

**OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS:
UTTERANCES OF GERMAN RULERS,
STATESMEN, SAVANTS, PUBLICISTS,
JOURNALISTS, POETS, BUSINESS
MEN, PARTY LEADERS AND SOLDIERS**

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Journalists, Poets, Business Men, Party Leaders and Soldiers by Munroe Smith

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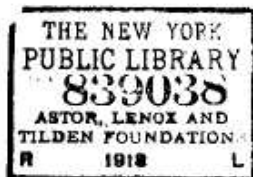


*I begin by taking; later I shall find pedants
to show that I was quite within my rights.*

FREDERIC II OF PRUSSIA.

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The war was begun by the military masters of Germany. . . . Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested. . . .

PRESIDENT WILSON, FLAG-DAY ADDRESS,
June 14, 1917.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

With few exceptions, the extracts included in this collection are taken directly from the German. Where standard English translations are cited, the passages selected have been compared with the original texts and, in some instances, the wording has been changed for the sake of greater fidelity.

The arrangement is based, in the main, on that of a similar but much smaller French compilation, "Jugés par eux-mêmes" (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916; xii, 102 pp.); and this has been found useful also in drawing attention to some of the less known German books and pamphlets published before the German World War. The scope of the present collection is, however, much broader. The French pamphlet, for example, has no such chapter headings as "Utterances of Captains of Industry and Commerce" (chapter vi), "Utterances of Party Leaders" (chapter vii), "Utterances Regarding America" (chapter x), or "Reactions and Protests" (chapter xi). Of the material presented in "Jugés par eux-mêmes" little direct use has been made. In a few cases in which the German texts cited are not at present accessible in New York, passages have been translated from the French text. In every such case the source is indicated.

Much valuable material has been drawn from a recent Swiss compilation by S. Grumbach, "Das annexionistische Deutschland: Eine Sammlung von Dokumenten die seit dem 4 August 1914 in Deutschland öffentlich oder geheim verbreitet wurden" (Payot & Co., Lausanne, 1917; x, 471 pp.). Of the annexationist utterances

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since the outbreak of the War that are cited in the present collection, nearly all are directly extracted from, or have been verified by comparison with, the texts given by Mr. Grumbach. This acknowledgment covers in particular the second section of chapter iii, the third section of chapter iv, and chapters vi and vii. Similar acknowledgment is due as regards the anti-annexationist utterances cited in chapter xi. This general statement must take the place of specific references to Mr. Grumbach's valuable compilation, except where use has been made of his explanatory notes. In such cases specific references are given.

Since the Russian Revolution, and in consequence of the peace program favored by Socialist groups in many countries—groups which seem to be especially influential in the new Russia—the question of "annexations and indemnities" (more properly the question of conquests and of spoliations) has assumed increasing prominence. Evidence of widespread German lust for loot, movable and immovable, and for monetary ransom, such as will be found abundantly in the present collection, is, therefore, particularly valuable and timely. The protests cited in chapter xi are also of interest, and for several reasons: first, because they give comforting assurance that even in the Germany of today there is a decent, sane and—let us hope—saving "remnant"; next, because nearly all the Germans who protest against German megalomania and greed emphasize the general prevalence of the notions and desires which they combat; last, because the governmental efforts to suppress these protests indicate more clearly than any direct utterances of rulers or of statesmen what is the real attitude of Imperial Germany.

A study of this annexationist and anti-annexationist literature will show also what value is to be attached to recent German official disclaimers of desire to make

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"annexations." The "guaranties and securities" which the German Imperial Government, supported by a dominant public opinion, still demands represent elastic claims concealed under a phrase that is equally attractive and vague. This phrase has been used from the beginning of the War as a euphemism for annexations. Rightly interpreted, it has satisfied even the Pan-Germanist. The reader of the present collection will find that the military and economic security of the German Empire requires German control of Belgium and of the northern coast of France as far as Boulogne. It requires also the annexation of a broad strip of eastern France, including the iron ore beds west of Metz, and the fortresses of Verdun and Belfort. According to some writers—and these no obscure fanatics—it requires the annexation of Toulon and the suppression of the French war navy. In the East military and economic security requires the annexation of even greater stretches of Russian territory. The military and economic security of Germany demands similar security for Austria and for Turkey, and an equally thorough reconstruction of the map of southeastern Europe and of southwestern Asia. The political security of Germany requires that the millions of Slavs, Belgians and Frenchmen who are to be forced under German rule shall have no influence upon the destinies of the German Empire. They are to be second-class Germans—subjects, not citizens of the Empire. Finally, economic security for Germany, in the judgment of captains of industry and commerce and of professors of political economy, demands not only political control of wide districts in the West and in the East, but also the expropriation and deportation of Belgian, French and Russian landholders, and particularly the transfer of mines and of industrial plants "from hostile to German hands." This, as is said in the sane and forcible protest of the German "New Fatherland Alliance" (see pages 227-232) is