BOTH AUSTRIA AND RUSSIA UPHELD IN RUMANIA

Uncertainty and Fear Dominate in Rumania

Nation is Described as a Latin Island Surrounded on All Sides by Countries Inhabited by Altogether Different Race.

CZAR OR KAISER? THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

By LEON FERARU.

The attitude of Rumania in the present European crisis can be summed up in two words: Uncertainty and fear. Rumania, which is situated in southeastern Europe, like a flexed arm with its elbow resting on the Black Sea, is a little Latin island surrounded on the north and south by Slavs and on the west by Magyars, Slavs and Germanic ambitions.

These peculiar surroundings raise this question: Which shall dominate, Slavonic or Germanic influences? The Czar or the Kaiser? It was Peter the Great's dream for Russia to overflow down to Constantinople, inundating Rumania. The Germanic ideal is the dilation of Austria toward the Balkans, thus swallowing up this little Latin island, in either case the destruction of Rumania.

The history of Wallachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Bukowina, Transylvania and Dobroudja—provinces now inhabited by fifteen million Rumanians—is a long chronicle of invasions, of subjugations, of struggle against alien races. This part of Europe has always played the role of a shield, protecting the west against barbaric influences. Ancient Dacia was the vestibule of Europe, where the Huns and the Goths and later the Turks were delayed for centuries. As a result of these age long conflicts the great body of the Rumanian nation has been dismembered and time has left only the flexed arm with its elbow resting on the Black Sea—Moldavia, Wallachia, Dobroudja.

Bessarabia groans under Russian oppression. Transylvania and Bukowina sigh under Austro-Hungarian domination, a lost tribe of Kutzo-Vlachs, who are also Rumanians, suffer in Macedonia from Bulgarian or Greek persecution.

Rumania has to face to-day the same situation as has confronted her in the past. She stands in the way of Russian ambitions; she is opposed to Austrian expansion. Will she save the little that remains of her ancient glory, or will she be submerged by the giant waves? Is it her duty to embrace pan-Germanic ideas or to accept Russian aid? Will the circumstances, which are entangled to such an extent that any prophesy may prove false, allow the salvation of Rumanian ethnic integrity or even political autonomy?

Uncertainty! Who will be the less grasping, the Czar or the Kaiser? Fear! A decision must be made, one way or the other; the neutrality of Rumania means suicide!

King Charles's German Affiliations.

Rumania's King is a Hohenzollern, a relative of Emperor William II. Charles I., who accepted the throne of the at that time young principality newly baptized as Rumania, was a Prussian officer, with Prussian education and Prussian ideals. He got his throne through the diplomatic machinations of Germany. Bismarck had a great deal of influence in the election of Karl von Hohenzollern as Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Francis Joseph is a friend of the Rumanian King. For years in good friendship, they have ruled the same nation. Charles has seen, without a moment of revolt, the Transylvanians and the Bukowinians under the sceptre of Francis Joseph. More than that, the Austrian policy in the Balkans always had a strong defender in the Rumanian King. Rumania has always been considered as a German hinterland. The King's sympathies are certainly with Austria.

But the Balkan war has made one thing clear: that while Austria wants Rumania's aid she will never give hers in exchange. When Rumania asked, as the price of her neutrality, for a slice of Bulgarian Silistria Bulgaria held her demands up to ridicule. Despite this treachery, however, events have given to Rumania a leading influence in the Balkans. After the treaty of peace of Bucharest, in 1913, she annexed a large territory, comprising Silistria, Dobritch and Baichick. The Baliplatz at Vienna has compromised itself in the eyes of the Rumanian people. King Charles's policy has led to political bankruptcy.

Czar Favored by Rumanian People.

The Czar of Russia, with his political machine, has worked for the gaining of the Rumanian Government's support. The interview between Nicholas II. and Charles I. at Kustendji has surely something to do with the change in Rumania's foreign policy. Popular feeling is for Russia and against Austria.

As things are now at Bucharest there are two strong currents, one which is supposed to maintain the King's former attitude and another which goes openly against Austria. The Rumanian national ideal is to regain the lost provinces. If she fights against Russia it may mean the restitution of Bessarabia. If she joins Russia she has the promise of the restoration of Transylvania and Bukowina. More than that, the Czar has promised not only these two provinces under Austrian domination but also his own personal little Bessarabia, as the price of Rumania's loyal help. One must be very credulous to believe such imperial promises. In any case the Little Father of the Cossacks enjoys great sympathy in the Latin island of the Balkans.

M. Peter Carp, the former chief of the Conservative party, one of the greatest statesmen Rumania ever had, a man of profound knowledge and deep craft, capable of being the Chancellor of any great civilized country, King Charles has found a champion of his own policy. It must be remembered that although Rumania is a constitutional monarchy the King has so much power and influence that the Parliament, the constitution and the national will are mere playthings in his hands. Nevertheless the indorsement of such a man as Peter Carp means something—a great help to the opposite current.

It is true, and a great hindrance to us, as Peter Carp made evident in 1912, when the first Balkan war broke out, Rumania must join Austria and Germany in order to save herself from the Slav peril. He stated that Russia would never keep her promise to respect Rumanian sovereignty, that to forward her ambitions Russia would be able to annex Rumania as a simple piece of land, treading under foot the aspirations of an entire nation. She had already proved in 1878, after the war with Turkey, in which the at that time principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia helped her and made possible the victory at Plevna, how grateful she can be by seizing the province of Bessarabia from Rumania.

Carp proved that Russia's promises are so light that in the future she would exhibit the same ability for taking the lion's share. The former chief of the Conservative party sees the correct solution of Rumania's problem in the embracing of Germany and Austria. Pan-Germanism does not mean Russian ideals. As a young country Rumania is compelled to follow the orbit of a satellite around some great planet. To follow Germany—that, perhaps, would be to surrender economically; but to revolve around the Russian Empire—that would mean to be attracted with fearful speed toward the giant sun, to be swallowed up for its eternal splendor.

Calls King Great Traitor.

National sentiment, however, is opposed to such ideas. Austria retains in her grasp two great provinces, Transylvania and Bukowina, inhabited by several million Rumanians. The great dream, realized for one moment only by Woevode Michael, is to gather under one sceptre all these provinces which recall Rumania's ancient glory. If Russia has taken Bessarabia, which has only one million Rumanian inhabitants, Austria has robbed Rumania of almost half of ancient Dacia—four million Rumanians, gasping for liberty. Then again the people who are not as far-sighted as the statesman, who have always looked upon the King as an intruder, and in their naïvete believe the Czar's promises for the restoration of Bessarabia, hold that Rumania must go with Russia against Austria.

The great meetings held in the Rumanian capital, the manifestations at the royal palace, the incendiary speeches all have the same purpose, to force the royal will to turn against Austria. If Karl von Hohenzollern wants to save the throne for his dynasty he certainly must yield.

"Russia the Putrid Giant."

A smaller following, which sees in King Charles's policy a far sighted statesmanship, which appreciates him as a wise ruler, which calls him "Charles the Sage," approves of his attitude without question. In this tenor the Bucharest *Seara* (evening) publishes another challenge, from which the following is quoted:

> It could be easily foreseen what would happen after the provocation of the Servian regicides. A part of the Rumanian people is now the victim of womanish indecision and timidity. Nobody can assert that for national sentimentalism and for love of Transylvania we ought to make of Servia a mascot for our future as a nation, and that for the same excuses use the putrid giant of the north as a stepping stone for the future of our history. To go with Russia! That means to surrender ourselves forever as slaves under the heel of the giant despotism. With Russia! We need only recall 1877, when we fought with her on Bulgarian fields against Turkey, and we had to pay for this comradeship in arms with the uncouth bear, with a whole province—Bessarabia!

What Will Rumania Do?

Constantin Mille, editor of the Bucharest *Adeverul* (Truth) and a deputy in the Rumanian Parliament, writes in his paper as follows:

> What will Rumania do? Three ways lie open to her: 1, to go with Austria and Germany; 2, to go with Russia and the allies; 3, provisionally not to go with anybody, put herself in a position to guard her neutrality, reserving the right to intervene when she thinks it is time to do so and with whom and against whom she wants.
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> As respects public opinion it is openly against Austria, from which we have suffered so much. I do not know that the so-called sympathy with Russia is not really an expression of the sentiment against Austria. We must regard public opinion as only the simplest sentiment, which imposes itself at a first glance as a fatality. We must not deal with sentimentalism, however; we must deal with real politics. If we are convinced that by binding ourselves with one or the other political policy we are going toward a certain victory; without any doubt we would have to ask the Government and the nation to forget the past. Yet nobody can be a prophet, and we cannot tell which side will win.
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> Be it the King of Rumania, or be it the man on the street, nobody has the right to adventure the future existence of the nation with a light heart or, what is of more importance, a light mind.
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> Things being so, I see that only the third solution is the right one. We must wait with our arms by our sides the tragic evolution of events. If the King thinks otherwise, then his counsellors must call another Government, and if that Government wants it they have to obey the sovereign will. But we exist, too, we the citizens, who have a right to show that such a government must resign. Any engagement made by the head of the State, without the Government, without Parliament, is null and non-existent. The Constitution says that the King cannot make any engagement himself. And he has not the mandate, either expressed or understood.
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> Under these conditions, when we cannot put the whole burden on the King and when the parties are merely what the King wants them to be, it is our duty, who represent the country and public opinion, to intervene. We must call the King and his Ministers back to reality, to the sentiment of their duty and their patriotism. The moments are too great for the raising of any personal questions. It is indifferent to us who will propose the wise solution. It must, however, be proposed. We have to do our duty.
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> In any case, whatever happens, unhappily we cannot do very much, but what we can do we will do without a murmur.

Public opinion and governmental designs seem to have been reconciled since a ray of hope has come from Rome. We must recall here a little event which we have already mentioned—the interview between Nicholas II. and Charles I. at Kustendje last spring.

By many, this was interpreted as the foundation of a new alliance under Russian control and for the purpose of destroying the "other sick man of Europe," Austria. We cannot be certain that the interview was the initiation or the consummation of such an understanding. What we can assert and emphasize is that Rumania, Servia and Greece have agreed to stand together; though we cannot say whether they did it for the sake of Russia. We believe that it was only to oppose a united front to Bulgaria's imperialistic desires. This is a logical conclusion of the peace of Bucharest, when these three Balkan States, plus Montenegro, changed the map of the Balkans despite the protests of Bulgaria. It is certain that Russia has tried to gain the support of this Balkan bloc, and it is equally certain that these Balkan States have hesitated. Recent events, however, have changed the aspect of affairs. It seems that the new Balkan bloc regards with a favorable eye Russia's proposals.

Now there comes another element which tends to clear the situation and facilitate a decision, another Power—Italy. Austria, which outdoes former European Turkey by having eleven races under her domination, is to be treated just as Turkey was. They call the Hapsburg monarchy "the other sick man of Europe." If Italy only says the word, Rumania and Greece will certainly join Russia to give the coup de grace to this other patient of the Old World.

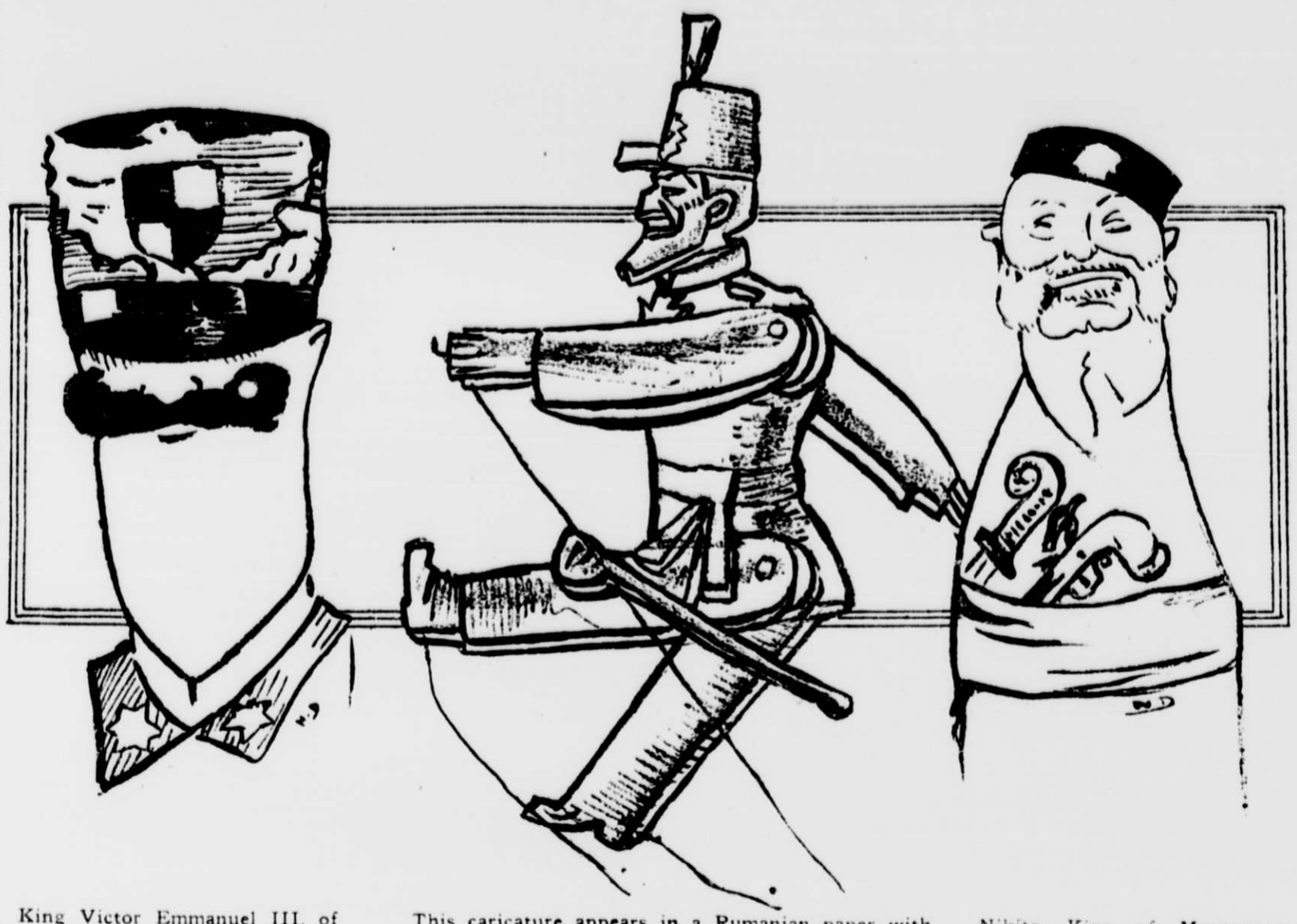
Rumania has atavistic tendencies toward Italy. Both nations are Latin, and Rumania traces its parentage to old mother Rome.

To our mind, the only way to end the painful situation of Rumania is to heed atavistic tendencies, and we can already see that Rumania will join Italy. One thing will never be seen, a Rumanian army fighting side by side with a Bulgarian army for the sake of Austria. To entertain such an idea is as absurd as to believe that Germany and France could unite against Austria, or that Turkey would help Bulgaria. The foreign policy of the Rumanian States may be summed up thus: Bulgaria must not grow. On the Balkan chess board, Bulgaria is a captured pawn, which has been taken off the board. Albania is in a corner from which she cannot move.

Now let us examine the movements of the other pawns. Servia is already involved in the desperate game; so is little Montenegro. There remain Rumania and Greece. The day that Rumania decides to join Italy in a consultation as to the treatment of "the other sick man" the cure will not be long delayed. Greece will gladly give a helping hand, and Austria will suddenly face a semi-circular wall of bayonets.

Austria is a Tower of Babel, in which more than ten different languages are spoken. More than ten races await this great moment of deliverance. The day when Italian and Rumanian cannon thunder in Austria-Hungary millions of oppressed Transylvanians, Bukowinians, inhabitants of Trentino will join other millions of Slav races in a giant internal revolt. The moment Rumania gains Transylvania the Reed arm will grow a huge mass of muscles. No more fear of the "putrid giant of the North!" Rumania will be able to oppose a mighty fist against Russian ambitions.

Work of a Rumanian Artist Not Afraid of "Lese Majeste"



King Victor Emmanuel III. of Italy as seen by a Rumanian cartoonist.

This caricature appears in a Rumanian paper with this legend: "Do you want to know the attitude of Rumania? Look for the ends of the strings which move the royal mannikan, King Charles, everywhere, at Budapest, at Vienna, or at Berlin, but not in the conscience and aspirations of the Rumanian nation."

Nikita, King of Montenegro, the baby of the Balkan alliance.

Rumania and her neighbors.

Spanish Paper "Knew" England Would Fail

"La Gaceta del Norte" Congratulates Itself on "Exact Information."

"U. S. READY FOR WAR"

THE SUN presents herewith translations of extracts from *La Gaceta del Norte* of Bilbao, Spain, printed in its issue of September 1, which show with what flavor the Spanish public receives its news of the European war.

The following extract is entitled "Near to Peace":

SAN SEBASTIAN 1.

(Urgent.)

The King went this evening to Madrid.

There accompanied him besides his retinue Senor Sanchez Guerra, who on the platform of railway station made the following sensational statements:

"We are on the brink of peace.

"England takes action.

"No more troops will be sent to France.

"The conditions of peace are:

"Cession of all Algeria to Germany.

"Cession of part of the Belgian Congo to Germany.

"A heavy war indemnity."

Another "scare head" tells the Spanish public that Gen. Joffre, the French commander in chief, has been demoted and Gen. Gallieni has taken his place. The article follows:

MADRID 31.

El Usado publishes a despatch which says:

"Commander in Chief Joffre has actually been deprived of his commission.

"Not to officially announce the news Gen. Gallieni has been appointed chief of staff of the army of operations and will act as commander from our correspondent in Rome in which he asserts that Joffre has not been removed, but that on account of differences of opinion with the Government and the Generals he has presented his resignation. The despatch says:

"(Urgent.) ROME 31.

"It is asserted in official circles that on the 28th day in a conference of Commander in Chief Joffre with Minister of War Frances Millerand the situation was pointed out to him clearly and he was made to see that differences of opinion existed between commanding Generals and the Government itself.

"He at immediately presented his resignation.

"Millerand tried to dissuade him but Joffre insisted.

"I am not aware of the final result, although probably it will be the appointment of Gallieni Commander in Chief."

An "official confirmation of the German advance" toward Paris reads as follows:

(Urgent.) PARIS 31.

Official communication of the Government:

mander in chief, Joffre being set aside."

After having received that telegram from Madrid we received

"In view of the progress of the German army we find ourselves under the necessity of yielding ground." HAVAS.

And now as a climax to the authentic news circulated in Spain we have England begging Germany for peace following a "great naval disaster":

PEACE!! PEACE!!!

We write these lines in agitation of mind. The pen shakes in our hand and we can scarcely put together the words which express our immense, immeasurable joy.

The urgent telegram of our correspondent, Senor Ormaechea, has made us believe in this dawn which we dreamed of.

We did not give credence to what our eyes saw.

Happily the good news comes through authorized channels.

It is the Minister of Government who asserts it.

WE ARE ON THE BRINK OF PEACE!

ENGLAND SEEKS PEACE!!

We may thank God and beseech Him in the deepest fervor of our hearts that these beginnings of peace may have rapid consummation.

And now, in order that our readers may recall it and may see that we drink at pure sources when we give information we are going to reproduce the telegram received by *La Gaceta del Norte* on the 28th and published at the closing of the edition of *La Gaceta del Norte* on the 28th:

It said thus:

"ROME 28

"It has been confirmed that England after the first naval disaster that it suffered addressed proposals of peace to Germany.

"The German Kaiser answered that England could send mediators to Germany, but that in the present circumstance its proposals for peace would not be accepted."

And there was a newspaper which laughed at *La Gaceta del Norte* and said that England would never ask peace of Germany, whom it would kill by hunger.

How few days were sufficient to demonstrate that in this, as in all, we are well informed!

Urgent! U. S. Ready to Declare War on Japan.

The following is a sample of the "news" printed in *La Gaceta del Norte* of Bilbao:

UNITED STATES IS PREPARED.

It Will declare War Upon Japan.

(Urgent.)

ROME 31

United States ordered evacuation by its troops of Mexican coasts because it will in a short time mobilize army in view attitude of Japan, upon which it will declare war.

ITALY EAGER TO FIGHT OLD ENEMY, AUSTRIA

Participation in Fight Against France Would Mean Disaster.

By J. S. BARNES.

MILAN, Sept. 2.—There was a time a few days before the actual outbreak of hostilities when the Italian people feared they would be dragged into war on the side of Germany and Austria. England's attitude had not yet been made clear and it was evident that Germany counted on England remaining neutral. In these circumstances there was a great deal to tempt Italy to act decisively in conjunction with her allies.

War with France would have been exceedingly unpopular, but on the whole the people would have acquiesced in the face of the manifest advantages which such a course was likely to bring to them. Many here are convinced that in conjunction with the Austrian fleet Italy would have gained command of the sea and the supreme command of the allied fleets would have fallen upon a man of exceptional ability and energy, the Duke of the Abruzzi.

With the command of the sea Tunis and Corsica would have been at the mercy of the Italians. Both these places belong geographically to Italy. Corsica is wholly Italian and in Tunis the Italian settlement completely outnumbers the French. Italy would dearly like to come into possession of them. She bears a grudge against France for her occupation of Tunis, just as Bismarck, who prompted the move, had hoped, in order that Italy might be forced in to the Triple Alliance.

The command of the sea would also have enabled Italy to prevent the transportation of native troops to France. The French defence would have been weakened against Germany, both on this account and on account of the necessity of detaching large numbers of men to resist the Italian advance across the Alps and on account of the absence of the British troops. Germany would probably have been able to deal France a crushing blow, and while her armies subsequently were operating against Russia, Italy would have been in the position to finish what Germany had begun. Moreover, the whole strategic position of the French army, as a glance at the map will show, would have been altered from the beginning to its disadvantage.

The decision of England to support France put an end, however, to all idea of Italy fighting on the side of her hereditary enemy, Austria. The news came as infinite relief to the vast majority of Italians. War against England and France would have meant the loss of all Italian colonies and terrible misery to her inhabitants.

So Italy very wisely declared her neutrality. She had every right to do so, technical and moral. The Triple Alliance in so far as it concerned Italy was of a purely defensive nature, and Italy was under no obligation to follow on the heels of Germany and Austria in an aggressive war. Even if she desired to denounce the treaty altogether there was nothing to prevent her. Austria herself has violated the treaty when she abstained from consulting Italy in regard to her attitude toward Servia.

The question remains whether Italy will not sooner or later abandon her attitude of neutrality and join forces with the Triple Entente. There is no doubt whatever that this indeed would be a popular war throughout the length and breadth of the land. Germany and Austria are not likely to thank Italy for remaining neutral, supposing they win. It becomes, therefore, of the utmost importance to Italy to see that they do not. Moreover a triumph of Austria over Servia would be a terrible blow to Italy's position in the Adriatic. Fighting side by side with France and England Italy would be contending for that national reconstruction of Europe, to which ideal her own history is a prophecy. Not can she hope to have that effective voice in the final settlement, which she would have if she were in a position to say: "I too have died for this day. I deserve my reward!" And she would get it. She would obtain the crown of the Adriatic and, what is still more dear to her, she would unite herself to her sons who still remain in bondage under a foreign yoke. The "unredeemed" provinces of Trent and of Trieste would be free at last.

Meanwhile active preparations continue to be made to guard against all eventualities. The fleet is ready, mobilized and concentrated. Troops are slowly but methodically taking up strategic positions on the Austrian frontier. Those on the French frontier, except for the ordinary peace garrisons, have already been removed. Six classes of reservists have been called to the colors; the old Generals have been placed on the retired list and the ablest men have been placed in the positions of responsibility. There is no doubt that when Italy does strike she will strike hard and effectively.

That she will strike at the opportune moment is now practically certain. Her Foreign Minister, the Marquis of San Giuliano, formerly Ambassador in London, is an extremely astute diplomatist. Italy will choose her moment well. It is not likely to come just yet, unless events are unexpectedly precipitated. When the Russian advance has gained its first decisive successes and is occupying the attention of the vast bulk of the Austro-Germany army in a death struggle Italy's opportunity will have arrived. At the same time a forward movement will be initiated in France, Belgium and Servia.

Until then it is wise of Italy to maintain her attitude of neutrality. It may not be altogether a hostile attitude. Nevertheless in the interests of her people it is the duty of her Government to hold its hand until it is certain that the throwing of the Italian arms into the scales against the central European empires will mean a swift, certain and successful issue to the war. Italy may be trusted to pursue Realpolitik better than the Germans, though the word was coined in Germany.

HERRICK A TIRELESS WORKER.

Ambassador is Great Help to Americans in Paris.

PARIS, Aug. 8.—Americans have been congratulating themselves during the past week on having Myron T. Herrick still with them as Ambassador. He has proven himself a real "Father O'Flynn," working from early morning till late at night, encouraging the faint hearted and giving a cheery word for every one. He has devised schemes of employment to occupy the minds of the women and succeeded in reducing to order what seemed an inextricable maze of affairs.

For the American newspaper correspondents in Paris he has done everything he could. Always ready to address the highest authorities to facilitate the correspondents' work, he has shown himself, as he has always done during his term of service, their great and good friend.

BRITISH M. P.S MAY FIGHT.

More Than 100 Commoners Join the Army.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—More than 100 members of the House of Commons have joined the army on mobilization, either as officers in full commission or as reserves.

Lord Tredegar has offered his steam yacht Liberty to the Admiralty as a hospital. Capt. Weigall has placed his country house near Guildford at the disposal of the War Office and the Admiralty as a hospital, as there was practically no hospital provision at this important naval base.

Lord Kensington, Lord Ninian Crichton-Stuart and Lord Howard de Walden are engaged in raising a regiment of Welsh Horse for service abroad if necessary.