

ized thereto by their respective governments, hereby declare as follows:

"The British, French, and Russian governments mutually engage not to conclude peace separately during the present war. The three governments agree that when the terms of peace come to be discussed, no one of the allies will demand conditions of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other allies.

"In faith whereof the undersigned have signed this declaration and have affixed thereto their seals.

"Done at London, in triplicate, this fifth day of September, 1914.

"E. GREY,

"British secretary for foreign affairs.

"PAUL CAMBON,

"French ambassador to Great Britain.

"BENCKENDORFF,

"Russian ambassador to Great Britain."

#### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN KAISER AND CZAR

The letters which passed between Czar Nicholas and the kaiser before the declarations of war have been published in Berlin and sent to the London Daily News.—These letters follow:

The kaiser to the czar, July 28:

"I have learned with the greatest concern of the impression which Austria-Hungary's action against Serbia has made in your empire. The unscrupulous agitation which had been fostered in Serbia for years has led to the detestable crime of which the Archduke Ferdinand was the victim. The spirit in which the Servians murdered their own king and queen is still alive in that country. You will no doubt agree with me that we, too, you and I, as well as all sovereigns, have a common interest in insisting that all those who are morally responsible for the horrible crime should receive the punishment they deserve.

"On the other hand, I by no means ignore the difficulty which you and your government meet in resisting the pressure of public opinion. Remembering the strong ties of cordial friendship—which have for so long united us—I am using all my influence to induce Austria-Hungary to seek a frank and satisfactory understanding with Russia. I confidently hope that you will support my efforts to remove all the difficulties that may yet arise.

"Your very sincere and devoted friend and cousin. William."

To this the czar replied on July 29:

"I am glad that you are back in Germany at this grave moment. I urgently ask you to assist me. A mean war has been declared upon a weak country. The indignation, which I share to the full, is in Russia enormous.

"I can foresee that I shall soon be unable to resist the pressure which is being brought upon me and shall be compelled to take measures which will lead to war. In order to avert a calamity such as a European war would be I ask you. In the name of our old friendship to do everything possible to prevent your ally from proceeding too far. Nicholas."

On July 29 the kaiser again telegraphed:

"I have received your telegram and share your desire for the maintenance of peace. At the same time, as I told you in my first telegram, I cannot regard Austria-Hungary's action as a 'mean' war. Austria-Hungary knows from experience that Serbia's promises, so long as they remain only on paper, cannot altogether be relied upon. In my view, Austria-Hungary's action ought to be considered as an attempt to obtain a full guarantee that Serbia's promises would also be translated into action. In this view I am confirmed by the declaration of

the Austrian cabinet that Austria-Hungary is seeking no territorial conquest at the expense of Serbia. I therefore think that it is perfectly possible for Russia to maintain the attitude of spectator in the face of the Austro-Servian war without dragging Europe into the most terrible war she has ever experienced.

"I believe that a direct understanding between your government and Vienna is possible and desirable—an understanding which, as I have already telegraphed you, my government is trying to encourage with all the means at its disposal.

"Naturally, military measures on the part of Russia which Austria-Hungary could regard as a menace would precipitate the disaster which we had the wish to avoid, and would also undermine my position as an intermediary, which I, in reply to your appeal to my friendship and assistance, have readily assumed.

"William."

The last two letters are thus given by the Daily Chronicle:

From czar to kaiser:

"I thank thee from my heart for thy mediation, which leaves a gleam of hope. . . . It is technically impossible to discontinue our military operations. . . . So long as the negotiations with Austria regarding Serbia continue my troops will not undertake any provocative action. I give thee my word upon it. I trust with all my strength in God's grace, and I hope for the success of thy mediation. Thy most devoted Nicholas."

From kaiser to czar:

"My efforts to maintain the peace of the world have reached their limit. It will not be I who am responsible for the calamity which threatens the whole civilized world. Even at this moment it lies within thy power to avert it. Nobody threatens the honor and power of Russia, which could well have waited for the result of my mediation. The friendship which I inherited from my grandfather on his deathbed for thee and thy kingdom has always been holy to me. I have remained true to Russia. The peace of Europe can still be maintained by thee if Russia decides to cease her military measures which threaten Germany and Austria-Hungary."

#### GERMAN SIDE OF THE TROUBLE

A Berlin cablegram states that in explaining the negotiations and events leading up to the war which now engulfs Europe, Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg said in the reichstag, August 4:

"As soon as we learned about the military preparations of Russia we directed a friendly but forceful note to St. Petersburg, in which we pointed out that warlike measures against Austria-Hungary, would find us on the side of our allies, that all military preparations directed against us would call for retaliatory measures on our part and that mobilization was not very far from war. Russia assured us solemnly that she wanted peace and declared that it would not make any military preparations against us.

"In the meantime England sought to mediate between Vienna and St. Petersburg. We supported England to the best of our ability. On the twenty-eighth of July the German emperor requested the Russian czar by telegraph to consider that Austria-Hungary had the right and the duty to protect herself against the Servian plots and intrigues which undermined the existence of the dual monarchy.

"About the same time and before the receipt of this dispatch, the czar requested the German emperor urgently for his assistance and asked the emperor to urge moderation in Vienna. The German emperor undertook

the role of mediator, but scarcely had the mediation begun when Russia mobilized its entire army against Austria-Hungary. The dual monarchy had only mobilized against Serbia. It had put two army corps in the north upon a war footing, far from the Russian boundary.

#### PROTESTS MADE TO RUSSIA

"The Russian mobilization had been determined in principle before the czar had turned to the German kaiser. The kaiser informed the czar at once that his role as mediator was made exceedingly difficult if not entirely futile by the mobilization against Austria-Hungary. In spite of this we continued our mediation in Vienna and went as far in our representation as we could, as the allies of Austria.

"During this time Russia spontaneously repeated the assurance that she was not making any military preparations against us. July 31 came, a decision was to be made in Vienna. Our mediation had been successful to the extent that Vienna in consequence of the pressure which we had exerted, declared herself ready to resume direct 'conversations' with St. Petersburg. However, before the decision in Vienna was reached we received the news that Russia had mobilized her entire army and that the mobilization was also directed against us. The Russian government which knew very well from our repeated representations what a mobilization against us meant, announced that it had ordered mobilization but otherwise gave no explanation.

"In the afternoon a telegram from the czar to the German kaiser arrived. The czar declared in the message that his army would not take any offensive measures against us. But the Russian mobilization had been going on at our borders since the evening of July 29 in full swing, while we, at the request of Russia, mediated in Vienna; and France admits, although she did not mobilize, that she took certain military measures.

#### GERMANY WISHED FOR PEACE

"Up to that time we had purposely refrained, for the sake of peace, from calling a single reservist to the colors. Ought we to have continued to wait patiently until the powers between whom we are wedged in could choose the time when they would strike the blow? To have exposed Germany to this danger would have been criminal.

"For that reason we demanded of Russia on July 31 that she demobilize her troops. If Russia had done that the peace of Europe would have been maintained. The German ambassador in St. Petersburg was directed to communicate with the Russian government that we would be compelled in case our demands were rejected, to declare a state of war.

"When the set time was passed, the German kaiser, on the first of August, at 5 p.m., saw himself compelled to order the mobilization of our forces. At the same time we were compelled to ascertain the position France would take. At our interrogation, whether in a German-Russian war she would remain neutral, she replied that she would do what her interests should demand.

"Nevertheless the German kaiser gave the order to respect the French boundary absolutely. This order was respected strictly and without exception. France, which mobilized at the same hour as we, declared that she would respect a ten kilometer zone from the German border. As a matter of fact French aeronauts have thrown bombs upon cavalry patrols and flown over our territory. In so doing France broke her peace, and actually attacked us although no war had been declared.

"Even before this time a small detachment of French troops had crossed the German borders. French aviators had thrown bombs at our railways and French troops had attacked our border guards at Schlucht-pass. Our soldiers, in obedience to the command of the kaiser, confined themselves entirely to defensive measures. These are the facts.

"Now we act in self defense and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are even now upon Belgian territory.

"This is against the law of nations. The French government had declared in Brussels that it will respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as it is respected by others. But we knew that France had planned an invasion, France could wait, we could not. A French invasion against our flank on the Lower Rhine would have been horrible. For that reason we had to disregard the justified protests of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice which we commit in so doing we will make good as soon as our military objects are reached.

"But if anyone is threatened as we are threatened and battles for his very life, he can only consider the means of saving himself.

"As far as England is concerned, the declaration which Sir Edward Grey gave in parliament yesterday has cleared the atmosphere and defined the position of the English government.

#### HOPED TO KEEP ENGLAND OUT

"I have informed the English government that our fleets will not attack the north coast of France and will not violate the integrity and independence of Belgium as long as England remains neutral.

"I can repeat this declaration here openly before the world and I can add that we are ready, as long as England remains neutral, in return for this neutrality, to undertake no hostile operations against the French merchant marine.

"I repeat the words of the kaiser: 'Germany goes into this struggle with a good conscience in order to protect the fruits of our peaceful labors and our future. The period of fifty years during which according to Molke's views we had to remain armed to defend our gain of the year 1870, has not yet passed. The great hour of trial for our nation has struck and we look forward to it with confidence. Our army is in the field, our fleet is ready for battle, the whole nation stands behind them.'

Just before the adjournment of the reichstag, till November 24, the chancellor spoke again praising the deputies of all parties, who, as he said, had shown the spirit of unity in this momentous hour. "Whatever our fate may be," said the chancellor, "the fourth of August, 1914, will remain the greatest day of Germany for all time to come."

#### ENGLISH VERSION OF SPLIT WITH GERMANY

Special cable to the Cincinnati Enquirer:

London, August 27.—The British foreign office issued tonight in the form of a white paper the report of Sir William Goschen, the former ambassador at Berlin, on the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany.

The report is dated August 8, and says that in accordance with instructions of August 4, from Sir Edward Grey, secretary of state for foreign affairs, the ambassador called on the Germany secretary of state, Gottlieb Von Jagow. He inquired whether Germany would refrain from violating Belgian neutrality.

"Herr Von Jagow," the report continues, "at once replied that he was sorry to say his answer must be 'no,' as in consequence of German troops