to reserve decision for the moment. M. Poincaré and M. Cambon exchange glances, then M. Cambon remarks, "I was chatting yesterday with the Italian ambassador about the Entente projects regarding Turkey, and at the end of the conversation Marquis Salvago Raggi said to me, 'After all, what we have just said has little importance, for things will happen quite differently in the East.'"

. . . As to Belgium, there was full agreement, the word indemnity certainly covering rectifications of frontiers, especially Malmedy and other Walloon places. The Prince remarks that the occupation of Malmedy by the Belgians is absolutely necessary from a military point of view, the Germans having there their great camp of invasion. A long discussion follows on the Italian question. M. Cambon again develops his former idea regarding an exchange of the Trentino for Silesia.

As to the transmission of this letter to England, M. Poincaré proposes writing to the King of England and summing up the Emperor's letter. The Prince suggests that he go to England himself to see the King and the responsible ministers. M. Cambon, and then M. Poincaré, agree to this. Public opinion in England as in France, says M. Poincaré, is generally favorable to Austria. The president of the Chamber (M. Paul Deschanel) is constantly asking me if we are not going to make peace with Austria soon.

The Prince observes . . . that the Emperor hopes in the future to follow the policy of horizontal alliance: Russia, France, England, and Austria; but the necessity for secrecy is greater than ever; an indiscretion would force the Emperor to give guaranties to Germany, guaranties which would probably take the form of Austrian regiments on the French front. M. Cambon remarks that from the diplomatic point of view this would be disastrous.

In rising the Prince urgently requests M. Poincaré to save the Czar; only French intervention can be sure of success in Russia at this time. M. Poincaré says that he much desires to undertake it, that he is glad that the question comes up in the presence of M. Cambon. Some mode of action must be found. The King of Spain and the King of England have already intervened for the Czar, and France owes it to her oldest friend.

Prince Sixtus met M. Cambon again on April 6; it was understood that M. Ribot was to meet Mr. Lloyd George at Folkestone and would inform him of the negotiations. Following this interview the Prince was again invited, on April 12, to the Elysée Palace, meeting M. Poincaré and M. Ribot.

M. Poincaré, the Prince reports, explained that "M. Ribot had met Mr. Lloyd George at Folkestone the day before, April 11. He showed him the Emperor's letter, and the two ministers agreed that the negotiations with Austria should be continued and that absolute secrecy was indispensable. Mr. Lloyd George gave his word of honor; he would not speak of it to any of his ministerial colleagues and would say only a word to the King. . . ."

There followed a long discussion about methods of informing Italy of the negotiations without mentioning the Emperor. M. Ribot was to ask Sonnino to meet him at St. Jean-de-Maurienne "to discuss some military matter" and Lloyd George would join them. In conclusion, the Prince reports, M. Poincaré assures M. Ribot that "the Prince is as ardent as you or I in wishing the complete defeat of Germany. France must have not only the Alsace-Lorraine of 1814 but also considerable indemnities. The Prince adds that he goes farther than the President and considers that the entire left bank of the Rhine should be neutralized. The President replies, smiling, that one cannot always express one's full thoughts, and that his do not differ at all from those of the Prince."

On April 18 and again on April 20 Prince Sixtus had interviews with Mr. Lloyd George. What transpired at St. Jean-de-Maurienne was revealed in the second of these interviews.

LOYD GEORGE. The fact that we could not tell Sonnino of the direct propositions of the Emperor made matters much harder. . . . Sonnino declared that having established the principle of the *terra irredenta* Italy could never conclude a separate peace with Austria without realizing her war aims. Furthermore, no government could last twenty-four hours if it proposed a white peace with Austria; it would be swept out by the people, who would make a revolution, drive out the King, and establish a republic upon the principle of war to the bitter end.

THE PRINCE. What are Italy's demands?

LOYD GEORGE. They are very large: the Trentino, Dalmatia, all the islands of the coast.

THE PRINCE. And Trieste?

LOYD GEORGE. Although Italy has a keen desire for Trieste, there is perhaps room for discussion about Trieste.

THE PRINCE. Are all these conditions sine qua non?

LOYD GEORGE. Yes.

LOYD GEORGE. . . . If Austria really wants peace, she must make concessions—that is my personal opinion. Officially, we can only reply that there is nothing to negotiate. Do you believe that Austria will make concessions?

THE PRINCE. I don't know at all. I can only have a personal opinion. I do not think that without considerable compensation she will agree to give up territory which her enemy has not conquered; but that is only an impression and may be wrong. We will soon know.

LOYD GEORGE. . . . In the imperial letter which you were so good as to show me there is no question of Italy. Where would we find compensations for Austria? I can under-

stand the feeling of the Austrians toward Italy, which, having been their ally, left them and joined us, but on the other hand Austria will have to come to it even if Russia is beaten. The support that we will get from the Americans will enable us to continue this war indefinitely. . . .

M. Cambon had a somewhat different impression of the Italian position. He thought that Trent and Trieste were conditions *sine qua non*, and that Istria and the Dalmatian islands were subjects for negotiation. It was his opinion that Austria should be given a part of Silesia at Germany's expense in return for concessions to Italy. He dictated to the Prince on April 22 a statement in reply to the Austrian communications.

"No proposition of peace with Austria can be considered without taking into account the views of the Italian government. The propositions which have been brought to our attention are silent regarding the Italian demands. It appears from the conversations at St. Jean-de-Maurienne that the Italian government is not disposed to abandon any of the conditions which it set upon entering the war. In these circumstances conversations which would only lead to certain failure cannot be entered upon. If, at any time under new circumstances, the Austrian government should consider that new efforts might be made toward a separate peace, it should take into account the Italian aspirations for Trieste no less than for the Trentino. The sentiments of sympathy which the Emperor has expressed for France and her armies have been much appreciated."

M. Cambon remarked that the war would not end until the following spring, and that his only fear was that the rear, which suffered more and more because of the war, might want to finish it some day. The conversation turned to Greece. The Prince remarked that in his opinion it would be a serious mistake to dethrone Constantine at that time because, by maintaining him, France would retain the possibility of paying herself and her allies, and perhaps some of her adversaries, with Greek territory. M. Cambon said that was exactly his opinion but that public opinion demanded Constantine's head because of the murder of French marines on December 1, 1916.

#### THE SECOND TRIP TO VIENNA

The two princes returned to Switzerland April 25. There they met Count Erdoedy, who, after conferring with them, returned to Vienna. He was back again at Neuchatel on May 4, bearing the news that meanwhile a separate offer of peace had been made by Italy.

A special envoy, an Italian colonel, had come from the Italian army headquarters to Berne about a week before the interview of St. Jean-de-Maurienne. He presented himself first to the German minister, then to the Austrian. He offered peace to Germany on condition that Austria should cede the Trentino alone, Gorizia and Monfalcone being left to Austria so that the Austrian railroad to Trieste should not pass under Italian fire. Only Aquileja would become Italian. This offer was caused by the general attitude of the Italian army, which had had enough of the war, and by fear of a revolution. Sonnino knew nothing of it. It was certain, nevertheless, that it was made in agreement with an important political party (Giolitti, Tittoni) and that it came from the King. Germany was urged to bring pressure to bear upon Austria to accept this proposal.

Peace had been proposed to Austria five times since 1915, especially from the Russian side. The Emperor had refused the Italian offer because he did not wish to double up on the present negotiations. Therefore, Italy was now seeking to gain more through England, which was impossible.

The Prince determined to go to Vienna once more to clear things up finally, and met the Emperor on May 8 in a secluded part of the imperial park. The Prince urged the necessity of early peace because "it was to be feared

that the United States, which would have a preponderant voice in the Allied councils, would ignore Austria and maintain the thesis of the partitioning of Austria." The Emperor agreed, but thought that the heroism shown by the soldiers of the monarchy in defending Tyrolean soil required that it should not be ceded without compensation.

Where could such compensation be found? In Silesia or in the German colonies? That would be odious, it would be impolitic for the future. It would also be contrary to the very idea of compensation, for the compensation should be made by the country receiving territory from the monarchy.

The Prince suggested that an Italian colony might do it. Not Tripoli, too recent and sterile a colony, and too near to Italy. There remained Eritrea and Somaliland. This last particularly had a future and was unknown to the mass of the Italians. Its cession would not offend the people, and from the Austrian point of view the novelty of having land in Africa could not but please, especially in exchange for a band of irredentists and insupportable blusterers. Better the Negro than the irredentist.

Count Czernin then entered. He agreed that Austria's compensation must not be at the expense of Germany, and added that the status quo of the rest of the monarchy must be guaranteed. He expressed the hope that the next interview would be between professional diplomats. This time he was more open and more cordial than at the previous meetings. The Emperor agreed to write another letter and Count Czernin a memorandum. The Emperor's letter merely mentioned the Italian propositions, indicated that he was ready to cede the Trentino, and expressed hope for peace. Count Czernin's memorandum follows:

May 9, 1917

1. Austria-Hungary can cede no territory without compensation. It should be taken into consideration that for the monarchy no land can have the value of soil which has been watered by the blood of its soldiers.

2. Outside of this rectification of the frontier the integrity of the monarchy as at present constituted should be guaranteed by the Entente so that it should be assured when the general peace conference opens.

3. As soon as these two conditions (compensation for rectification of the frontier and guaranty of the integrity of the monarchy) have been accepted by the Entente, Austria-Hungary can conclude a separate peace with the Entente. Then only will she inform her present allies of the situation.

4. In any case Austria-Hungary is ready, as in the past, to carry on *pourparlers* with a view to the conclusion of an honorable peace with the Entente, as a preparation for a general and definitive peace.

#### THE FAILURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

Back at Paris, Prince Sixtus had another session, May 20, with President Poincaré and M. Ribot. Ribot had no confidence in the negotiations, did not trust the Austrian Emperor, and did not believe the story of the Italian negotiations in Switzerland.

President Poincaré thought that the question of compensations would be difficult "because Italy is fonder of taking than of giving." He did not think they would be ready to give up even Somaliland. M. Ribot thought the Serbians should have not only the Albanian coast, but Cattaro; he thought Rumania, too, "which entered the war only for the Allies," should have compensations; and while he thought General Porro, assistant chief of the Italian General Staff, capable of having sent an officer to Switzerland to try out the ground, he could not admit a possibility that Cadorna

and the King should have done so. Furthermore, it would be impossible to lay down the cards on the proposition because that would be to play Giolitti's game against Sonnino. The solution was to discuss the matter with the King of Italy, and that would take time. M. Ribot thought there was "plenty of time." He opposed the Prince's proposed trip to England; "it would be dangerous," he said, "to talk with Mr. Lloyd George, who is too quick in his decisions."

Nevertheless, the Prince went to England, and talked with Lloyd George on May 23. Lloyd George thought Italy incapable of making peace for the Trentino alone, and could hardly believe that the King of Italy had acted behind Sonnino's back. But he arranged an interview with the King of England that afternoon.

The published documents give no indication of the substance of the conversation with King George. The Prince reports only his conversations with Lloyd George on the way to and from Buckingham Palace.

The negotiations were dropped. M. Cambon explained the end to Prince Sixtus on June 23, declaring:

M. Ribot's point of view has never changed. From the first he declared that without Italy no result could be had, and Italy is bothersome enough to France at the present moment. M. Sonnino's idea was to go to Parliament with his hands full, and that is why he wanted to arrange about Asia Minor and have the seizure of Albania an accomplished fact. . . . Lloyd George's first idea was to have the two kings and the French president meet, but Sonnino refused. He raised all sorts of difficulties. . . . England then proposed a meeting of the three premiers. Sonnino again objected. Meanwhile, the new Russian government proposed a solemn council to revise the war aims of the Allies. Messrs. Ribot and Lloyd George did not agree to this because such a proposition coming from the Russians might cause the worst difficulties. . . . As the attitude of the Russians, particularly their abandonment of the claim to Constantinople, creates a new situation, we are forced to revise our war aims somewhat. But this revision will be as we wish it and not as the Russians want it. . . .

There was to be a meeting of the heads of the three chief Allied governments July 10, when the Austrian question would inevitably come up. But the situation had changed. Italy had meanwhile attempted an offensive, and it had failed; there was no certainty that Austria would still hold to her previous offer. And there was no one influential in Entente circles who was determined to push the matter to a successful conclusion. The Prince returned to the Belgian front. The Austrian note of May 9 was never answered. Peace did not come for another year and a half.

## Events of the Week

APRIL 27. The British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Cecil Harmsworth, announced in the House of Commons that the British government had expressed to Japan its disapproval of the methods used in 1919 to suppress the Korean protests against Japanese rule.

Iceland, the Republic of Georgia, San Marino, and Luxembourg have made application for membership in the League of Nations, thus calling attention to their independent statehood.

APRIL 28. An Associated Press dispatch from Vladivostok, dated April 22, reveals the new Japanese demands presented at the first session of the Russian-Japanese Commission for the liquidation of the events of April 4 and 5. It was asked by the Japanese that these demands be kept secret, but M. Vilensky, the special Soviet Commissioner, gave them out to the press. The most important point was the demand that all Russian armed forces, of whatever political party, evacuate a thirty-kilometer zone wherever Japanese troops are stationed in Siberia. The Russian reply includes an assurance of evacuation by the Russian forces after the Japanese forces have been withdrawn.

APRIL 29. The French government has agreed to deal directly with the Soviet authorities in the exchange of civil and military prisoners. French nationals who desire to leave Soviet territory, including Ukraine, and Russians wishing to be repatriated from France are to be turned over respectively to the French representatives and to the envoys of the People's Commissars at Odessa or the frontier stations in the Baltic countries. The People's Commissars may indicate which of the 22,000 Russians in France they prefer to have repatriated first. All 900 of the French nationals in Russia must be returned except those who express in writing their desire to remain.

APRIL 30. From Rio Janeiro it is reported that at the final session of the Congress of Workers of Brazil, resolutions were passed declaring sympathy with the Third Internationale.

MAY 1. It is reported from London that the Bolshevik forces have taken the port of Baku, in the center of an important petroleum field on the Caspian Sea. After receiving an ultimatum from the Bolsheviks on April 27, the Azerbaijan government resigned and the Azerbaijan Republic was recognized by the Bolsheviks on the following day.

A Vienna dispatch via London reports that owing to the extremely high cost of production the daily paper, the *Morgen*, has been forced to suspend publication. Two days earlier the *Neue Tag* ceased publishing for the same reason. Daily papers are now officially limited to eight and ten pages, and evening editions of morning papers to two pages only.

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