

## ***All the World at War: Reference Notes & Citations***

Editorial Note: Although current academic custom is to reprint contemporary documents in their pristine and original form, the author has, as a rule, modernized punctuation, spelling and archaic forms that might inconvenience the general reader. Where illumination of a train of thought might be facilitated by the compression of longer descriptive narratives in a dispatch, letter or description, he has (though not always) omitted the general practice of indicating omitted material by a series of periods, and for the same reason.

The numbering before each reference notation refers to book pagination.

### **Abbreviations & Acronyms**

<i>ACA</i>	<i>Acadiensis</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AQ</i>	<i>Army Quarterly</i>
<i>CEH</i>	<i>Central European History</i>
<i>CMJ</i>	<i>Canadian Military Journal</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , eds. H. C. G. Matthew, B. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>FA</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>
<i>GSR</i>	<i>German Studies Review</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>History Today</i>
<i>HWJ</i>	<i>History Workshop Journal</i>
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Irish Literary Supplement</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>International Security</i>
<i>JCH</i>	<i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>
<i>JMSS</i>	<i>Journal of Military and Strategic Studies</i>

<i>JMI</i>	<i>Journal of Military History</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>JSH</i>	<i>Journal of Social History</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i>
<i>LRB</i>	<i>London Review of Books</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Military Affairs: The Journal of the American Military Institute</i>
<i>NYRB</i>	<i>New York Review of Books</i>
<i>PWW</i>	Link, Arthur S., et al., eds., <i>The Papers of Woodrow Wilson</i> (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).
<i>SAB</i>	<i>“Sabretache”- The Journal and Proceedings of the Military History Society of Australia</i>
<i>TH</i>	<i>The Historian</i>
<i>WH</i>	<i>War in History</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>War and Society</i>
<i>YR</i>	<i>Yale Review</i>

## **Preface**

page ix) *Ten million deaths*: Twenty million casualties, and about six million civilian deaths. See *An Encyclopedia of World History: Ancient, Medieval and Modern, Chronologically Arranged*, ed. W. L. Langer (Boston, 1972), p. 976; Scott Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia* (New York, 2013), p. 1.

ix) *“The hugeness of this war ...”*: T. E. Lawrence to his mother, *The Selected Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. M. Brown (New York, 1989), p. 76.

## **1) The European Landscape: Queen Victoria's Web**

page 1) *“No queen was ever loved so well,” and following on Victoria’s monument*: Juliet Nicolson, *The Perfect Summer: England 1911, Just Before the Storm* (New York, 2006), pp. 33-9.

- 2) *The “old hag with the yellow teeth ...”*: James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London, 1968), pp. 63, 429. See also Jay Dickson, “Surviving Victoria,” *High and Low Moderns: Literature and Culture 1889-1939*, eds. M. DiBattista, L. McDiarmid (Oxford, 1996), pp. 23-48.
- 2) *The monumental statue of Victoria in front of Buckingham Palace*: The historian A. N. Wilson considered this “wedding-cake memorial,” designed by Sir Aston Webb, absolutely hideous. Webb also designed the new facade for Buckingham Palace, and the Admiralty Arch off Trafalgar Square. “What a pity the Luftwaffe never scored any direct hits against his work.” *After the Victorians* (New York, 2005), p. 47
- 3) *“When she insists that 2 and 2 make 5, I say I cannot help thinking they may make 4 ...”*: Arthur Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria’s Private Secretary: His Life from His Letters* (London, 1942), p. 134.
- 3) *Children of Victoria and Prince Albert*: See H. C. G. Matthew, K. D. Reynolds, “Victoria,” *DNB*, Vol. 56, pp. 427-56, and assorted cross references therein; Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, op. cit., p. 66.
- 4) *Gladstone “a humbug”*: Matthew, Reynolds, “Victoria,” op. cit., p. 443.
- 4) *“I really cannot go about keeping everyone in order”*: John Van der Kiste, *Queen Victoria and the European Empires* (Oxford, 2016), p. 131.
- 4) *Victoria “an old hag”*: Lamar Cecil, *Wilhelm II* (Chapel Hill, 1989, 1996), Vol. I, p. 84.
- 4) *Bismarck was a drug-addled “pigmy”*: J. C. G. Röhl, “The emperor's new clothes : a character sketch of Kaiser Wilhelm II,” in J. C. G. Röhl, Nicolaus Sombart, eds., *Kaiser Wilhelm II, New Interpretations: The Corfu Papers* (Cambridge, 1982), p. 26.
- 4) *Treaty of Björkö*: Roderick R. McLean, “Dreams of a German Europe: Wilhelm II and the Treaty of Björkö of 1905,” A. Mombauer, W. Deist, eds., *The Kaiser: New Research on Wilhelm II’s Role in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 136.
- 4) *Diplomats in Berlin had “filled their pants” ...* : Röhl, “The emperor's new clothes,” op. cit., p. 29.
- 5) *Bulgaria turned into a “Balkan Prussia”*: Emile Joseph Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference* (New York, 1920), p. 465.
- 5) *Stambuloff, known as the “Bismarck of the Balkans”*: *New York Times*, 17 July 1895, 12 March 1907.
- 5) *The king, still alive, clung to the window sill, whereupon his fingers were cut off* : Sulzberger, *Fall of Eagles*, op. cit., p. 202. Great Britain was not spared either; radical suffragettes placed a bomb in David Lloyd George’s house in 1913: Adam Hochschild, *To*

*End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914-1918* (Boston, 2011), pp. 98-9.

- 5) *Edward VII's funeral*: Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York, 1962), pp. 1-4, 12-14.
- 5) *French foreign minister insulted*: Keith Robbins, *Sir Edward Grey: A Biography of Lord Grey of Fallodon* (London, 1971), p. xi.
- 5) "Crowns roll in the gutter by the dozens," *Engels wrote...*: Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (New York, 1998), p. 8.
- 6) *The English "virtually satiated," and following*: Paul Kennedy, "The Kaiser and German Weltpolitik: reflections on Wilhelm II's place in the making of German foreign policy," Röhl, Sombart, *Corfu Papers*, op. cit., p. 152; Lady Norah Bentinck, *The Ex-Kaiser in Exile* (New York, 1921), p. 86.
- 6) "We used to have discussions in this House about the balance of power ...": W. F. Monypenny, G. E. Buckle, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield* (London, 1920), Vol. V, p. 134.
- 6) "Every one of those factory chimneys is a gun pointed at England": Kennedy, "The Kaiser and German Weltpolitik," op. cit., p. 149.

## 2) The Kaiser

page 7) "Wilhelm the Great": Philip Magnus, *King Edward the Seventh* (New York, 1964), p. 206; see also Stanley Shaw, *William of Germany* (London, 1913), pp. 386-7.

- 7) *Bismarck only one of three statesmen in modern European history to hold the reins of power for at least three decades*: J. C. G. Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck: The Crisis of Government in the Second Reich, 1890-1900* (London, 1967), p. 9.
- 8) *Bismarck's creation, the new, unified Germany*: Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck*, *ibid.*, p. 15.
- 8) *Bismarck bribes King Ludwig II of Bavaria*: Edward Crankshaw, *Bismarck* (New York, 1981), pp. 292-5; Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck*, op. cit., p. 15.
- 9) *All would go well so long as Bismarck's imperial master was "not totally eccentric" (his words)*: Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck*, *ibid.*, p. 26.
- 9) "A monarch must always speak the final word ...": Kennedy, "The Kaiser and German Weltpolitik," op. cit., 160.
- 10) *Edward VII of Great Britain was "Satan"*: Count Robert Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years at the Imperial German Court*, trans. A. Kalish (New York, 1924), p.178; Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 417 (fn. 79).

- 10) *Wilhelm's marginalia described as "expectorations"*: Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck*, op. cit., p. 126.
- 10) *Wagner "noisy"*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 46. "Why do people make such a fuss of this Wagner?" he once asked. He was nothing more than "a quite common conductor." Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 41.
- 10) *Berlin called "Parvunopolis"*: Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, "Rathenau, Wilhelm II, and the Perception of *Wilhelminismus*," in Mombauer, Deist *The Kaiser: New Research*, op. cit., p. 269.
- 10) *Wilhelm "raving mad," and following*: McLean, "Dreams of a German Europe," Mombauer, Deist, *ibid.*, p. 123; Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 280. For full text see Shaw, *William of Germany*, op. cit., pp. 304-308.
- 10) *Grey wondered if Wilhelm was "not quite sane"*: Kennedy, "The Kaiser and German Weltpolitik," Röhl, Sombart, *Corfu Papers*, op. cit., p. 161.
- 10) *You English "have all gone mad ..."*: Goschen, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 197.
- 11) *Zedlitz-Trützschler's memoir referred to as a "spittoon"*: Röhl, "The emperor's new clothes," op. cit., p. 25. See also Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court: The Diaries, Note Books and Letters of Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller, Chief of the Naval Cabinet, 1914-1918*, ed. W. Görnitz, trans. M. Savill (New York, 1961), pp. xiv-xv.
- 12) *Vicky was good for not one occasional misstep now and again, "but two big ones every day"*: A. Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby*, op. cit., p. 111.
- 12) *Vicky "a little tyrant"*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 11.
- 13) *Sigmund Freud's opinion*: Freud was responding to the biographer Emil Ludwig's opinion that Wilhelm's deformed arm resulted in a damaging "inferiority complex." Freud wrote, "It is usual for mothers whom Fate has presented with a child who is sickly or otherwise at a disadvantage to try and compensate him for his unfair handicap by a superabundance of love. In the instance before us, the proud mother behaved otherwise; she withdrew her love from the child on account of his infirmity. When he had grown up into a man of great power, he proved unambiguously by his actions that he had never forgiven his mother." See "Dissection of the Personality," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. J. Strachey (London, 1964), Vol. XXII, p. 66.
- 13) *Dressed in a uniform, Wilhelm reminded his mother "of some unfortunate little monkey ..."*: Lamar, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 27.
- 13) *If Frederick was to die, it should be on the battlefield, not at the hands of an English doctor*: *Ibid.*, p. 91.

- 13) *"Drop the pilot"*: Refers to a famous political cartoon that ran in the English satirical magazine, *Punch*. It shows "Captain" Wilhelm leaning over a ship's guardrail, watching Bismarck disembark into a pilot's boat to bring him back to shore, the implication being that the kaiser was now in control of the ship of state. See Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War* (New York, 1991), p. 99.
- 13) *Ludwig Quidde's novel "Caligula"*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol I, p. 225.
- 14) *Wilhelm's rule an "operetta"*: Bernd Sösemann, "Hollow-sounding jubilees: forms and effects of public self-display in Wilhelmine Germany," Mombauer, Deist, *The Kaiser: New Research*, op. cit., p. 57.
- 14) *"This man wants to live as if ever day were his birthday"*: Rudolph Steiner, *How Can Mankind Find Christ Again?* (Hudson, NY, 1984), p. 137.
- 14) *"He has no doubts"*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 160.
- 14) *God was a German*: Baron Beyens, *Germany Before the War* (London, 1916), p. 21.
- 14) *Reichstag "that pig sty," and following*: Röhl, "The emperor's new clothes," op. cit., p. 33; Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 119, 180; Stig Förster, "The Armed Forces and Military Planning," in R. Chickering, ed., *Imperial Germany: A Historiographical Companion* (Westport, CT, 1996), p. 462.
- 14) *"Five hundred people being shot down" on a city street would not disturb his conscience, and following*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., pp. 76, 233.
- 15) *The kaiser's entourage consisted of "clowns at the village fair," and following*: *ibid.*, pp. 273, 264, 121.
- 15) *Bismarck referred to the kaiserin as "the Holstein cow," and following*: Alan Palmer, *The Kaiser: Warlord of the Second Reich* (New York, 1978), p. 14; Andreas Dorpalen, "Empress Auguste Victoria and the Fall of the German Monarchy," *AHR*, Vol. 58, No. I (October 1952), pp. 18, 19.
- 15) *On his annual summer cruises, Wilhelm could not bring himself to waste time sending letters to the kaiserin, ordering Eulenburg to write her instead*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 180.
- 15) *Wilhelm sat on a pillow at dinner*: Countess Alice of Athlone, *For My Grandchildren*, op. cit., p. 92.
- 16) *The air was always "thick with incense"*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 101.
- 16) *"The emperor always says in these cases ..."*: *Ibid.*, p. 260. See also Röhl, "The emperor's new clothes," op. cit., p. 42.

- 16) “Küche, Kirche, Kinder”: M. Kleinmichel, *Memories of a Shipwrecked World, Being the Memoirs of Countess Kleinmichel* (New York, 1923), p. 282.
- 16) *Wilhelm's “rapid grasp ...”*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. xiv.
- 16) *Wilhelm's notions of divine right was “junk from a dead past”*: Mombauer, Deist, *The Kaiser: New Research*, op. cit., p. 61. See also Lady Nora Bentinck, *The Ex-Kaiser in Exile* (New York, 1921), p. 79-80.
- 16) *The nickname for Bismarck's suite of offices was “Olympus”*: C. à Court Repington, *After the War: A Diary* (London, 1922), p. 269.
- 16) *“I saw that Bismarck would be the uncrowned emperor ...”*: Bentinck, *Ex-Kaiser in Exile*, op. cit., p. 79.
- 17) *For the next several years the Kaiser ruled virtually unfettered*: Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck*, op. cit., pp. 276-9.
- 17) *Von Bülow's nickname was “the eel”*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 258.
- 17) *Wilhelm's chancellors had to master the technique “of presenting [their] ideas as if [the emperor] had inspired them”*: Beyens, *Germany Before the War*, op. cit., p. 16.
- 17) *Boxer Rebellion*: See Annika Mombauer, “Wilhelm, Waldersee, and the Boxer Rebellion,” in Mombauer, Deist, *The Kaiser: New Research*, op. cit., pp. 91-118.
- 17) *“No Chinaman, whether his eyes be slit or not ...,” and following*: “William II: ‘Hun Speech,’ 1900” (Internet resource [sanitized version]); Mombauer, *ibid.*, pp. 99, 98.
- 17) *I “must answer in the Reichstag for policies about which I know nothing?”*: Röhl, *Germany Without Bismarck*, op. cit., p. 269.
- 17) *The kaiser acquired, and discarded, chancellors as a man would his mistresses. Others referred to them as “eunuchs”*: Röhl, Sombart, *Corfu Papers*, op. cit., pp. 10, 11.
- 18) *Wilhelm on his urgent need for a fleet, “just to be ready to lend a helping hand”*: Goschen, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 295.
- 18) *Example of Holland not considered*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 183.
- 18) *“We must now go out in search of new spots where we can drive in nails ...”*: Shaw, *William of Germany*, op. cit., p. 204.
- 18) *Eulenburg likened being around the kaiser to sitting on a keg of gunpowder*: Röhl, “The emperor's new clothes,” op. cit., p. 39.
- 18) *“Challenge everybody ...”*: Gordon Craig, *Germany 1866-1945* (New York, 1978), p. 337.

- 18) “*Simplicissimus*” and its “filthy cartoons”: Sösemann, “Hollow-sounding jubilees,” op. cit., p. 50; W. H-H. Waters, *Potsdam and Doorn* (London, 1935), p. 65.
- 19) “*You English are mad ...*”: *Daily Telegraph*, 28 October 1908 (Internet resource). See also Terence F. Cole, “The *Daily Telegraph* Affair and its Aftermath: The Kaiser, Bülow and the Reichstag, 1908-1909,” in Röhl, Sombart, *Corfu Papers*, op. cit., pp. 249-68; Goschen, *Diary*, op. cit., pp. 293-7.
- 19) “*Great debate on ‘D.T.’ Interview ...*”: Goschen, *Dairy*, op. cit., p. 179.
- 19) *Warmongers thought Wilhelm was “soft and weak,” and following assessments*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 288; Wilhelm Deist, “Kaiser Wilhelm II in the context of his military and naval entourage,” in Röhl, Sombart, *Corfu Papers*, op. cit., pp. 184-5; Franz Adam Beyerlein, ‘*Jena*’ or ‘*Sedan*’? (London, 1904), pp. 257-8; David G. H Herrmann, *The Arming of Europe and the Making of the First World War* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 71-2; Strandmann, “Rathenau,” op. cit., p. 273; Constance Battersea, *Reminiscences* (London, 1922), p. 317; Lamar Cecil, “History as family chronicle: Kaiser Wilhelm II and the dynastic roots of the Anglo-German antagonism,” *Corfu Papers*, op. cit., p. 132; Holger Afflerbach, “Wilhelm II as supreme warlord in the First World War,” in Mombauer, Deist, *The Kaiser: New Research*, op. cit., p. 214.
- 20) “*The business of the Reich demands a political temperament, not a dramatic one ...*,” and following: Sösemann, “Hollow-sounding jubilees,” op. cit., pp. 60, 41.
- 20) “*When the emperor did not consider the peace to be threatened ...*”: Richard Ned Lebow, “Windows of Opportunity: Do States Jump Through Them?” *IS*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984), p. 163.
- 20) *Wilhelm now read only extracts and clippings, not whole reports*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 117; Bentinck, *Ex-Kaiser in Exile*, op. cit., p. 64.
- 21) *His entourage, at one venue, shot 4,200 pheasants, and following*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 34; Vol. I, p. 146; Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., pp. 205, 85, 252-5, 98.
- 21) *Wilhelm's monologues were to show his audience “that he was little short of omniscient,” and following*: Jonescu, *Personal Impressions*, op. cit., pp. 284, 285.
- 21) *His hectic schedule a “conspiracy against self-understanding”*: J. C. G. Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court: Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 12.
- 21) *The kaiser was in the middle of many of these – “this drilling, trampling foolery in the heart of Europe”*: Bernard Shaw, *What I Really Wrote About the War* (New York, 1932), p. 37.
- 22) *When the time came, Wilhelm would leap from saddle to saddle*: Mombauer, “Wilhelm, Waldersee, and the Boxer Rebellion,” op. cit., p. 111.



22) “All of you know nothing ...”: Röhl, “The emperor's new clothes,” op. cit., p. 29.

### 3) Alfred Von Schlieffen: The Plan

page 23) “To make war is always to attack”: Ferdinand Foch, *The Principles of War*, trans. J. de Morinni (New York, 1918), p. 313.

23) *Bismarck lampooned officers as “demi-gods”*: Otto von Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*, ed. T. S. Hamerow (New York, 1968), p.191.

23) *Bismarck cracked the whip*: Holger H. Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties of a Nation-State: Prussia-Germany, 1871-1918,” in W. Murray, M. Knox, A. Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 242.

23) “We must both take care ...”: Gordon Craig, *The Politics of the German Army 1640-1945* (Oxford, 1955), p. 269. See also Robert B. Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 169.

24) *German officers (and Bismarck as well) often unfamiliar with “Von Krieg”*: Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties,” op. cit., p. 243; Jehuda L. Wallach, *The Dogma of the Battle of Annihilation: The Theories of Clausewitz and Schlieffen and Their Impact on the German Conduct of Two World Wars* (London, 1986), p. 198.

24) *Ludendorff wrote to “throw Clausewitz overboard”*: Wallach, *Dogma*, op. cit., p. 14.

25) *In 1883, von Moltke's status was elevated ...*: Walter, Goerlitz *History of the German General Staff, 1657-1945*, trans. B. Battershaw (New York, 1953), pp. 83-6. Goerlitz says the staff was “emancipated.” See also Robert T. Foley, ed., trans., *Alfred von Schlieffen's Military Writings* (London, 2003), p. xx.

25) *Schlieffen and his staff working “in a vacuum”*: Annika Mombauer, “German War Plans,” in Richard F. Hamilton, Holger H. Herwig, eds., *War Planning 1914* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 48; Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties,” op. cit., p. 276.

25) *Kaiser called senior officers “you old asses”*: Craig, *Politics of the German Army*, op. cit., p. 239 (fn. 1).

25) *Wilhelm would learn that this was just another fantasy*: Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties,” op. cit., pp. 242-77.

26) “He lived exclusively for his work ...”: Gerhard Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan: Critique of a Myth* (Westport, 1958), p. 99.

26) *Von Moltke the Elder a man of some refinement*: Arden Bucholz, *Molke, Schlieffen, and Prussian War Planning* (New York, 1991), p. 117.

26) *Schlieffen's bedtime reading*: Ritter, *Schlieffen Plan*, op. cit., p. 99.

- 27) *Schlieffen a man to keep his eye on, and following*: Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit., pp. 120, 127.
- 27) “Do much, but stand out little”: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., p. xxi.
- 28) “Woe to him that sets Europe on fire ...,” and following: Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties,” op. cit., p. 251.
- 28) *French border “hermetically sealed”*: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., p. 146.
- 29) *Russia “had no gold, and we don't need land ...”*: Craig, *Politics of the German Army*, op. cit., pp. 274-5, 276.
- 29) “Gigantic, strategic Cannae!”: Wallach, *Battle of Annihilation*, op. cit., p. 60.
- 29) “We are doing exactly what the French have hoped and prepared for”: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., pp. 146-7.
- 29) *Schlieffen “insensible” to everyday conventions, and following*: Asprey, *First Battle of the Marne*, op. cit., p. 177; Annika Mombauer, *Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 81.
- 30) *Schlieffen led thirty-one staff rides*: Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit., pp. 143-4.
- 30) “Count Schlieffen sits beside me reading documents ...”: Craig, *Politics of the German Army*, op. cit., p. 282 (ftn. 3).
- 31) “The whole of Germany must throw itself on one enemy ...”: Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan*, op. cit., p. 172.
- 32) *Cannae*: Hans Delbrück, *History of the Art of War within the Framework of Political History*, trans. W. Renfro (Westport, 1975), Vol. I, pp. 315-35. Casualty figures as reported by classical authorities should be treated with caution. See also Gordon A. Craig, “Hans Delbrück: the Military Historian,” *War, Politics, and Diplomacy: Selected Essays* (New York, 1966), pp. 58-87.
- 32) *An “annihilating embrace”*: General Fieldmarshal Count Alfred von Schlieffen, *Cannae* (Ft. Leavenworth, KS, 1931), p. 255.
- 32) “The conceivable [in terms of mass destruction] has been achieved”: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., p. 195.
- 32) “Encirclement” fanatics: Martin Kitchen, “The Tradition of German Strategic Thought,” *International History Review* Vol. I., No. 2 (April 1979), p. 173.
- 32) “No strategic plan goes with any certainty ...,” and following: Jack Snyder, *The Ideology of the Offensive: Military Decision Making and the Disasters of 1914* (Ithaca, 1984), pp. 135, 142.

- 33) “Do not do what the enemy wants ...”: Jean de Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters 1915-1918*, trans. C.J.C. Street (London, 1928), p. 297.
- 33) “Annihilation can only be achieved by movement ...”: Snyder, *Ideology of the Offensive*, op. cit., p. 144.
- 33) “Activite, activite, vitesse,” and following: Schlieffen, *Cannae*, op. cit., p. 58.
- 34) “Gambler’s throw”: Kitchen, “The Tradition of German Strategic Thought,” op. cit., p. 163. See also Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties,” op. cit., p. 273.
- 34) *Schlieffen intended to fight two one-front wars in succession, and following*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 74 (fn. 126); Holgar Herwig, “Germany and the ‘Short-War’ Illusion: Toward a New Interpretation,” *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 66, No. 3 (July 2002), p. 684.
- 34) “Relentlessly pursue the enemy, and bring him to defeat again and again”: Foley, *Schlieffen’s Military Writings*, op. cit., p. 172.
- 35) “Red ghost” of socialist revolution: Herwig, “Germany and the ‘Short-War’ Illusion,” op. cit., p. 685.
- 35) *Potsdam cadets must be ready to shoot or bayonet their own kin*: Herwig, “Strategic Uncertainties,” op. cit., p. 247.
- 35) *The “fog of war”*: Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. J. J. Graham (New York, 1968), Book I, Chapter 3, p. 140.
- 36) “There may be war for the simple reason that everyone has prepared for it so long,” and following: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 136; Burnet Hershey, *The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship* (New York, 1967), p. 194.
- 37) “The whole world has conspired against us,” and following: T. H. Meyer, ed., *Light for the New Millenium – Rudolf Steiner’s Association with Helmuth and Eliza von Molke: Letters, Documents and After Death Communications* (London, 1997), pp. 84, 105.
- 37) “A leap in the dark”: Karl Dietrich Erdmann, ed., *Kurt Riezler. Tagebücher, Aufsätze, Dokumente* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht), entry for July 14, 1914.
- 37) “Cold war”: Foley, *Schlieffen’s Military Writings*, op. cit., p. 194.
- 37) *Von Moltke said the biggest problem he faced was the kaiser*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 265.
- 37) *The moment for war was “tailor-made”*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 71.
- 37) “Russia is tied up in the east ...”: Mombauer, “German War Plans,” op. cit., p. 56.
- 37) *Great Britain’s policies were intended to “squash” German commercial interests*: Meyer,

*Light for the New Millenium*, op. cit., p. 102.

- 38) *Russians would be in Berlin as fast as Germany was in Paris*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 108.
- 38) *"I regard war as inevitable ..."*: Herwig, "Strategic Uncertainties," op. cit., p. 262.
- 38) *Germany was "creeping out of this affair with our tail between our legs ..."*: Craig, *Germany*, op. cit., p. 329.
- 38) *Von Moltke stood "shattered," he had "reached a state of despair"*: Meyer, *Light for the New Millenium*, op. cit., p. 109.
- 39) *"The first day of mobilization in 1870 ..."*: Hans Kannengiesser, *The Campaign in Gallipoli*, trans. C. J. P. Ball (London, 1927), p. 111.
- 39) *"Titanen Kampf"*: Terence Zuber, *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan: German War Planning, 1871-1914* (Oxford, 2002), p. 56.
- 39) *German railroad statistics*: See Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit. especially pp. 146, 167, 148, 152, 169, 209.
- 41) *"In order to march on Moscow, Paris must be taken first," and following*: Mombauer, "German War Plans," op. cit., p. 58; Brose, *The Kaiser's Army*, op. cit., p. 181.
- 41) *Can't just take the French "like a cat in the sack"*: Herwig, "Germany and the 'Short-War' Illusion," op. cit., p. 687.
- 41) *A "tedious and bloody crawling forward step by step ..."*: Brose, *The Kaiser's Army*, op. cit., p. 78.
- 41) *War "becomes a trade ..."*: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., p.186.
- 41) *Hannibal might have won Cannae, but who won the war?*: Mombauer, "German War Plans," op. cit., p. 52 (ftn. 10).
- 41) *Von Schlieffen's acolytes, after the war, kept referring to the "plan" in symphonic terms*: Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit., pp. 215, 269; Asprey, *First Battle of the Marne*, op. cit., p. 172; Herwig, "Germany and the 'Short-War' Illusion," op. cit., p. 692.
- 42) *Ludendorff's boorish manners made him persona non grata with the kaiserin ...*: The kaiserin sometimes put her personal preferences aside when it came to politics. She supported the Ludendorff/Hindenburg partnership for two reasons: she disliked Erich von Falkenhayn who, despite his dashing looks and impeccable pedigree, had followed a somewhat rakish life as a younger officer, assembling substantial gambling debts, among other perceived vices (which offended her); and she recognized the groundswell of popularity that surrounded Hindenburg in particular. See Dorpalen, "Empress Auguste Victoria," op. cit., pp. 26-9.

- 42) *German manpower statistics*: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., pp. xxi, 8.
- 42) *Reichstag full of "Red apes"*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 181.
- 43) *Schlieffen's troop demands were in the "realm of fantasy ..."*: Herwig, "Strategic Uncertainties," op. cit., pp. 258-9.
- 43) *Social make-up of Great General Staff, and following*: Craig, *Politics of the German Army*, op. cit., p. 233; Goerlitz, *German General Staff*, op. cit., p. 139; Dennis Showalter, "From Deterrence to Doomsday Machine: The German Way of War, 1890-1914," *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (July 2000), p. 691; Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 35; Ferguson, *Pity of War*, op. cit., pp. 91-5; Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit., p. 141. Three years before the outbreak of war, 58% of Germany's population were urban dwellers: Herwig, "Strategic Uncertainties," op. cit., p. 245.
- 43) *Wilhelm's "maison militaire," and following*: Craig, *Politics of the German Army*, op. cit., p. 240; Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., pp. 185-6; J. C. G. Röhl, ed., *1914: Delusion or Design? The Testimony of Two German Diplomats* (London, 1973).
- 44) *Ludendorff career issues*: Hermann, *Arming of Europe*, op. cit., pp. 184-91.
- 44) *"The hussar let his single eye-glass fall, and showed an astonished face ..."*: Beyerlein, 'Jena' or 'Sedan'?, op. cit., p. 335.
- 44) *"I am almost seventy-three years old ..."*: Wallach, *Battle of Annihilation*, op. cit., p. 114 (ftn. 4).
- 45) *Schlieffen's "testament"*: Herwig, "Germany and the 'Short-War' Illusion," op. cit., p. 684.
- 45) *"The little work that is to be done in peacetime you can do ..."*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 196.
- 45) *"The great name alone won't do the trick"*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 47.
- 45) *Churchill called the man "ordinary"*: Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis* (New York, 1931), p. 173.
- 45) *Von Moltke a mere "courtier"*: Görlitz, *Diaries, Admiral von Müller*, op. cit., p. xvi.
- 45) Wilhelm equated Dona with "a parson's wife," and following: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 274; Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 102. See also Eulalia, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 75.
- 46) *Growing logistics of maneuvers*: Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit., p. 245; Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 35.
- 46) *"The emperor upset everything ...," and following*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op.

cit., pp. 87, 34; Brose, *The Kaiser's Army*, op. cit., p. 97; Winston Churchill, *Thoughts and Adventures* (London, 1932), p. 79; Zuber, *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan*, op. cit., p. 99.

- 47) *Von Moltke generally "took refuge in eloquent silence"*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, op. cit., p. 92.
- 47) *"Count Schlieffen says that when the kaiser plays he must win"*: Meyer, *Light for the New Millenium*, op. cit., p. 64.
- 47) *The kaiser "repeatedly talked about the general staff in the most degrading way"*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 27.
- 47) *In 1911, aeroplanes made their first appearance during the summer war games*: Brose, *The Kaiser's Army*, op. cit., p. 156.
- 47) *"Uncle Helmuth had to win a war in order to receive this highest Prussian award ..."*: Wallach, *Battle of Annihilation*, op. cit., p. 100.
- 48) *The potential "overturn of everything that exists"*: Erdmannn, *Riezler*, op. cit., entry for 7 July 1914.
- 48) *There was "enough flammable matter around"*: Meyer, *Light for the New Millenium*, op. cit., p. 70.
- 48) *No war should be started for "frivolous" reasons*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 118.
- 48) *"Spiritual Science," and following*: Meyer, *Light for the New Millenium*, op. cit., pp. 169, 104; Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 52.
- 49) *"The emperor can never admit that anyone can have anything important to do anywhere away from himself ..."*: Zedlitz-Trützschler, *Twelve Years*, op. cit., p. 157. Treitschke was called by one historian the "compiler-in-chief of the Hohenzollern saints calendar": Beyens, *Germany Before the War*, op. cit., p. 196.
- 49) *"War Today"*: Foley, *Schlieffen's Military Writings*, op. cit., pp. 194-205.
- 50) *"Keep the right wing strong"*: Wallach, *Battle of Annihilation*, op. cit., p. 67.

#### **4) Sarajevo: Where It All Began (And Why)**

page 51) *"Violence, indeed, was all I knew of the Balkans," and following*: Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey Through Yugoslavia* (London, 1994), pp. 21, 197.

51) *"Black Lamb and Grey Falcon" West's "magnum opus"*: Obituary, *The Times*, 16 March 1983, p. 16.

53) *The empire comprised almost fifty-two million people, and following*: Paul M. Kennedy,

- “The First World War and the International Power System,” *IS*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Summer 1984), p. 15; Priscilla Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 193, 203.
- 53) “My people are strange to each other ...”: Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848*, op. cit., p. 193.
- 53) *Metternich, “the Rock of Order,” and following*: Alan Palmer, *Metternich* (London, 1972), pp. 338, 309.
- 54) “Farewell my youth”: Alan Palmer, *Twilight of the Habsburgs: The Life and Times of Emperor Francis Joseph* (New York, 1994), p. 47.
- 54) *Marx rushed to Vienna to take advantage of the revolution-in-progress*: See Jonathan Sperber, *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life* (New York, 2013), pp. 229-43.
- 54) *Ferdinand I “a half-wit”*: Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848*, op. cit., p. 189.
- 54) *Death of Latour*: Ibid., pp. 238-9.
- 55) “When the Turk gets up from the Sick Man's bed ...”: Edmond Taylor, *The Fall of the Dynasties: The Collapse of the Old Order, 1905-1922* (New York, 1963), p. 134.
- 55) *Freud said that listening to his Viennese patients often reminded him of cheap novellas, and following*: William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 239, 251.
- 55) *Vienna's “merry-go-round existence”*: Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years 1892-1922: A Personal Narrative* (Garden City, 1925), Pt. I, p. 328.
- 55) “An old and tough organism”: West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, op. cit., p. 7.
- 56) *Franz Joseph refused to use a telephone, and following*: Taylor, *Fall of the Dynasties*, op. cit., p. 20; Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, op. cit., p. 34.
- 56) *Freud's “Jewish” specialty*: See Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 537-620.
- 56) *Rudolph had made love to the corpse of his beloved*: Kleinmichel, *Memories*, op. cit., pp. 138-9.
- 57) *Morbidity of Mozart's “Requiem”*: Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, op. cit., p. 165.
- 58) *The “perfect civilization” of Greek culture*: See Jennifer Wallace, *Shelley and Greece: Rethinking Romantic Hellenism* (London, 1997).

- 58) *Metternich loved the sound of cannon*: Palmer, *Twilight of the Habsburgs*, op. cit., p. 6.
- 58) *A third of the empire's revenue came from taxes generated south of the alps*: Robertson, *Revolutions of 1848*, op. cit., p. 232.
- 58) *"Is this what they made me abdicate for? ...," and following*: Taylor, *Fall of the Dynasties*, op. cit., pp. 87, 70, 134.
- 59) *"I remember old Bismarck telling me ..."*: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 102.
- 59) *Serbia "a negligible quantity"*: Taylor, *Fall of the Dynasties*, op. cit., p. 127.
- 60) *"It was an accepted convention of the time that great powers bullied small ones ..."*: A. J. P. Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam* (New York, 1965), p. 20.
- 60) *The Serbs were "Orientals, therefore liars"*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 203.
- 60) *"I am behind you ...," and following*: G. P. Gooch, *Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy* (London, 1938), Vol. II, p. 425, Vol. I, p. 287.
- 61) *Habsburgs had developed "the annoying habit of always losing battles"*: Alan Sked, *The Survival of the Hapsburg Empire: Radetzky, the Imperial Army and the Class War, 1848* (London, 1979), p. 207.
- 63) *"I am not a criminal"*: Joachim Remak, *Sarajevo: The Story of a Political Murder* (New York, 1959), p. 214.
- 63) *Franz Ferdinand married the equivalent of a chambermaid*: Taylor, *Fall of the Dynasties*, op. cit., p. 3.
- 63) *Habsburgs were "landlords, not rulers"*: A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918: A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary* (Chicago, 1976), p. 10.
- 63) *Indignities suffered by Franz Ferdinand's wife*: Leopold Wölfling, *My Life Story: From Archduke to Grocer* (New York, 1931), pp. 76-9.
- 64) *Franz Joseph had become "very tottery," and following*: Görnitz, *Diaries, Admiral von Müller*, op. cit., p. 120; Röhl, *1914*, op. cit., p. 91.
- 65) *Period photographs of the parade route*: See in particular Z. A. B. Zeman, *The Break-Up of the Habsburg Empire, 1914-1918* (New York, 1977), p. 47.
- 65) *Freud thought Austrian officers looked like parakeets*: Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, op. cit., p. 51.
- 65) *"That's a lot of rot ..."*: West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, op. cit., p. 332.



- 66) *“The Austrians are quite the stupidest people in Europe”*: Henry Herbert Asquith, *Letters to Venetia Stanley*, Michael and Eleanor Brock, eds. (Oxford, 1982), pp. 125-6.
- 67) *Rebecca West outlined this fiasco in lurid detail*: West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, op. cit., pp. 362-5. As is true throughout her book, West's assertions and opinions must be treated warily.
- 68) *Only “catastrophe” and “collapse” would follow further delay*: William Mulligan, *The Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 112.
- 68) *“If you pull up twice at the fence, the third time your horse will not jump”*: Gooch, *Before the War*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 446.
- 69) *Conrad called the projected war “a hopeless struggle”*: Kann, *Habsburg Empire in World War I*, op. cit., p. 75.
- 69) *What might the local reaction be if the Prince of Wales were to be assassinated riding through Dublin?*: Winston Churchill, *The Unknown War: The Eastern Front* (New York, 1931), p. 55; Rose, *George V*, op. cit., p. 167.
- 69) *German minister advised Berchtold not to be “too hasty,” and following*: Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), p. 261.
- 70) *“Even had ten archdukes been murdered ...,” and following*: Röhl, *1914*, op. cit., pp. 86-7.
- 70) *“How will you carry on a war if they all then fall upon us ...”*: Churchill, *The Unknown War*, op. cit., p. 61.
- 71) *The note with terms was “the most insolent document of its kind ever devised,” and following*: Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: 1914-1916* (London, 1971), p. 5; Goschen, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 290.
- 71) *Serbian general staff ordered mobilization several hours before their note of acquiescence was even delivered*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 207.
- 71) *“The machine will run away with him as it ran away with me”*: J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Three Episodes in the Life of Kaiser Wilhelm II* (Cambridge, 1955), p. 25.
- 71) *“Who runs the government?”*: John Keegan, *The First World War* (New York, 1999), p. 64.
- 72) *The entire conflagration had been caused by “stupid kings,” and following*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 10; Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court*, op. cit., p. 9.

- 72) *"I remind him that he is no longer in control of these matters"*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 199.
- 72) *"She demands support from her ally ..."*: Ritter, *Schlieffen Plan*, op. cit., p. 101.
- 72) *What was he thinking, "that Russia would give her blessing to the annihilation of Serbia?"*: Röhl, 1914, op. cit., pp. 101-102.
- 72) *"Conservative, monarchial and dynastic interests," and following*: Gooch, *Before the War*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 441, 364.
- 72) *The note to Serbia "the escapade of a dotard"*: Shaw, *What I Really Wrote*, op. cit., p. 41.
- 72) *Von Schlieffen was generally "taciturn" and not at all "forthcoming"*: Norman Stone, "Moltke-Conrad: Relations Between the Austro-Hungarian and German General Staff 1909-14," *HJ*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (1966), p. 203. See also Herwig, "Strategic Uncertainties," op. cit., p. 266.
- 73) *Germany would "have our backs covered"*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 108.
- 73) *"I don't care"*: Ibid., p. 224.
- 73) *"Well, I don't think I'll be seeing them again," and following*: Josef Rietveld, *1914-1918* (Vienna, 2013), pp. 84, 39.
- 74) *Foch remarked, they had degenerated into a pack of "slovenly fighters"*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., p. 304.
- 74) *"What the outcome of the war will be ..."*: Röhl, 1914, op. cit., pp. 107-108.
- 74) *Berlin soon realized they were "being chained to a corpse"*: Robin Neillands, *Attrition: The Great War on the Western Front, 1916* (London, 2001), p. 60.
- 74) *"Those characters will only desert or run away to the enemy"*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 82.
- 74) *Ferdinand called Hungarians "rabble"*: Remak, *Sarajevo*, op. cit., p. 28.
- 75) *Herders and farmers who lived off "our pigs and our plums"*: West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, op. cit., p. 319.
- 75) *"We have only one goal, Russia!"*: Stone, "Moltke-Conrad," op. cit., p. 228.
- 75) *"Shvaba," or cockroaches*: Keegan, *First World War*, op. cit., p. 154.
- 76) *John Reed asked a Serbian in 1915 why there were no men in his village ...*: John Reed, *The War in Eastern Europe* (New York, 1919), p. 13.

76) *The Germans, he said, "were cold, compromising calculators ...," and following*: Craig, "Military Cohesion of the Austro-German Alliance," op. cit., pp. 54, 53.

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77) "The last folly of these idiots": West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, op. cit., p. 362.

## 5) Fort Loncin

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80) *Belgian forts the most modern expressions of "active defense"*: Liddell Hart, *Fog of War*, op. cit., p. 315.

81) *Wilhelm, who gloried in "the massive, the colossal, the overloaded"*: Beyens, *Germany Before the War*, op. cit., p. 17.

81) "Oh, the poor fools ...": Jean Stengers, "Belgium," Wilson, *Decisions for War*, op. cit., p. 163.

81) "It is not decided yet if we will go to Brussels ...," and following: Bigelow, *Liège*, op. cit., pp. 26, 30.

82) "I shall never forget hearing the thud of bullets ...": Erich von Ludendorff, *Ludendorff's Own Story: August 1914-November 1918* (New York, 1921), Vol. I, p. 38.

82) "I knew that would happen": Meyer, *Light for the New Millennium*, op. cit., p. 110.

- 82) *"The favorite recollection of my life"*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 28.
- 83) *Gustav Krupp's doodles, Big Bertha a "slug"*: William Manchester, *The Arms of Krupp, 1587-1968* (Boston, 1968), pp. 830, 79.
- 84) *"Hannibal's elephants could not have astonished the Romans more"*: Ibid., pp. 274-5.
- 85) *The 21-cm howitzers in their turrets flew through the air "like champagne corks"*: Donnell, *Forts of the Meuse*, op. cit., pp. 50-1.
- 85) *Two-thirds of the garrison lay buried in "a chaos of rubbish"*: G. H. Perris, *The Campaign of 1914 in France and Belgium* (New York, 1915), p. 10.
- 85) *The Belgian forts had fallen "like scraps of paper"*: G. Riddell, *Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary of the Paris Peace Conference and After 1918-1923* (New York, 1934), p. 63.
- 85) *"We were no Huns"*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 45.
- 85) *General Leman found unconscious*: Details of Leman's capture vary. In his letter to King Albert from Germany, Leman said he was overcome by fumes, and that his aids had saved his life by dragging him out into the open air. Other reports indicate that, knocked unconscious by the explosion, he was subsequently found in the fort's dry moat, covered with broken masonry. The one important point that all agree on is that the general did not formally surrender. See Perris, *Campaign of 1914*, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
- 85) *The gathering was an "odd affair" ...* : Bigelow, *Liège*, op. cit., p. 49.
- 86) *Analysis after the war suggest that von Moltke only lost two days or so from his original schedule*: John Mosier, *The Myth of the Great War: A New Military History of World War I* (New York, 2001), p.64 (ftn. 8).
- 86) *King Albert hates "the French quite as much as the Germans"*: Margot Asquith, *Margot Asquith's Great War Diary 1914-1915: The View from Downing Street*, M. and E. Brock, eds. (Oxford, 2014), p. 59.
- 87) *The Belgians "are in a very bad way..."*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., pp. 425-6.
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- 88) *"Up against the wall" ...* : Alan Kramer, "The War of Atrocities: Murderous Scares and Extreme Combat," in A. Lüdtke, B. Weisbrod, eds., *No Man's Land of Violence: Extreme Wars on the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (Göttingen, DE, 2006), p. 18.

- 89) *Belgians were “blood-thirsty” villains*: This was the descriptive phrase Wilhelm used in his note of explanation to President Woodrow Wilson. See Horne, Kramer, “War Between Soldiers and Enemy Civilians,” op. cit., p. 158 (ftn. 15).
- 89) *6,000 Belgians murdered, and following*: Ibid., p. 157.
- 90) *If Cavell wanted to play a man's game, she must be willing to pay a man's price*: Princess Evelyn Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin: A Private Memoir of Events, Politics, and Daily Life in Germany Throughout the War and the Social Revolution of 1918* (New York, 1920), p.86.
- 90) *Execution of Cavell an act of “incredible stupidity”*: Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court: The Diaries, Note Books and Letters of Admiral Georg Alexander von Müller, Chief of the Naval Cabinet, 1914-1918*, W. Görnitz, ed., trans. M. Savill (New York, 1961), p.115.
- 91) *Cavell’s state funeral*: Mabel B. Clint, *Our Bit: Memories of War Services by a Canadian Nursing Sister* (Montreal, 1934), pp. 159-61.
- 91) *George Bellows*: Carol Troyen, “War, 1918,” *George Bellows* (Washington, 2012), pp. 255-65.

## 6) Tannenberg: “The Siamese Twins”

- page 94) *“World history knows three great battles ...”*: *Hitler's Secret Conversations*, ed. H. R. Trevor-Roper, trans. N. Cameron, R. H. Stevens (New York, 1953), p. 21.
- 96) *Russia, “that mighty steamroller”*: Winston Churchill, *Thoughts and Adventures*, (London, 1932), p. 149.
- 98) *“Enough of war on two fronts ...”*: Gerard E. Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan, Critique of a Myth* (London, 1958), p. 33.
- 99) *Hindenburg a man no one “had ever seen before”*: Max Hoffmann, *The War of Lost Opportunities* (New York, 1925), p. 26.
- 99) *Ludendorff ordered to “prevent the worst from happening”*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 49.
- 99) *Ludendorff's remark that “all I stand for is authority,” and following*: Ibid., p. 10.
- 100) *Ludendorff's “ruthless energy”*: Paul von Hindenburg, *Out of My Life*, trans F. A. Holt (London, 1920), Vol. I, p. 147.

- 100) *Hindenburg's decorations "the minimum ..."*: John W. Wheeler-Bennett, "Hindenburg," in *Great Contemporaries* (London, 1964), p. 164.
- 100) *Hindenburg drinking beer "with the gravity of a hippopotamus"*: A. G. Gardiner, *Portraits and Portents* (New York, 1926), p. 165.
- 100) *"I am ready"*: Hindenburg, *Life*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 81.
- 100) *Ludendorff a "robot Napoleon"*: Liddell Hart, *Reputations*, op. cit., p. 181.
- 101) *Hindenburg "calm and almost cheerful," and following*: Margarethe Ludendorff, *My Married Life with Ludendorff*, trans. R. Somerset (London, 1930), pp. 84, 19.
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- 105) *Final operation "the harvest"*: Hindenburg, *Life*, Vol. I, op. cit., p. 98.
- 107) *A French officer called this error "our salvation"*: B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Real War* (London, 1930), pp. 74-8; Tuchman, *Guns of August*, op. cit., p. 436.
- 108) *"I forbid myself to use the word 'strategy' "*: John Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory* (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 415.

## 7) Gallipoli: The Sideshow

- page 109) *"The most damnable folly that ever amateurs were enticed into"*: Lieutenant-General Sir George Macmunn, *Behind the Scenes of Many Wars* (London, 1930), p. 120.
- 110) *"Faithful But Unfortunate"*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 87.
- 111) *Randolph Churchill's behavior in Salisbury's cabinet*: Roland Quinault, "Lord Randolph Churchill," *DNB*, Vol. 11, pp. 641-4.

- 112) Churchill had “a genius for war”: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 121.
- 112) “The British Navy is to us a necessity ...”: Roy Jenkins, *Churchill: A Biography* (New York, 2001), pp. 236-7.
- 112) “An unbroken succession of events & decisions,” and following: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 83, 457, 92, 329; M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 68.
- 113) “A zigzag streak of lightening in his brain”: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., pp. 266-7 (ftn. 8).
- 113) Churchill had “a noisy mind”: M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 54.
- 113) “Although we hope the navy will have a chance of settling the question of the German fleet ...,” and following: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 84, 76.
- 114) Churchill made over 2,300 speeches in the House of Commons, and following: David Cannadine, *In Churchill's Shadow: Confronting the Past in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 86, 95, 49, 102. For a broad and superb summary of Churchill's rhetoric, *ibid.*, pp. 32-7, 85-113.
- 115) “Sham-Augustan” grandeur: Evelyn Waugh, *Men at Arms* (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 176; Geoffrey Wheatcroft, “Churchill or Bust?” *NYRB*, February 7, 2013, p. 23.
- 115) “No one department, hardly one war, was enough for him”: Jenkins, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 248.
- 115) “Winston is like a torpedo ...”: George Riddell, *Diaries, 1908-1923*, ed. J. M. McEwen (London, 1986), p. 92.
- 115) Asquith was no competent generalissimo, nor was Kitchener: See Sir Ian Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary* (London, 1920), Vol. I, p. 13, where he calls Kitchener “something of an amateur.”
- 116) Churchill “wanted to send battleships – old ones – up the Elbe ...,” and following: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 140, 51.
- 116) “Chewing barbed wire”: Jenkins, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 255.
- 117) Britain supplied Russia with emergency supplies on industrial levels: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 213 (ftn. 3); see also Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., pp. 436, 437 (ftn. 4).
- 117) Balkan quagmire “that devil's kitchen”: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 280.
- 118) Smashing Turkey would be “a promenade”: T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A*

- Triumph* (New York, 1935), p. 59.
- 119) *Political environment in Constantinople a “labyrinth of Turkish duplicity and intrigue”*: Gilbert, Churchill, op. cit., p. 210.
- 119) *The ruling Committee “ever remained a mystery ...”*: Liman von Sanders, *Five Years in Turkey* (Annapolis, 1927), p. 8.
- 119) *Discussing spoils like “a gang of buccaneers,” and following*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 469.
- 119) *“General euphoria,” and following*: Gilbert, Churchill, op. cit., pp. 275, 344.
- 120) *“He will write his name big in our future”*: A.G. Gardiner, *Pillars of Society* (London, 1916), p. 158. Woodrow Wilson regarded Gardiner as “one of the best writers he had ever read,” *PWW*, Vol. 54, p. 178.
- 120) *The entire enterprise was characterized by an “atmosphere of vagueness and want of precision”*: Alan Moorehead, *Gallipoli* (New York, 1956), p. 40.
- 120) *Everyone thought the navy could do it, “except the admiralty”*: John Gooch, “The Weary Titan: Strategy and Policy in Great Britain, 1890-1918,” in Murray, *The Making of Strategy*, op. cit., p. 283.
- 120) *People who thought the Dardanelles was a simple cavalry charge “know nothing of the defenses”*: Thomas J. Spinner, Jr., *George Joachim Goschen: The Transformation of a Victorian Liberal* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 199.
- 120) *“To command situation properly at Dardanelles requires also the use of military force ...,” and following*: Gilbert, Churchill, op. cit., pp. 199, 198.
- 121) *“Every member has a different plan ...”*: Viscount Reginald Esher, *Journals and Letters*, ed. Viscount Oliver Esher (London, 1938), Vol III, p. 203.
- 121) *Fisher wavers in support for the Dardanelles, and following*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 410; Gilbert, Churchill, op. cit., p. 273; Moorehead, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 170; Ruddock F. Mackay, *Fisher of Kilverstone* (Oxford, 1973), p. 497.
- 122) *“Unavoidable losses must be accepted”*: Moorehead, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 59. See also Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., p. 164: “The public do not understand naval warfare. They criticize naval losses more severely than military losses. The loss of a ship is regarded as a crime.”
- 122) *Patton was impressed by the “tremendously jumbled nature of the country ...”*: Lt.-Colonel G. S. Patton Jr., *The Defense of Gallipoli: A General Staff Study* (Fort Scaften, HA, 1936), p. 15.



- 124) *Krupp was unwilling to ship more shells without immediate payment*: Ulrich Trumpener, "German Military Aid to Turkey in 1914: An Historical Reinterpretation," *JMH*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (June 1960), p. 146.
- 124) *Birdwell dismissed Carden as "very second-rate"*: Archibald Hurd, "Sir Sackville Carden," *DNB*, Vol. 10, p. 22.
- 125) *A British general called Keyes "that desperado"*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 270.
- 125) *A Harley Street physician certified that Carden was unfit for service*: Moorehead, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., pp. 60-1.
- 125) *De Robeck "a born leader of men ..."*: Geoffrey Till, "The Gallipoli Campaign: Command Performances," in G. Sheffield, G. Till, eds., *Command in the Twentieth Century* (Camberley, UK, 1991), p. 34.
- 126) *Turks "very half-hearted" in their return fire, and following*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 33, 31.
- 126) *Turks used recovered Russian mines at the Dardanelles*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 439.
- 126) *It was a gruesome thing to watch British sailors line up as ordered on the decks of their crippled ships, and following*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 34, 36.
- 126) *"I suppose I am done for," and following*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 371, 347, 346.
- 127) *Troops from Australia and New Zealand were good enough to cruise about the Sea of Marmara*: *Ibid.*, p. 303.
- 127) *Cabinet tries to dislodge men from Kitchener's very "sticky" grasp*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 445.
- 127) *"Turks always grow formidable if given time to think ..."*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 317.
- 128) *"We do not care for anything old"*: Moorehead, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 73.
- 128) *"I am spoiling to have at it again," and following*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 363, 347.
- 129) *"Gallant, chivalrous Sir Ian!"*: Macmunn, *Behind the Scenes*, op. cit., p. 161.
- 129) *Hamilton's "thin eager form"*: Compton Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories* (London, 1929), p. 49.

- 129) “*Worked all day in the office like a nigger*”: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 106.
- 130) “*He is a sanguine enthusiastic person ...*”: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 257.
- 130) “*Sir Ian Hamilton came striding around the deck ...*”: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 47.
- 130) “*No half measures ...*”: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 96.
- 131) “*The high backbone of the peninsula*”: Ibid., p. 97.
- 131) Hamilton “*had a deckchair on the bridge below the rails ...*”: Till, “Gallipoli Campaign,” op. cit., p. 36.
- 132) Hamilton expected the preliminary barrage from the fleet to make the zone “*as healthy as Brighton,*” and following: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 99, 135.
- 132) “*The steward calmly hands the menu round ...*”: Major John Graham Gillam, *Gallipoli Diary* (Stevenage, UK, 1989), p. 32.
- 133) *The men would go “on the war path*”: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 138.
- 133) Hamilton would not “*apply the spur*”: Br.-General C. F. Aspinall-Oglander, *Military Operations: Gallipoli* (London, 1932, 1999), Vol. II, p. 268.
- 133) The “*Queen Elizabeth*” moved in close to turn the village overlooking the “*River Clyde*” into a “*lyddite ruin,*” and following: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 409, 408.
- 134) *Wounded men lying in rows were hit a second time*: Percival Fenwick, *Gallipoli Diary* (Auckland, NZ, 2000), p. 8.
- 135) “*I order you to die*”: Patrick Kinross, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* (London, 1993), p. 76.
- 135) “*The fearful hugger-mugger of ship funnels ...*”: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 28.
- 135) *When Sanders arrived in Constantinople the guards of honor that met him at the railway station were largely barefoot, and following*: Sanders, *Five Years in Turkey*, op. cit., pp. 9-10, 4, 11, 94, 56, 85-6; endnote reference to sandbags (#13, p. 619), p. 74.
- 136) *An acquaintance in Berlin suggested that only a psychiatrist could really fathom Sander's motives*: Holger Afflerbach, “‘Only 1 per cent of our strength’: German Military Command in the Gallipoli Campaign and the impact of the Ottoman alliance on German

- strategy,” Ashley Ekins, ed., *Gallipoli: A Ridge Too Far* (Wollombi, AU, 2013), p. 188.
- 137) “*A brief pause to fix bayonets ...*”: Jeffrey Grey, *A Military History of Australia* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 91.
- 138) “*Small groups would tell me that they were all that was left ...*”: Field Marshal Lord Birdwood, *Khaki and Gown: An Autobiography* (New York, 1957), p. 258.
- 138) *Operation is likely to be a “fiasco,” and following*: Moorehead, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 154, 153, 155.
- 139) *Difficulty digging trenches*: Birdwood, *Khaki and Gown*, op. cit., p. 261.
- 139) *A “city of cliff dwellers”*: John Masefield, *Gallipoli* (New York, 1916), p. 216.
- 139) “*You can't help hitting the brutes ...,*” and following: Michael J. Mortlock, *The Landings at Suvla Bay, 1915: An Analysis of the British Failure During the Gallipoli Campaign* (Jefferson, NC, 2007), p. 165; Birdwood, *Khaki and Gown*, op. cit., p. 263.
- 139) *The Turks were “stupid, but exceedingly brave”*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 499.
- 139) “*Damnably indifference to human life ...*”: Fenwick, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., pp. 47, 74.
- 139) *Achi Baba, “that accursed hill”*: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 122.
- 139) *Hunter-Weston called “The Butcher”*: J. Lethbridge, “Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston,” *DNB*, Vol. 58, p. 283. Churchill's brother, Jack, called these unimaginative forays “terrible.” *Ibid.*
- 140) “*Casualties? What do I care for casualties?*”, David W. Cameron, ‘*Sorry, lads, but the order is to go*’: *The August Offensive: Gallipoli, 1915* (Sydney, AU, 2009), p. 7
- 140) “*You've got your foot in an awkward place ...*”: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 83.
- 140) “*The Turkish officers were charming ...*”: Fenwick, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., p. 68.
- 140) “*That's politics ...*”: Cameron, ‘*Sorry, lads,*’ op. cit., p. 11.
- 140) *Hamilton dined on fresh crayfish*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Dairy*, op. cit., Vol. I., pp. 317-18.
- 140) “*They've given [him] a posthumous K.C.M.G. ...*”: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., pp. 81-2.
- 141) “*The only sound procedure is to hammer away*”: C. E. W. Bean, *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918: Story of Anzac* (Sydney, AU, 1924), Vol. II, p. 432.

- 141) “*The navy are afraid to wet their feet*”: John North, *Gallipoli, The Fading Vision* (London, 1936), p. 327.
- 141) “*My reputation is at stake*”: Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., p. 114.
- 141) “*Our third Sunday in Gallipoli,*” and following: Fenwick, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., pp. 25, 31, 36, 21, 25.
- 142) “*Naturally I shall tell you everything*”: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 423. There are countless examples, as in pp. 342, 370, etc.
- 142) “*Tidbits*”: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 39.
- 142) “*I will bring them to you on Monday*”: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 358.
- 142) *Without your “counsel & consent*”: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 447.
- 142) “*I can't help being very fond of him*”: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 287.
- 142) “*Character is better than brains, and loyalty more valuable than either*”: M. Asquith, *Autobiography*, op. cit., p. 298.
- 143) “*A bone on which there is little meat*”: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 468.
- 143) “*Poor Winston! ...*”: M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 279.
- 143) “*Men swift in the work of war*”: *Lyra Graeca, Being the Remains of all the Greek Lyric Poets from Eumelus to Timotheus Excepting Pindar*, trans. J. M. Edmonds (New York, 1924), Vol. II, p. 361.
- 144) “*Better to die like heroes ...*”: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.
- 144) *Kitchener's new recruits “a very weedy lot*”: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 329. Asquith summarized one aspect of the situation in one of his letters to Venetia Stanley. “The most serious difficulty in dealing with the huge numbers who are now coming in is to find officers & non-commissioned officer fit to train them. They cannot be manufactured by working overtime, like khaki cloth & rifles.” Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 223.
- 144) *Stopford the epitome of “dug-out trash ...*”: Ibid., p. 266.
- 144) “*It was to be a triple battle*”: Masfield, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 144.
- 145) “*Only bandits can walk in these gullies*”: Kenan Çelik, “‘There will be no retreating:’ Turkish Soldiers’ Reactions to the August Offensive,” Kins, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 164.
- 145) *A German officer said it reminded him of a Sunday school picnic, and following:*

Mortlock, *Landings at Suvla Bay*, op. cit., p. 79; John Gallishaw, *Trenching at Gallipoli: The Personal Narrative of a Newfoundlander with the Ill-Fated Dardanelles Expedition* (St. John's, NL, undated), p. 24.

- 145) *Hamilton's "tiny circle," and following*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 329, 6.
- 145) *"General Dash," and following*: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., pp. 352-3.
- 146) *"I'd sooner storm a hundred bloody trenches than dangle at the end of this wire"*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 55.
- 146) *"Get a move on ... nothing is being done"*: Aspinall-Oglander, *Military Operations*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 276.
- 146) *Sunday "the day of rest," and following*: Mortlock, *Landings at Suvla Bay*, op. cit., pp. 81, 78.
- 147) *An "Italian made Portuguese destroyer"*: Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes, *Naval Memoirs: The Narrow Seas to the Dardanelles, 1910-1915* (New York, 1934), p. 398.
- 147) *The waters "were alive and bustling with ships and small craft," and following*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 60, 61.
- 147) *Stopford's men exhausted, drained like "sucked oranges"*: Aspinall-Oglander, *Military Operations*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 314.
- 147) *Keyes, "in a fever of resentment," and following*: Keyes, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 390; North, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 264.
- 147) *Hamilton was "in the position of a man who has to coax jibbing mules along ..."*: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 90.
- 147) *"This is what I felt [but] I did not say it," and following*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 67, 76, 71.
- 148) *"The surprise attack has definitely failed"*: Stephen Badsey, "The August Offensives in British Imperial Grand Strategy," Ekins, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 75.
- 148) *"I think they are finished"*: Çelik, " 'There will be no retreating,' " op. cit., p. 176.
- 148) *"The position was untenable ..."*: Ekins, "A Ridge Too Far," op. cit., p. 76.
- 148) *The operation "a hopeless mess," and following*: Peter Pedersen, " 'I thought I could command men:' Monash and the Assault on Hill 971," Ekins, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 127.

- 149) *The blizzard of November 27-29, "the like of which I had never seen," and following:* Birdwood, *Khaki and Gown*, op. cit., p. 284; Macmunn, *Behind the Scenes*, op. cit., pp. 173-5.
- 149) "*A great army hanging on by its eyelids to a rocky beach*": Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 421.
- 149) "*The spirit of the Turk had been broken*": Robert Rhodes James, *Gallipoli* (New York, 1965), p. 311.
- 149) "*Their heart and guts [were] torn out ...*": Macmunn, *Behind the Scenes*, op. cit., p. 160.
- 149) "*The muddles and mismanagement [here] beat anything ...*": Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, *The Uncensored Dardanelles* (London, 1928), p. 241. See also Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea and Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (New York, 1975), pp. 100-103.
- 149) *Evacuation would result in "the bloodiest tragedy in the world!"*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 249.
- 149) "*He came, he saw, he capitulated*": Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 532. Churchill exacted a petty revenge on this officer, General Sir Charles Monro, by blocking his ennoblement by the king after the war. See Rose, *George V*, op. cit., pp. 263-4.
- 150) "*We were not driven off by the Turks,*" and following reflections: Cameron, '*Sorry, lads*', op. cit., p. 292; Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 619; Masfield, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 235.
- 150) *It took over two years to pack up all the booty left behind:* Sanders, *Five Years in Turkey*, op. cit., p. 103.
- 150) "*Had I been there and had the British got away ...*": Birdwood, *Khaki and Gown*, op. cit., p. 296.
- 150) "*I will not attempt to even summarize the story of the Dardanelles ...*": David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs* (Boston, 1933), Vol. I, p. 378.
- 150) "*The order of the bowler hat*": Macmunn, *Behind the Scenes*, op. cit., p. 165.
- 150) *Hamilton's reputation was shot by the time he arrived back in London:* See Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 358: "It was the fashionable thing at this date to sneer at Johnny Hamilton."
- 150) "*I am sorry to hear that you are badly in need of a holiday ...*": North, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 328.
- 151) "*What about the Dardanelles?*": Robin Prior, "The Hand of History," Ekins, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 53.

- 151) *Dardanelles were “like a Greek tragedy,” and following*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., pp. 484, 631, 629, 582, 702, 641; Frances Stevenson, *Lloyd George: A Diary*, ed. A. J. P. Taylor (London, 1971), p. 41.
- 151) *He “declared that a political career was nothing to him in comparison with military glory”*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 266.
- 151) *Writing “daily at the lack of power to make things move”*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 702.
- 152) *“I have left the army ...”*: Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., p. 164.
- 152) *“I gave him a fine death”*: Mortlock, *Landings at Suvla Bay*, op. cit., p. 163.
- 152) *Australia would support the empire “to our last man and our last shilling”*: Neville Meany, *Australia and the World: A Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Melbourne, AU, 1985), p. 217.
- 152) *Fifty-two thousand men signed up, and following*: Grey, *Military History*, op. cit., p. 85; Robert Rhodes James, *Gallipoli: A British Historian's View*, op. cit., p. 4.
- 152) *Darwin was fashionable*: Grey, *Military History*, op. cit., p. 80. See also Birdwood's comment, “It was at Gallipoli that Australia and New Zealand may be said to have attained full nationhood.” *Khaki and Gown*, op. cit., p. 296.
- 153) *“My uncle's most vivid ... memory of this period ...”*: James, *Gallipoli: A British Historian's View*, op. cit., p. 2.
- 153) *Anzac nations “a joint in the tail of a great empire”*: P. Dennis, J. Grey, et al., *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military History* (Melbourne, AU, 1995), p. 41.
- 154) *“Sing the epic!”*: Macmunn, *Behind the Scenes*, op. cit., p. 121.
- 154) *The Aegean, “that calm and crystalline sea,” and following*: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., pp. 245-6, 81, 80. See also Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches*, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
- 154) *“The spirit of war has breathed fires into their hearts,” and following*: Hamilton, *Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 61, 23, 47, 198, 16, 18.
- 155) *Hamilton's inventive memoir*: Badsey, “The August Offensives,” op. cit., p. 58; Macleod, “British Heroic-Romantic Myth,” op. cit., p. 77; Macleod, *Reconsidering Gallipoli*, op. cit., pp. 176-208.
- 157) *The Turk had suddenly become “well clothed, well nourished,” and following*: Hamilton,

*Gallipoli Diary*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 191; Vol II, p. 89; Vol. I, p. 200; Vol. II, pp. 141, 140, 212; Vol. I, pp. 275, 236, 213, 304-305.

- 158) “*And the scrub held other secrets ...*”: Sydney Lock, *To Hell and Back: The Banned Account of Gallipoli* (Sydney, AU, 2007), p. 140.
- 159) “*Victory as usual*”: Stevenson, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 34.
- 159) “*Bloated and blackened by decay and crawling with maggots ...*”: Peter Burness, “By Bomb and Bayonet: The Attacks from Lone Pine to the Nek,” Ekins, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 124.
- 159) *Of the 60,000 Australian soldiers killed in World War I, 25,000 have no known grave*: Patricia Jalland, *Australian Ways of Death: A Social and Cultural History, 1840-1918* (Melbourne, AU, 2002), pp. 305, 322, 308.
- 159) “*You are not fit to command pigs ...*”: John Tonkin-Covel, “‘From the Uttermost Ends of the Earth’: The New Zealand Battle for Chunuk Bair,” Ekins, *Gallipoli*, op. cit., p. 153.
- 159) “*I give them about a fortnight in this place ...*”: Darkington, *Letters from Helles*, op. cit., p. 77.
- 159) *Some one million combatants struggled here*: Ekins, “... the most ghastly and costly fiasco,” *Gallipoli*, op. cit., pp. 29-30.
- 159) *Controversies over Anzac Day*: Dennis, *Oxford Companion*, op. cit., pp. 32-7; Macleod, “British Heroic-Romantic Myth,” op. cit., p. 77.
- 160) *Asquith had compared the Trojan Horse to the River Clyde*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 574.
- 160) “*They took [her] away and sold her ...*”: Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories*, op. cit., p. 175.

## 8) Verdun

- page 162) “*Verdun is like a lump of sugar in a finger bowl ...*”: Frank Herbert Simonds, *They Shall Not Pass* (Garden City, NY, 1916), p. 64.
- 163) “*La Débâcle*”: Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Proud Tower – A Portrait of the World before the War: 1890-1914* (New York, 1966), p. 176.
- 163) “*We're in a chamber pot and we're going to get covered in shit*”: Ousby, *Road to Verdun*, op. cit., p. 54.
- 163) “*L'offensive brutale et à outrance*”: Janet Flanner, *Pétain: The Old Man of France* (New York, 1944), p. 5.



- 163) *In just fourteen days, over 300,000 Frenchmen were killed or wounded: Alistair Horne, The Price of Glory: Verdun 1916* (New York, 1962), p. 18.
- 164) “*Gold-braided infallibility*”: Tuchman, *Proud Tower*, op. cit., p. 189.
- 164) *Republican ministers banned the playing of drums and bugles in barrack squares, and following: Ibid.*, pp. 180, 184-5.
- 164) *After 1871, France had to start from the very beginning in terms of constructing a defense, and following: Allan Mitchell, “ ‘A Situation of Inferiority’ : French Military Reorganization After the Defeat of 1870,” AHR, Vol. 86, No. 1, Feb. 1981, pp. 53, 52; Jonathan M. House, “The Decisive Attack: A New Look at French Infantry Tactics on the Eve of World War I,” MA, Vol. 40, No. 4 (December 1976), p.164.*
- 164-5) *French engineers built 459 fortifications, gun emplacements, and secondary works ... : Hew Strachan, “From Cabinet War to Total War: The Perspective of Military Doctrine, 1861-1918,” Chickering, Förster, Great War, Total War, op. cit., p. 19.*
- 166) “*Oh, such brave gentlemen*”: Eric Dorn Brose, *The Kaiser's Army: The Politics of Military Technology in Germany During the Machine Age, 1870-1918* (Oxford, 2001), p. 27.
- 166) *Men like Grandmaison “performed the function of corporals, not commanders”:* Tuchman, *Guns of August*, op. cit., p. 345.
- 167) *Napoleon was a sick man at the time: Jasper Ridley, Napoleon III and Eugenie* (New York, 1980), pp. 558-9, 566, 569.
- 167) *One peasant woman had fled with but a single possession, a potted geranium: Basil Liddell Hart, Foch: The Man of Orleans* (London, 1931), p. 9.
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- 169) *"As Napoleon said ... ,"* and following: Jean-Raymond Tournoux, *Sons of France: Pétain and De Gaulle*, trans. O. Coburn (New York, 1966), p. 34.
- 170) *Defense "implied avowal of inferiority"*: Liddell Hart, *Fog of War*, op. cit., p. 190.
- 170) *Joffre, the seventeenth commander in chief of the French army since 1874 ...*: Adamthwaite, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 14.
- 170) *Léonce de Grandmaison "the perfect Jesuit"*: *Des Carnets du Cardinal Alfred Baudrillart* (Paris, 2003), Vol. 9, p. 587.
- 170) *Foch had no intention of having his generalized theories taken as a gospel of sorts, and following*: Major Charles Bugnet, *Foch Speaks*, trans R. Green (New York, 1929), p. 69; Cyril Falls, *Marshal Foch* (London, 1939), pp. 38-9.
- 170) *General Michel and Plan XVI*: Snyder, *Ideology of the Offensive*, op. cit., pp. 70-95; Tuchman, *Guns of August*, op. cit., pp. 34-41, 50.
- 170) *Grandmaison oversaw the creation of Plan XVII*: Some historians downplay the extent to which Grandmaison's theories percolated, either upwards or downwards, into the psyche of the French army. Douglas Porch, in his thoughtful book on the French army, believes it was but one of several schemes that were floating about through the confused theoretical musings of prewar French military circles and institutions, best exemplified by annual maneuvers, which appeared chaotic to many observers and devoid of any predominate tactical design. He pays scant attention to Plan XVII which was, to the detriment of his argument, the operational bible of 1914. Porch, *Marne*, op. cit., pp. 213-31. Grandmaison has been treated tangentially by many historians. See Snyder, *Ideology of the Offensive*, op. cit., pp. 90-7, 229 (fn. 127); Hew Strachan, "From Cabinet War to Total War: The Perspective of Military Doctrine, 1861-1918," Chickering, Förster, *Great War, Total War*, op. cit., pp. 25-6; House, "The Decisive Attack," op. cit., pp. 164-8.
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- 172) *De Grandmaison the “fountainhead” of Plan XVII, and following*: Liddell Hart, *Foch*, op. cit., pp. 66-7.
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- 173) *Joffre couldn't read a map*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 154.
- 173) *The “Secret Temple,” and following*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., p. 25; Tuchman, *Guns of August*, op. cit., pp. 421-2.
- 174) *Joffre was an engineer, not a cavalryman*: Snyder, *Ideology of the Offensive*, op. cit., p. 209.
- 174) *All they got from Joffre were “banalities,” and following*: W. A. Stewart, *Lanrezac, Joffre, and Plan XVII* (Santa Monica, CA, 1967), pp. 4-5, 16.
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- 177) *Lord French ready to evacuate back to Great Britain*: Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., p. 245.
- 178) “*My goodness, here at least is something out of the ordinary*”: Otto Friedrich, *Blood & Iron: From Bismarck to Hitler, the von Moltke Family's Impact on German History* (New York, 1995), p. 280.
- 179) *There was no one around who could even surrender ...*: Showalter, “From Deterrence to Doomsday Machine,” op. cit., p. 696. A diary entry by Groener for 23 August said the same thing: “From reports of the army H.Q.s and all other sensations here in G.H.Q. One received the impression that the war against France is already decided.” Wallach, *Dogma of the Battle of Annihilation*, op. cit., p. 122 (ftn. 84).
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- 180) *French's heart had been "chilled"*: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 162.
- 180) *"Towers of Babel"*: Liddell Hart, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 150.
- 180) *"The honor of England was at stake ..."*: Lyn Macdonald, *1914: The Days of Hope* (London, 1987), p. 284.
- 181) *"In proportion to its scale and its historical effect ..."*: Liddell Hart, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 99.
- 181) *Some historians have claimed that German failures in the eastern theater to invest Verdun and Nancy more spelled the doom of an early German victory than the Marne*: Mosier, *Myth of the Great War*, op. cit., pp. 83-100.
- 181) *"Terror often overcomes me when I think of this ..."*: Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York, 1994), p. 73. The notion that von Moltke suffered a nervous and physical collapse is challenged by Mosier, *Myth*, op. cit., pp. 101, 122 (fn. 1-3).
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- 182) *Eiffel Tower*: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 167.
- 182) *If Hentsch "had crashed into a tree somewhere ..."*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., p. 250.
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- 183) *"He was always on the lookout for squalls," and following*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., p. 34-5.
- 184) *Gigot bretonne*: Spears, *Liason 1914*, op. cit., p. 401.
- 184) *"I am a republican general," and following*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., pp. 34, 29.
- 184) *German headquarters after the Marne reminded one officer of "a mortuary," and following*: Mombauer, *Von Moltke*, op. cit., pp. 253, 271.
- 184) *Von Molke summoned enough strength to argue against Falkenhayn's appointment ...* : Alistair Horne, "Field-Marshal Erich von Falkenhayn," Carver, *The War Lords*, op. cit., p. 113.
- 185) *"Even if we perish, it will have been exquisite"*: Holgar H. Herwig, "Falkenhayn and the Battle of Verdun, 1916," Chickering, Förster, *Great War, Total War*, op. cit., p. 117.
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- 185) *Falkenhayn was only 53 years of age, with over thirty more experienced officers above him on the promotion list*: Foley, *German Strategy*, op. cit., p. 91.
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- 186) *Falkenhayn flattened a portion of Peking center's "sacred" walls in the name of military exigency, and following*: Horne, "Von Falkenhayn," op. cit., pp. 110, 115.
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- 188) *"An advance on Moscow takes us nowhere," and following*: Falkenhayn, *General Headquarters*, op. cit., pp. 217, 209; Afflerbach, "Planning Total War," op. cit., p. 118.
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- 191) *Two and a half million shells required for the first week of action, and following*: Ousby, *Road to Verdun*: op. cit., p. 51; Foley, *German Strategy*, op. cit., pp. 214-15.
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- 194) *Some who disparaged Foch's rhetorical excesses called him "The Tower of Babel"*: Ibid., p. 150.
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- 197) *The 72nd's complement all died in just four days, and Driant*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., pp. 99, 51, 68, 79.

- 198) “*Douaumont is like those distant and disdainful women ...*”: Ousby, *Road to Verdun*, op. cit., p. 249.
- 198) *Presumably, Verdun now lay there for the taking*: Pétain, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 73.
- 200) *Headquarters resembled “a lunatic asylum”*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 143.
- 200) “*Let him do as he wants*”: Nicholas Atkin, *Pétain* (London, 1998), p. 17.
- 201) *Legend maintains Pétain spent the rest of the early morning making love*: Charles Williams, *Pétain* (London, 2005), p. 126.
- 202) *Number of Communards killed in 1871*: Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France* (Harmondsworth, 1965), Vol. III, p. 23; Frank Jellinek, *The Paris Commune of 1871* (New York, 1965), p. 370.
- 202) “*For the generation we are raising, the future is revenge ...*”: Ibid., pp. 34-5.
- 202) “*He had arrived at middle life with a mental baggage of his own ideas ...*”: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 5.
- 203) *Pétain “a serial fornicator”*: Williams, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 2.
- 203) “*I love two things above all, sex and the infantry*”: Tournoux, *Sons of France*, op. cit., p. 22.
- 203) *Officers made their men empty their guns of bullets, and ordered them to charge with bayonets only*: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 33.
- 203) “*A French soldier can do anything with a bayonet except sit on it*”: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 5. The origin of this quip is debated, with other candidates being Tallyrand and Napoleon himself.
- 203) “*An offensive is gunfire leading an advance ...,*” and *following*: Atkin, *Pétain*, op. cit., pp. 10, 9.
- 203) “*Artillery does not prepare attacks, it supports them*”: Doughty, “France,” op. cit., p. 160.
- 203) “*He, at least, did not prepare for the last war*”: Tournoux, *Sons of France*, op. cit., p. 36.
- 203) “*Whatever you do, you lose a lot of men*”: Michael S. Neiberg, ed., *The World War I Reader: Primary and Secondary Sources* (New York, 2007), p. 11.
- 204) “*... a catalog of all the mistakes that a modern army should not make*”: Williams, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 78.



- 204) *"I was old as a lieutenant ..."*: Tournoux, *Sons of France*, op. cit., p. 21.
- 204) *"I have taken over command ..."*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 143.
- 204) *Over one million French casualties in 1915*: Robert B. Bruce, *Pétain: Verdun to Vichy* (Washington, 2008), p. 31.
- 204) *No more "decisive battle as there used to be ..."*: Williams, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 113.
- 204) *Negativity meant that a man "had lost his nerve," and following*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., pp. 52, 58; *G.Q.G., Secteur I* (Paris, 1922), pp. 134-5.
- 205) *Clausewitz had said it best ...*: *On War*, op. cit., p. 140.
- 205) *"He was a man on the bridge of a huge ocean liner ..."*: Simonds, *They Shall Not Pass*, op. cit., p. 28.
- 206) *The attack on the west bank "should have been done at once ..."*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 156.
- 206) *Côte 304's summit was reduced by 20 meters*: Afflerbach, "Planning Total War," op. cit., p. 127.
- 206) *"The details of the scene were far from cheering ..."*: Romains, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 352.
- 206) *"He froze people at a distance"*: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 4.
- 206) *Verdun "a furnace"*: Zweig, *Education Before Verdun*, op. cit., p. 33.
- 207) *Pétain "was thriftily inclined to regard live French soldiers as valuable domestic animals"*: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 5.
- 207) *"My heart bled ..."*: Pétain, *Verdun*, op. cit., pp. 122-3.
- 207) *Statistics involving Verdun*: Foley, *German Strategy*, op. cit., p. 259; Afflerbach, "Planning Total War," op. cit., p. 114.
- 207) *Foch replied that "he would prefer fewer sooner"*: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 72.
- 208) *La Voie Sacrée statistics*: Gerard Demaison, "Voie Sacrée: Myths and Reality" (Internet resource); Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., pp. 145-7.
- 208) *Some observers saw La Route as an ethereal serpent crawling through the landscape*: Horne, *ibid.*, p. 147.
- 208) *Vans and buses had "vanished" from Paris*: Edith Wharton, *Fighting France: From Dunkerque to Belfort* (New York, 1917), p. 31.
- 208) *Via Dolorosa and "J'ai fait Verdun"*: Ian Ousby, *The Road to Verdun: France*,

*Nationalism and the First World War* (London, 2002), p. 7.

- 209) *Verdun “vanishing by blocks and squares”*: Simonds, *They Shall Not Pass*, op. cit., p. 48.
- 209) *Pétain earned a general's star each year of the war*: Lacouture, *De Gaulle*, op. cit., p. 74.
- 209) *Pétain spent most of his time “scaring everyone”*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 275.
- 209) *“No longer war, but rather butchery”*: Afflerbach, “Planning Total War,” op. cit., p. 114.
- 209) *Falkenhayn was too often “not sure of himself,” and following*: Foley, *German Strategy*, op. cit., pp. 105, 227.
- 209) *“France must be tapped of much more blood”*: Foley, *German Strategy*, op. cit., p. 227.
- 210) *“We shall be in Verdun at the earliest by 1920”*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 165.
- 210) *Douaumont received some 120,000 “hits”*: Gerard Demaison, “From Verdun to the Maginot Line,” in S. Weingartner, ed., *A Weekend with the Great War: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Great War Interconference Seminar, Lisle, Illinois* (Shippensburg, PA, 1996), p. 20.
- 210) *French forts will “crack like empty nuts”*: Foley, *German Strategy*, op. cit., p. 216.
- 212) *Landscape of Verdun nothing but a mélange of “confused and tangled hills”*: Simonds, *They Shall Not Pass*, op. cit., p. 103.
- 212) *Falkenhayn is very upset emotionally ...*: Afflerbach, “Planning Total War,” op. cit., p. 129.
- 212) *“There is no man more capable of getting you into a mess”*: Remark by General Hubert Lyautey (Internet resource: Ancestry.com.records).
- 213) *The prince tosses cigarettes from his staff car to troops standing along the side of the road, and following*: Zweig, *Education Before Verdun*, op. cit., pp. 185-6.
- 213) *Relations between the crown prince and his father*: Jonas, *Crown Prince William*, op. cit., p. 97.
- 213) *“Ah, Napoleon ...”*: Robert B. Holtman, *The Napoleonic Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1967), p. 36.
- 213) *“The day of this great warrior was over ...,” and following*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., pp. 81, 82, 113-14.
- 214) *Joffre had outlasted most his counterparts in high command*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 29.

- 214) *Most soldiers now devalued the bayonet as little better than a pocket knife*: Romains, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 66 .
- 215) *Le Mort Homme* “a rubbish dump” by the time the battle was finished: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 326.
- 215) “*Grand Illusion*”: See Parker Tyler, *Classics of the Foreign Film* (New York, 1967), pp.108-11.
- 215) “*Verdun is a complete war in itself ...*”: Ian Ousby, *The Road to Verdun*, p. 33.
- 215) *Pétain insisted that Great Britain had played only “a secondary role”*: See Charles de Gaulle, *The Complete War Memoirs* (New York, 1966), Vol. I, p. 65.
- 215) *Clemenceau did not care for men who flinched*: Liddel Hart, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 40.
- 216) *Jacques Froment-Meurice*: The sculptor came from a famous Parisian family of jewelers and goldsmiths.
- 218) *26,000 pounds of human bones are housed in the ossuary*: Sally Carlton, “To Enact and Counteract Reconciliation: The *Veillée de Verdun* and Franco-German Rapprochement,” *Eleventh Berlin Roundtables on Transnationality - Memory Politics*, Irmgard Coninx Stiftung, 21-6 October 2009 (Internet resource: [http://www.irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de/fileadmin/user\\_upload/pdf/Memory\\_Politics/Workshop\\_3/Carlton\\_Essay.pdf](http://www.irmgard-coninx-stiftung.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Memory_Politics/Workshop_3/Carlton_Essay.pdf)), p. 6.
- 218) “*The French passion for the macabre*”: Frances Partridge, *Memories* (London, 1999), p. 220.
- 218) *Mitterrand and Kohl meet at Verdun*: Mitterrand was captured by German forces near Verdun during World War II, and Kohl's father fought here in World War I. See “Mitterrand and Kohl Honor Dead of Verdun,” *The New York Times*, 22 September 1984; Charles Moore, *Margaret Thatcher, The Authorized Biography - At Her Zenith: In London, Washington and Moscow* (New York, 2016), pp. 388-9.
- 219) “*Old Douaumont in the middle of it like the shell of a gigantic tortoise*”: Zweig, *Education Before Verdun*, op. cit., pp. 71-2.
- 219) *One survivor recorded being hit by liquified flesh that “poured over me”*: Horne, *Verdun*, op. cit., p. 306.

## 9) Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig

page 220) “*Nobody likes to see his father labeled as a butcher*”: “Son Defends Haig’s Role at Somme,” *BBC News*, 30 June 2006 (Internet resource). See also an exchange of letters

between George Haig and Roy Jenkins, *The London Times*, 9 March 1971 (p. 15), and 10 March 1971 (p. 15).

- 220) *Germany “the road hog of Europe”*: Lloyd George, *Family Letters*, op. cit., p. 170.
- 220) *Haig was a soldier to the very top of his boots* : Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. xiii.
- 220) *Lloyd George a “thorough imposter” and “a cur”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 300, 301.
- 221) *“No tide of hot compassion engulfs him”*: Gardiner, *Pillars of Society*, op. cit., p. 79.
- 221) *Asquith was a man “hard to describe ...”*: Lord Beaverbrook (William Maxwell Aiken), *Politicians and the War 1914-1916* (London, 1928), p. 220.
- 221) *Asquith would often take to his bed to avoid confrontation, and following*: Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, *Fear God and Dread Nought: The Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher of Kilverstone*, Arthur J. Marder, ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1952-1959), Vol. III, pp. 331, 290, 408-409; M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 321.
- 221) *Kitchener “pays no attention to any one”*: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. III, p.177.
- 222) *Kitchener hadn’t spent a Christmas in England in forty years*: Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 12.
- 222) *“He kept everything in his own hands”*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 53.
- 222) *When Kitchener entered a chamber it was “like the Day of Judgment ...”*: Gardiner, *Pillars of Society*, op. cit., pp. 15, 16.
- 222) *Germans would “walk through [the French] like partridges”*: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 59.
- 222) *Cabinet “talking strategy like idiots,” and following*: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 158-9; Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 133.
- 222) *French had suffered losses of a million men in just seventeen months*: Anthony Farrar-Hockley, *Goughie: The Life of General Sir Hubert Gough, CGB, GCMG, KCVO* (London, 1975), p. 179 (ftn).
- 222) *“Though the Germans invaded, it was more often the French who attacked ...”*: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 151.

- 222) “Wastage”: for examples from both sides see Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 227; Erich Ludendorff, *My War Memories* (London, 1919), Vol. II, p. 429.
- 223) “Our army should reach its full strength at the beginning of the third year ...”: Sir George Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener* (New York, 1920), Vol. III, pp. 307-21.
- 223) “Your Country Needs You,” and following: Pearl James, ed., *Picture This: World War I Posters and Visual Culture* (Lincoln, NE, 2009), pp. 17-18, 315; Carlo Ginzburg, “‘Your Country Needs You’: A Case Study in Political Iconography,” *HWJ*, Vol. 52 (Autumn 2001), pp. 1-22; Peter Simkins, *Kitchener’s Army: The Raising of New Armies, 1914-16* (Manchester, UK, 1988), pp. 122-3. See also Peter Parent, Beth Irwin Lewis, Paul Paret, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 10-99. The original designer was the graphic artist Alfred Leete; see Jim Hulich, “Alfred Leete,” *DNB* (Internet edition).
- 223) “New” armies were just a “mob”: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 178-9. See also Sir Sam Fay, *The War Office at War* (London, 1937), pp. 99-100.
- 223) Kitchener “not a great man, but a great poster,” and following: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 193. See also Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., p. 92; M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 24.
- 223) “I suppose there is no harm in asking you when our Brigade leaves ...”: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 198.
- 223) Because Kitchener trusted no one, he rarely put his thoughts on paper or in reports: David French, “The Meaning of Attrition,” *EHR*, Vol. 103, No. 407 (April 1988), p. 387.
- 223) Churchill the progenitor of “wild cat schemes”: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., p. 193.
- 224) “Must I answer?”: Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War 1914-1916*, op. cit., p. 65.
- 224) Had “the tropical sun scorched and parched some of his intelligence ...”: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 194.
- 224) Kitchener “was like a great revolving lighthouse ...”: Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War*, op. cit., p. 181.
- 224) Kitchener referred to as “the Sphinx” and “the extinct volcano”: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 65-7.
- 224) Kitchener’s death greeted by “a great many crocodile tears”: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 32.
- 225) “Wooly,” ... and following: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 190; Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 221, 296, 220, 218. See also G. D. Sheffield, *Leadership in*

*the Trenches: Officer-Man Relationships, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the Era of the First World War* (London, 1999), pp. 2-5.

- 225) “*We soldiers think they are all ‘rotters,’*” and following: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 235; B. McL. Ranft, ed., *The Beatty Papers: Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty* (Aldershot, UK, 1989) Vol. I, p. 386.
- 225) “*Twenty-three blind mice ...*,” and following: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 367; Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 216, Vol. III, p. 23, Vol. I, p. 33.
- 226) “*The frocks*”: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 235.
- 226) “*War was a bloody business,*” and following on Robertson: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 345, 107, Vol. II, p. 273; Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 216, 217.
- 227) *Royalty treated Lloyd George with wariness*: Kenneth O. Morgan, ed., *Lloyd George Family Letters 1885-1936* (Cardiff, 1973), p. 159.
- 227) “*He talks an awful lot*”: Lord Beaverbrook (William Maxwell Aiken), *Men and Power, 1917-1918* (London, 1956), p. 113. Robert Graves wrote that “the power of his rhetoric amazed me. The substance of the speech might be commonplace, idle and false, but I had to fight hard against abandoning myself with the rest of his audience. He sucked power from his listeners and spurted it back to them.” And Walter Page, the United States ambassador to Britain, was also dazzled by Lloyd George: “I’ve come to like Lloyd George very much [even though] he doesn’t even play a good game of golf; but he has [something others lack] ---a touch of genius --- the kind that acts as an electric light flashed in the dark.” See Robert Graves, *Good-bye to All That* (New York, 1998), p. 202; Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* (Garden City, 1922), Vol. II, p. 259.
- 227) *Sixty percent of casualties were the result of artillery fire, and endnote (#7, p. 626)*: Bothwell, *History of Canada*, op. cit., p. 299; Neil Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War* (New Haven, 2016), p. 71.
- 227) “*Wars cannot be won by indecision,*” and following: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 273, 278-9.
- 227) *Lloyd George’s elevation to prime minister*: See Peter Lowe, “The Rise to the Premiership,” in A. J. P. Taylor, ed., *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays* (New York, 1971), pp. 95-136.

- 227) "Mr. Asquith once described Bonar Law as 'mildly ambitious' ...": Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War*, op. cit., p. 85.
- 228) George V "a very jolly chap ...": Lloyd George, *Family Letters*, op. cit., p. 153.
- 228) *Conservatives*, "loaded with a legacy of Tory hate": Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War*, op. cit., p. 86.
- 228) "I divide my officers into four classes ...": Field-Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G., *Memoirs* (New York, 1958), p. 33.
- 229) *Walter Pater*: Pater, a groundbreaking "aesthete," was satirized by W. H. Mallock in *The New Republic* (1876). He established an intellectual and sartorial fashion that would be emulated by, among others, Oscar Wilde (extravagantly) and W. B. Yeats (less so). See Laurel Blake, "Pater," *DNB*, Vol. 43, pp. 6-10.
- 229) *Too many cavalry officers in important positions at the start of the war*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 60, 62. See also Ian F. W. Beckett, "Sir Arthur Paget," *DNB*, (Internet edition); Norman F. Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (New York, 1976), pp. 158-9.
- 229) *700,000 horses shipped to France*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 259.
- 229) *Arrangements were made to dump lorry loads of sand along Haig's riding route, and following*: Keegan, *First World War*, op. cit., p. 312.
- 229) *Haig was not going "to settle down into a turnip grower in Fife ...," and "Hindoo Invasion"*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 16, 24.
- 230) "Nothing new under the sun": Cannadine, *Rise and Fall*, op. cit., p. 278.
- 230) *Haig had "a first-class General Staff mind"*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 21.
- 230) *Haig's proposal of marriage*: Countess Haig (Dorothy Maud), *The Man I Knew* (Edinburgh, 1936), pp. 33-4.
- 230) *Haig could not "understand the value which attaches to a genial air ..."*: Earl of Birkenhead (Frederick Edwin Smith), *Contemporary Personalities* (London, 1924), p. 148.
- 231) "I congratulate you on your running ...": Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 53.
- 231) *Haig's proficiency in foreign languages was about equal to his command of English*: N. Lytton, *The Press and the General Staff* (London, 1926), p. 66; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 36.

- 231) *Haig was "handsome and Scotch ..."*: M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., pp. 218, 281.
- 231) *"In my experience a confused talker is never a clear thinker"*: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 357.
- 231) Liddell Hart, the influential military writer, was equally dismissive. Regarding Lloyd George and Haig he wrote that "Friction between the two was almost inevitable, because of their extreme contrast of temperament and training. The one a volatile Welshman; the other a stubborn and taciturn Scot. The one with a magnetic power of drawing even the unwilling to him; the other with an impregnable capacity for holding even the most willing at a distance. The one infinitely adaptable; the other inflexibly consistent, and persistent. In the one, speech and thought so closely coincided that they became fused, while with the other the opening of the mouth automatically cut out the action of the brain." B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Real War 1914-1918* (Boston, 1930), p. 388.
- 231) *"Haig said he only regarded PM as x ..."*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 175.
- 231) *Haig was dogmatic, rigid, unbending, and impervious to argument ...*: Haig's defenders, beginning with Charteris, vigorously disputed this characterization. Brigadier-General John Charteris, *Field-Marshal Earl Haig* (New York, 1929), pp. 384-98.
- 231) *Haig "an optimist"*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 321.
- 231) *"Pernicious syncophants," and following*: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 377; Vol. IV, pp. 526, 410.
- 231) *"All I require [around me] is people of average intelligence ..."*: Gerard J. DeGroot, "Ambition, Duty and Doctrine: Douglas Haig's Rise to High Command," in Brian Bond, Nigel Cave, eds., *Haig: A Reappraisal 70 Years On* (Barnsley, UK, 1999), p. 37.
- 231) *Haig lived in a kind of cocoon, isolated ...*: Tim Travers, *The Killing Ground: The British Army, The Western Front and the Emergence of Modern Warfare, 1900-1918* (London, 1987), pp. 108, 166.
- 231) *Haig's idea of fun was to go shopping with his wife, and assc. endnote (#16, p. 627)*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 114, 147; Colin Larkin, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Popular Music* (Oxford, 2006), Vol. I, pp. 612-13; Kurt Gänzl, *The Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre* (Oxford, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 927-8, Vol. 1, pp. 268-9; Stephen King-Hall, *My Naval Life 1906-1929* (London, 1952), p.164.
- 231) *Haig's wife a maid of honour*: Robin Prior, Trevor Wilson, "Douglas Haig," *DNB*, Vol. 24, p. 457. Reigning British queens generally had eight ladies in waiting, a consort, four. Anne Boleyn reportedly retained sixty.
- 232) *Length of Haig's diary*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p.13.



- 232) *"I hated intriguing," and following*: Ibid., pp. 109, 110, 113, 166.
- 232) *"If anyone acted like that, and told tales out of school ..."*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 151. See also Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 23.
- 232) *As far as Lloyd George was concerned ...*: Gerald French, *French Replies to Haig* (London, 1936), p. 9.
- 232) *"Hands off the Army"*: Charles à Court Repington, *The Letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles à Court Repington CMG Military Correspondent of 'The Times' 1903-1918*, ed. A. J. A. Morris, (Stroud, 1999), p. 323 (ftn. 197).
- 232) *"Two could play that game ...," and following*: Beaverbrook, *Men and Power*, op. cit., p. 55; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 274, 126.
- 232) *"We have come to a deadlock ..."*: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 203.
- 233) *Sir John French predicted he would "round the Germans up," and following*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 74, 104.
- 233) *French's headquarters had the atmosphere "of a picnic"*: Stevenson, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 93.
- 233) *French's view of the battlefield situation delusional*: Liddell Hart, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 134.
- 233) *French's "failing energy"*: General Sir Hubert Gough, *The Fifth Army* (London, 1931), p. 74.
- 233) *Comment Vivre Cent Ans ("How to Live a Hundred Years")*: Graves, *Good-bye*, op. cit., p. 178.
- 233) *Casualties on the first day of the Somme*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 199.
- 234) *Haig's assaults reminded Liddell Hart of Frederick the Great*: Liddell Hart, *The Real War*, op. cit., p. 234.
- 234) *Haig's "fine fellows" obliterated*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 217.
- 234) *Repington looking for the next Wellington, and following*: Repington, *Letters*, op. cit., p. 240.
- 234) *A shift in Haig's operational thinking became apparent*: Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., pp.129-31, 147 (ftn. 18).
- 234) *"I thought we could walk through the German lines ...," and following*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., 135; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 188.

- 234) “*Military art remained dumb ...*”: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., pp. 299, 297.
- 234) “*Every available man*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 139.
- 235) “*Side shows*”: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 149.
- 235) “*Our losses in territory may be seen on the map with a microscope ...*”: *Source Records of the Great War*, Charles F. Horne, ed. (New York, 1923), Vol. IV, p. 252.
- 235) *This romanticized belief in the moral force of the bayonet, and the man behind it ...*: Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., pp. 46, 82, 86.
- 235) “*It is deplorable the way these politicians fight and intrigue ...*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 122.
- 235) “*I went to the English headquarters ...*”: Lloyd George, *Family Letters*, op. cit., p. 173.
- 236) *The Somme, “horrible and futile carnage,” and following*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 288; Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 454-5.
- 236) “*I am like a beetle ...*”: Lloyd George, *Family Letters*, op. cit., p. 196.
- 236) Edmund Burke “*was always indulging in prophecies of victory ...*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 321.
- 236) *Duff Cooper’s inappropriate remark*: Cooper, *Haig*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 366.
- 236) “*We must fully spend all we have, energy, life, money, everything ...*”: Keith Grieves, “*Haig and the Government, 1916-1918,*” Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., p. 112.
- 236) “*What [does] trench warfare mean? You cannot get a decision from any fight*”: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 221.
- 236) “*The loss of men might have been a good reason for not entering the war ...,*” and following: *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 4, Vol. I, p. 294.
- 237) *Lloyd George had “no hesitation, no tenderness ...*”: Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War*, op. cit., p. 84.
- 237) “*We are going to lose this war*”: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 204.
- 237) “*Success is the only criterion*”: Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 402.
- 237) “*No general should attack his enemy where he is strongest ...*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 363. Despite the seemingly realistic tone of Hamilton’s observations, he was as guilty as any of his contemporaries in arguing for the “human”

component in war, no matter the “mechanized” forces opposing it. For examples see Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., pp. 44-7.

- 237) *Robertson opposed to draining forces from the west, and following*: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 215, 296; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 14; Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 175.
- 237) *Tired old “lumber” of Haig and Roberson’s plans*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 395.
- 237) *“Nivell proved to be ...”*: Cooper, *Haig*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 32.
- 238) *Sassoon’s comment, “coup de théâtre”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 198.
- 238) *“In order of his distrust came Frenchmen ...”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 218.
- 238) *Haig upbraids generals “on the lack of smartness, and slackness on one of its Battalions ...”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 163.
- 238) *The French were not gentlemen*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 273; Wilson, *Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 287.
- 238) *German officers found the British to be “strategically clumsy, tactically rigid, but tough”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 329.
- 239) *Ludendorff “had the moral courage to give up territory if circumstances advised it”*: Liddell Hart, *The Real War*, op. cit., p. 300.
- 239) *Everything left behind was turned into “a desert ...”*: Ibid., p. 523.
- 239) *Pétain was said to be “openly incredulous”*: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 169.
- 239) *“Nivelle will disappear”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 216.
- 239) *One French general recommended wholesale executions, and following*: Ibid., p. 315; Richard M. Watt, *Dare Call It Treason* (New York, 1963), pp. 222-30.
- 239) *“Look to the example of Caesar ...”*: Pierrefeu, *French Headquarters*, op. cit., pp. 167-8.
- 240) *In 1917, Petain's operations cost France 190,000 men; Joffre, in 1915, had lost over double that number, 430,000*: Jean-Raymond Tournoux, *Sons of France: Pétain and De Gaulle*, trans. O. Coburn (New York, 1966), p. 33.
- 240) *Robertson began referring to the prime minister as “Napoleon”*: Liddell Hart, *Fog of War*, op. cit., p. 188.

- 240) *French were currently but “a broken reed,” and following*: Haig, *ibid.*, pp. 245, 234, 260.
- 240) “*Haig the Hammer*”: The *Daily Express* was a Beaverbrook newspaper.
- 241) *Western front stretched 470 miles*: Robert Crowley, “The Unreal City: The Western Front Examined as the World’s Largest Metropolis,” in *A Weekend with the Great War*, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
- 241) “*The Times has two leading articles on successive days on the Broodseinde victory...*”: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 417.
- 242) “*Winter sports*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
- 242) *Haig’s “indomitable will”*: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 219.
- 242) “*Tangible support! Mens, guns, aeroplanes!*”: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
- 242) *Robertson a “strict communicant of the great Western Church,” and following*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 326; Vol. III, p. 432.
- 243) “*I formed a poor opinion of the man as a soldier ...*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 194.
- 243) *Jellicoe’s “bombshell,” and following*: Haig, *ibid.*, p. 240; Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 362-3; Roskill, *Hankey*, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Beaverbrook, *Men and Power*, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 243) *Haig considered Jellicoe “an old woman”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
- 243) *We should “not play the game the [enemy] wanted,” and following*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 504, 524, 571, 589.
- 244) *Haig’s staff “thinks the Hun is weakening ..., ” and following*: *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 103, 84, 82.
- 244) *Pétain “did not believe in another Somme”*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
- 244) *Headquarters “kept three sets of figures ... ”*: Beaverbrook, *Politicians and the War*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- 245) *Gough enjoyed “pigsticking”*: Brian Bond, “Hubert Gough,” *DNB*, Vol. 23, p. 42.
- 245) “*Field Movements – Good but hasty ...*”: Farrar-Hockley, *Goughie*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

- 246) *The Somme* “was one of the foundation stones on which the advance to victory in 1918 was built,” and following: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., pp. 161, 166, xiii.
- 247) “Total casualties for the last two days’ heavy fighting are just 8,000”: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 167. See also Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., p. 21.
- 247) *In his first action, Montgomery had led a charge waving his sword, and following on “fighting generals ...”*: Montgomery, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 29, 31.
- 247) *Gough searched for “a howling success” somewhere*: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 146.
- 247) *Hubert “had never lost his head ...”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 298.
- 247) *Men who were “mad keen to kill Germans” were all that mattered*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 214.
- 248) “*Poor physique, bad teeth, and other outward and visible signs ...*”: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 141.
- 248) “*I heard him complain that his troops had no ‘blood lust’ ...*”: Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., p. 20.
- 248) *Messines Ridge “an aperitif”*: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 321.
- 248) *German casualties at Messines 10,000 dead*: This estimate is disputed, Mosier, *Myth*, op. cit., pp. 281-2.
- 249) “*This plan had some similarity to the operations carried out in the Battle of the Somme*”: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 194.
- 249) “*A porridge of mud*”: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 367.
- 249) “*Had some delightful rides in the forest ...*”: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, Vol. II, p. 574.
- 250) *The barrage lasted ten days, and reputedly consumed shells worth £22,000,000*: Dixon, *Military Incompetence*, op. cit., p. 373
- 250) *Even Gough admitted to the new system’s formidability*: “The Germans were the first to make such use of concrete in field defenses. They were indeed thorough and efficient enemies. Nevertheless, valuable as it was in defense, it could not give them final victory. The offensive was the only means of attaining that end.” Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 202.

- 251) “*The English took their punishment in silence ...*”: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 74.
- 251) *Haig advised Gough to “have patience”*: Robin Prior, Trevor Wilson, *Passchendael: The Untold Story* (New Haven, 1996), p. 100.
- 251) “*The men are Irish ...*”: Ibid., p. 103.
- 251) *The mud “was in German pay”*: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 91.
- 251) “*From an infantry point of view, the third battle of Ypres may be considered comotose ...*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 437.
- 252) *When the autumnal rains began, Plumer continued battering on, often without artillery support*: Prior, Wilson, *Passchendaele*, op. cit., p. 172.
- 252) “*What makes troops trust their Chief?*” and following: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 54, 99, 101; Vol. II, pp. 281; Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 521, 446.
- 252) *The king finally had enough, and told French, in effect, “to shut up”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 158, 182.
- 252) *General Macdonagh, after all, was a Catholic*: Prior, Wilson, *Passchendael*, op. cit., p. 166; Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., pp. 115-17; Gerard J. De Groot, *Douglas Haig, 1861-1918* (London, 1988), p. 346.
- 252) *The idea of “structured” battle ...*: Ibid., pp. 86-7, 95-7. Revisionist historians have criticized this characterization; see J. M. Bourne, “Haig and the Historians,” Ian F. W. Beckett, “Haig and French,” in Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., pp. 8-9, 55-6.
- 253) *An air of “exaltation” at Haig’s HQ, and following*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 412, 425; Vol III, p. 411; Vol. VI, pp. 356, 355; Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 173.
- 253) “*Revisionist” theory of many younger historians today*: Prior and Wilson’s otherwise excellent *Passchendael* is the most recent example. This book intends to demolish historical shibboleths about the battle, but does so in dogmatic fashion. The notion that Lloyd George could not fire Haig because of political considerations is judged “absurd”; “there is no evidence” that Jellicoe’s pessimistic assertion of impending defeat due to the U-boat onslaught carried any weight with the war cabinet; George was as guilty of the Passchendael fiasco as Haig, and so on. Fine-tuned, “miniaturized” readings of contemporary minutes, memoranda and the flood of postwar diaries and memoirs sometimes can be used to build a seemingly airtight chronological case to prove or disprove any number of suppositions. As in any human situation, however, the facts are more nuanced than the printed record might suggest, and unfortunately there is no one

left from the times of these events to interview or press more closely. Robin Prior, Trevor Wilson, *Passchendael: The Untold Story* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 39, 201 (ftn. 7), 143-4. The “conventional” view can be found in Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 447, 455, 501-11; Vol. V, p. 337; Beaverbrook, *Men and Power*, op. cit., p. 54. See also Keith Grieves, “Haig and the Government, 1916-1918,” Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., pp.107-21.

- 253) “*Billy-goat tactics ...*”: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 422.
- 253) *Lloyd George wanted “a clear, definite victory ...*”: Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 322-30.
- 254) “*The breath of public opinion*”: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 155.
- 254) *To admit that the attacks in Flanders had been “useless slaughter ...,” and following:* Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 174; Vol. I, p. 57; Vol. II, pp. 480-1.
- 255) “*Ll. George has aged in the last twelve months ...*”: Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 522.
- 255) “*The corps delivered the goods*”: Daniel G. Dancocks, *Sir Arthur Currie: A Biography* (Toronto, 1985), p. 119.
- 256) *Currie was a “prewar nobody,” and following:* Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto, 2010), p. 9; John R. Grodzinski, “*We Few, We Happy Few ...*’: Canadian Generalship in the First World War,” *CMJ*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Autumn 2006 (Internet resource, unpaginated); Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada* (Edmonton, 1983), p. 181; A. M. J. Hyatt, “The Military Leadership of Sir Arthur Currie,” in B. Horn, S. Harris, eds., *Warrior Chiefs: Perspectives on Senior Canadian Military Leaders* (Toronto, 2001), p. 45.
- 257) *The “colonials” were “ignorant” and “conceited,” and following:* Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 156; Daniel G. Dancocks, *Legacy of Valour: The Canadians at Passchendaele* (Edmonton, 1986), p.115; Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 361; Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 271; Thomas Dinesen, *Merry Hell! A Dane with the Canadians* (London, 1931), pp. 31, 86, 152; Leslie Frost, Cecil Frost, *The Wartime Letters of, 1915-1919*, ed. R. B. Fleming (Waterloo, ON, 2007), pp. 93-4.
- 257) “*Well-meaning but second-rate sort of people ...*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 319.
- 257) *Canadian troops now “so smart and clean*”: Ibid., p. 290.
- 258) *Gough’s “mad ideas*”: Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., p. 168.
- 258) *A warning from an “older and more experienced officer ...*”: Frost, *Letters*, op. cit., p. 221.

- 258) *Canadians too often the “last and forelorn hope”*: Robert Craig Brown, Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974), p. 281.
- 258) “*We went through the works at the double ...*,” and following: W. S. Duthie, ed., *Letters from the Front: Being A Record Of the Part played by Officers of the Bank in the Great War 1914-1918* (Toronto, 1920), Vol. I, p. 260; G. Reid, ed., *Poor Bloody Murder: Personal Memoirs of the First World War* (Oakville, ON, 1980), p. 167.
- 258) “*Passchendaele! Let the Germans have it ...*,” and following: Dancocks, *Passchendaele*, op. cit., p. 96; Humphries, *Selected Papers*, op. cit., p. 58; Dancocks, *Currie*, op. cit., p. 114.
- 259) “*The depth of a spade in that soil reached water ...*”: Reid, *Poor Bloody Murder*, op. cit., p.169.
- 259) “*Good God, did we really send men to fight in that?*”: This oft-repeated statement appears in nearly every book relating to the battle. See Leon Wolff, *In Flanders Fields: The 1917 Campaign* (New York, 1963), p. 383. Montgomery mentions it in his *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 31. The reputed speaker is Launcelot Kiggell, Haig’s chief of staff, but Brigadier-General John Davidson claims the remark was his. See also Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 424.
- 259) “*‘A’ Gun has sunk to a depth of three feet*,” and following: Frank Byron Ferguson, *Gunner Ferguson’s Diary: The Diary of Gunner Frank Byron Ferguson, 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Siege Battery, Canadian Expeditionary Force 1915-1918*, ed. P. G. Rogers (Hantsport, NS, 1985), p.135.
- 259) *Resulting explosions reminding some of underground volcanic eruptions*: Donald Fraser, Private, *The Journal of, 1914-1918, Canadian Expeditionary Force*, R. H. Roy, ed. (Victoria, BC, 1985), p. 313.
- 259) *The 85<sup>th</sup> Novies*: Lt. Col. Joseph Hayes, *The Eighty-Fifth in France and Flanders* (Halifax, NS, 1920), pp. 88-102. “The trail a-winding” is a caustic take on a song written by two Yale University students in 1913, published in London the next year, which became popular during the war. It promised that after the long trail, one would enter “into the land of my dreams,” hardly the situation at Passchendael. The capture of Passchendaele proved an “empty satisfaction”: Liddell Hart, *The Real War*, op. cit., p. 343.
- 260) “*We lived in the water ...*,” and following: Reid, *Poor Bloody Murder*, op. cit., pp. 172, 169; Ferguson, *Diary*, op. cit., pp. 126-7, 17-18, 312-15; Duthie, *Letters from the Front*, op. cit., p. 242.



- 261) *Conquered Passchendaele deemed an “unsatisfactory defensive position”*: Prior, Wilson, *Passchendaele*, op. cit., pp. 181, 200.
- 261) *Haig “as cocksure as ever”*: Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 452.
- 261) *“His plans required a drought of Ethiopian proportions ...”*: De Groot, *Douglas Haig*, op. cit., p. 336.
- 261) *“The whole art of war is to gain your objective with as little loss as possible ...”*: Nigel Hamilton, *Monty: The Making of a General, 1887-1942* (New York, 1981), p. 129.
- 261) *“Battles, however great the scale, had [usually] been a matter of hours...”*: Liddell Hart, *A History of The Great War*, op. cit., p. 285.

## 10) Ireland

- page 262) *Ireland, “That sad, beautiful, bitch of a country”*: David Lloyd George. See James Charles Roy, *The Back of Beyond: A Search for the Soul of Ireland* (Boulder, CO., 2004), p. 202.
- 262) *“Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right,” and playing ‘the Orange card’*”: Michael de Wie, “Ulster Will Fight?: The British Press and Ulster, 1885-1886,” *New Hibernia Review*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Autumn 2008, p. 18. See also Roy Foster, *Randolph Churchill: A Political Life* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 252-68.
- 262) *Gladstone and Home Rule*: See J. L. Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (Hamden, CT, 1964).
- 263) *“Sir Edward Carson had a cat ...”*: J. C. Beckett, “Carson – Unionist and Rebel,” *Confrontations: Studies in Irish History* (London, 1972), p. 160.
- 264) *“The dawn is up in Ireland, but he will not yield to it”*: Gardiner, *Pillars of Society*, op. cit., p. 120.
- 264) *Unionists were rarely inclined to leave their “Tory cave,” and following*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., pp. 402, 204, 325.
- 266) *“I think an Orangeman with a rifle a much less ridiculous figure ...”*: Pádrac H. Pearse, “From A Hermitage” (Cork, IE: Electronic resource, University College, Cork – [www.ucc.ie/celt](http://www.ucc.ie/celt)), p. 185.
- 266) *Ulster has behind it “the God of Battles ...”*: Ronald Blythe, *The Age of Illusion: England in the Twenties and Thirties 1919-1940* (Boston, 1964), p. 28.
- 266) *“When Pearse summoned Cuchulain to his side”*: William Butler Yeats, “The Statues,” *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1970), p. 323.

- 266) *The ministers were stuck “in tedious and bewildering debate ...”*: Gilbert, Churchill, op. cit., p. 4.
- 267) *“The problem” would then “have been very materially solved”*: PWW, Vol. 55, p. 481.
- 267) *Casement went to the scaffold, Carson died in bed*: Casement referred to this duality of result in his final address during the later trial for treason. “The difference between us,” he said, “was that the Unionist champions chose the path they felt would lead to the Woolsack [meaning honors, emolument, knighthoods, and so forth], while I went the road I knew must lead, to the dock, and the event proves we were both right ... And I am prouder to stand here today in a traitor’s dock to answer the impeachment than to fill the place of my right honourable accusers.” The attorney general prosecuting the case walked out of the courtroom saying, “Change places with *him*? Nothing doing.” Padraic Colum, “My Encounters With Roger Casement (3),” *The Irish Times*, February 13, 1963, p.7.
- 267) *49,000 Irishmen were killed, approximately a quarter of all Irishmen who signed up perished in the war, and following endnote (#2, p. 629)*: Peter Karsten, “Irish Soldiers in the British Army: Suborned or Subordinate?” *JSH*, Vol. I., No. 1 (Autumn 1983), p. 47; R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London, 1988), p. 471.
- 267) *“You say that we should till the land/Till Germany’s overcome”*: W. B. Yeats, “Sixteen Dead Men,” *Collected Poems*, op. cit., p. 180.
- 267) *“He swore Ireland to loyalty as if he had Ireland in his pocket ...”*: James Stephens, *The Insurrection in Dublin* (New York, 1999), p. 76.
- 267) *Dillon would not be a recruiting sergeant*: F. S. L. Lyons, *John Dillon: A Biography* (Chicago, 1968), p. 359. See also pp. 362-5 for his evolving attitude.
- 268) *Dillon called the early leaders of this bunch “fools and mischief makers”*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p.206.
- 268) *“I’ve done with Ireland”*: Stevenson, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 49.
- 268) *“Remembering Belgium and its broken treaty led Irishmen to remember Limerick and its broken treaty”*: George Bernard Shaw, “O’Flaherty V. C.: A Recruiting Pamphlet,” *Selected Short Plays* (London, 1988), p. 255.
- 269) *Asquith congratulated his minister for not “wetting his feet,” and following*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 204.
- 269) *“The red wine of the battlefield”*: Pádraic Pearse, “Peace and the Gael,” in *Political Writings and Speeches* (Dublin, 1966), p. 216.
- 269) *Casement both “mad and bad”*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 114.

- 271) *Rubber*: See Henry Hobhouse, *Seeds of Wealth: Four Plants That Made Men Rich* (London, 2003), pp. 125-88.
- 271) “*These were not Irishmen ...*”: Karsten, “Irish Soldiers in the British Army,” op. cit., p. 47.
- 272) “*I told him that Ireland was like a little terrier ...*”: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., p. 87. See also pp. 42-3, 130-1, 137-8.
- 272) *Pearse declaration, and following*: Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish Republic* (London, 1968), pp. 155-6; Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 404; Rex Taylor, *Michael Collins* (London, 1958), p. 33; Declan Kiberd, “The Easter Rebellion: Poetry or Drama?” in *The 1916 Rising: Then and Now* (Conference paper, The Ireland Institute and Dublin University History Society, April 21-22, 2006: Internet resource).
- 273) “*A bloody ruffian ...*”: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 62.
- 273) “*It’s a hopeless case,*” and following: Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising – Ireland: Easter 1916* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 193, 196.
- 273) *Miracles were soon attributed to Pearse’s intervention*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 221.
- 273) *Many British reinforcements thought they were in France*: Foster, *Modern Ireland*, op. cit., p. 483.
- 274) Maxwell “*a wooden-headed soldier full of stupid little airs*”: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., pp. 217-18.
- 274) *Ireland was not to be treated with a velvet glove*: Sir George Arthur, *General Sir John Maxwell* (London, 1932), pp. 252-3.
- 274) “*I shot him! I shot him!*”: McGarry, *The Rising*, op. cit., p. 137.
- 274) “*These infernal rebels,*” and following: Arthur, Maxwell, op. cit., pp. 248, 313.
- 274) “*A fresh batch each morning for breakfast ...*,” and following: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., pp. 342, 205.
- 275) *The Irish Rising was quelled in blood, in real blood, not pea soup*: Stephens, *Insurrection in Dublin*, op. cit., p. 89.
- 275) “*The usual childish petulance*”: Shaw, “O’Flaherty V. C.,” op. cit., p. 255.
- 275) *The “old spirit and friendship and goodwill vanished overnight*”: John Evelyn Wrench, *Struggle 1914-1920* (London, 1935), p. 207.

- 275) “*Martial law has come to a blessing for us all,*” and *House of Commons Debate, 11 May 1916*: Hansard, The Official Record, Vol. 82, cc 935-970 (Internet resource: [www.hansard.millbanksystems.com/people/mr-john-dillon/1916](http://www.hansard.millbanksystems.com/people/mr-john-dillon/1916)). See also Lyons, *Dillon*, pp. 380-3.
- 275) *Dillon considered the Irish Times response “bloodthirsty and wicked”*: Lyons, *Dillon*, op. cit., p. 377.
- 276) *Scott had “never seen a man look so black with suppressed passion”*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 206.
- 276) *Executions “not at all too many for what they have done”*: M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 262.
- 277) “*Sun 27 Returned to Buenos Aires. At Station & sailors again,*” and following: Roger Casement’s *Diaries 1910: The Black and the White*, Roger Sawyer, ed. (London, 1997), pp. 46, 43, 104, 91. See also C oil n Owens, “Queer ye for the Irish Guy,” *ILS*, Spring 2004, pp. 6-8.
- 277) *Zeppelin attacks were creating a “ferocious public mood”*: Stuart Mews, “Randall Davidson,” *DNB*, Vol. 15, p. 323.
- 278) *De Valera fell to his knees and prayed in this yard for the soul of Roger Casement, and related endnote (#9, p. 629)*: Tim Pat Coogan, *Eamon de Valera: The Man Who Was Ireland* (New York, 1993), pp. 683, 734 (ftn. 33).
- 279) *The executioner was paid  2.22 for his work*: R. S. Duncan, *Peerless, Priceless Pentonville: 160 Years of History* (London: Privately printed, 2000), p. 67.
- 279) *Widespread diffusion of “inspired innuendo,” and following* : “The Execution of Roger Casement,” *The London Times*, August 4, 1916, p. 7. See also, on same date, “Roger Casement,” *The Irish Times*, p. 4.
- 279) *De Valera called a “man with a closed mind,” and attending Casement's reburial in Dublin*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 304; Coogan, *Eamon de Valera*, op. cit., p. 683.

## 11) The Great War At Sea

page 280) “*The big punch*”: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 75.

281) *Tirpitz fear of being “Copenhagened”*: Patrick J. Kelly, *Tirpitz and the Imperial German Navy* (Bloomington, IN, 2011), pp. 238, 250, 252, 258, 449.

281) *Wilhelm “like a battleship with steam up and screws going, but with no rudder”*: *Ibid.*, p.

- 281) *Warships should have an additional smokestack added for cosmetic purposes, and "Homunculus"*: Holger H. Herwig, *The German Officer Corps: A Social and Political History 1890-1918* (Oxford, 1973), p. 19; Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War* (New York, 1991), pp. 182-3, 428.
- 281) *Tirpitz was creating his maritime monster to fight a gigantic battle at the mouth of the Thames*: See his memo, Jonathan Steinberg, *Yesterday's Deterrent: Tirpitz and the Birth of the German Battle Fleet* (New York, 1965), pp. 209-21; Kelly, *Tirpitz*, op. cit., pp. 133, 196, 198, 446.
- 282) *Nelson "the greatest man who ever lived"*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 495.
- 283) *Edward VII had to admonish Fisher not to wag his finger in the king's face*: Mackay, *Fisher of Kilverstone*, op. cit., p. 289.
- 283) *Maurice Hankey called Fisher "a crank," and following*: Bryan Ranft, "David Beatty," *DNB*, Vol. 4, p. 583; Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 568.
- 283) *Hague Peace Conference, 1899*: Bloch, *Is War Now Impossible?*, op. cit., p. ix; Arthur J. Marder, *The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880-1905* (Hamden, CT, 1964), pp. 341, 347; Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 158; Admiral Sir R. H. Bacon, *The Life of Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, Admiral of the Fleet* (Garden City, NY, 1929), Vol. I, pp.120-2; Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 416; Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World Without War: The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892-1914* (Princeton, 1975), pp. 218-31.
- 284) *Obsolete ships that "could neither fight nor run away" ...*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 369.
- 284) *"Fossils," "old ones," "mandarins," "duffers," and following*: *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 66; Vol. I, pp. 266, 292, 295, 298, 269, 301, 278.
- 284) *Fisher had essentially placed both fleets on an equal footing*: Kelly, *Tirpitz*, op. cit., pp. 257, 262.
- 285) *"The 'Dreadnought' automatically made more British ships obsolete than those of any other nation"*: Stephen King-Hall, *My Naval Life 1906-1929* (London, 1952), p. 46.
- 285) *He began looking to establish a relative parity of dreadnought-type ships ..., and following*: Paul G. Halpern, *A Naval History of World War I* (Annapolis, 1994), pp. 4, 22.
- 285) *"Burn and destroy," and following*: Paul G. Halpern, "John Fisher," *DNB*, Vol. 19, pp.

695-702.

- 285) *The soul of journalism, after all, was “repetition”*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 269.
- 285) “*Jacky was never satisfied with anything but Full Speed*”: Massie, *Dreadnought*, p. 428.
- 285) *A favorite Fisher aphorism, “Armour is vision”*: Gardiner, *Pillars of Society*, op. cit., p. 54.
- 286) “*Eighteen miles of warships running at high speed*”: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 115.
- 286) “*We believed the fleet by itself constituted sea power*”: Vice Admiral Wolfgang Wegener, *The Naval Strategy of the World War*, trans. H. H. Herwig (Annapolis, 1989), p. 113.
- 286) *Very little physical space for crew’s quarters on German battleships – the men would not have to travel far to fight the British ...* : Marder, *Anatomy of British Sea Power*, op. cit., p. 464.
- 286) *Heligoland heavily fortified*: See a short movie clip, “Disarmament of Heliogland Fortress after World War I,” [www.criticalpast.com](http://www.criticalpast.com), which shows the impressive array of 12-inch guns embedded in the high cliffs facing seaward.
- 286) “*What will [we] do if they do not come?*”: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., p. 23; see also Kelly, *Tirpitz*, op. cit., pp. 366, 447.
- 286) “*Close*” *blockade of the North Sea German coast*: Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 314.
- 287) *Asquith was appalled at these “puerile” suggestions, and following*: Ernest R. May, “Cabinet, Tsar, Kaiser,” in Ernest R. May, ed., *Knowing One’s Enemies: Intelligence Assessment Before the Two World Wars* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 14-15. See also Massie, *Dreadnought*, op. cit., pp. 744-9.
- 287) *The “bow and arrow party”*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 299.
- 287) *The thought of a far distant naval base in China gave von Schlieffen nightmares*: Holgar H. Herwig, “Imperial Germany,” in E. May, ed., *Knowing One’s Enemies*, op. cit., p. 82 (ftn. 51).
- 287) *The strategic theories of Tirpitz considered by some as only so much “cant”*: Wegener, *Naval Strategy*, op. cit., p. 82.
- 287) *Imperial fleet tactically able to inflict only “pinpricks”*: Wegener, *Naval Strategy*, op. cit., p. 85 (ftn. 13).
- 288) “*... by impeachment of our Trades*”: Arthur J. Marder, “The Influence of History on Sea

- Power: The Royal Navy and the Lessons of 1914-1918,” in *From Dardanelles to Oran: Studies of the Royal Navy in War and Peace 1915-1940* (London, 1974), p. 4.
- 288) “England found herself in a brilliant strategic position,” and following : Wegener, *Naval Strategy*, op. cit., pp. 14, 15, 82, 85, 92, 89; Daniel A. Butler, *Distant Victory: The Battle of Jutland and the Allied Triumph in the First World War* (Westport, CT, 2006), p. 21.
- 288) “One of the best five brains in the navy”: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 330.
- 288) In 1907 Fisher had predicted the date of “Der Tag,” September of 1914: *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 418.
- 289) Jellicoe replaces Callaghan: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 408, 445; Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly, *Pull Together! Memoirs* (London, 1939), pp. 161-2; John Keegan, “Jutland,” in R. Crowley, ed., *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York, 2003), p. 155.
- 290) Jellicoe a “glorified gunnery lieutenant”: Andrew Lambert, “John Jellicoe,” *DNB*, Vol. 29, p. 926.
- 291) *The Battle of the Bight*: Eric W. Osborne, *The Battle of Heligoland Bight* (Bloomington, 2006), p. 107; King-Hall, *My Naval Life*, op. cit., pp. 105, 103; Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 119; Robert K. Massie, *Castles of Steel: Britain, Germany, and the Winning of the Great War at Sea* (New York, 2003), p. 115.
- 292) *The imperial fleet “muzzled”*: Alfred von Tirpitz, *My Memoirs* (New York, 1919), Vol. II, p. 93.
- 292) “In the beginning, [Tirpitz] thought them toys”: Kelly, *Tirpitz*, op. cit., p. 356.
- 292) *One Confederate boat sunk the USS Housatonic, and following*: Tom Chaffin, *The “H. L. Hunley”*: *The Secret Hope of the Confederacy* (New York, 2008).
- 292) “I am not interested in a contest between armed mobs”: John Wheeler-Bennett, *Hindenburg: The Wooden Titan* (New York, 1936), p. 87.
- 292) *John Holland*: Ronald M. Birse, “John Holland,” *DNB*, Vol. 27, p. 682.
- 293) *By the time Germany launched a working model, Turkey and even Portugal already were at sea with versions of their own*: Edwyn Grey, *The Killing Time: The U-Boat War 1914-1918* (London, 1972), p. 24.
- 293) *The shells they lobbed over the sea could weigh nearly a ton, and following*: Massie, *Dreadnought*, op. cit., p. 784; Wegener, *Naval Strategy*, op. cit., 90-1 (fn. 22); Arthur J. Marder, *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era, 1904-1919* (London, 1961-1970), Vol. I, pp. 268-71.
- 293) *German U-boats at the beginning of the war*: These specifications describe five boats

then in service, *U-23* through *U-26*, built by *Germania Werft*, a Krupp ship yard in Kiel. V. E. Tarrant, *The U-Boat Offensive 1914-1945* (London, 1989), p. 170.

- 294) “*It will be months before the North Sea is safe for yachting*”: Marder, *Dreadnought to Scapa Flow*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 72.
- 295) *Eastman Kodak’s Brownie camera, in untold numbers, recorded the sinking of the “Audacious”*: Massie, *Castles of Steel*, op. cit., p. 143.
- 295) *The royal navy had “more men lost than by Lord Nelson in all his battles put together”*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 112-13.
- 296) *Scheer saw in the “Unterseeboote” the potential for “a very effective long-range weapon”*: Ibid., p. 11.
- 295) *Great Britain enjoyed an enormous superiority in commercial tonnage, nearly fifty percent of everything that floated*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., p. 8; John Terraine, *The U-Boat Wars, 1916-1945* (New York, 1989), p. 62.
- 296) *The “retribution principle”*: Admiral Reinhard Scheer, *Germany’s High Sea Fleet in the World War* (London, 1920), pp. 218-22; Michael L. Hadley, Roger Sarty, *Tin-Pots & Pirate Ships: Canadian Naval Forces & German Sea Raiders 1880-1918* (Montreal, 1991), p. 132.
- 296) *U-boats could do only one thing: destroy their targets, and following*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., pp. 292, 302.
- 297) *Lusitania allegedly carrying munitions*: The second explosion has provoked considerable controversy among historians. The notion that it was caused by artillery shells or other munitions, illegal cargo to be sure, was deliberately circulated by German apologists, one manifestation of which was a poster printed by the government with the headline “*Explositania*” prominently displayed. Current analysis seems to suggest that while the *Lusitania* was certainly carrying several tons of rifle ammunition, that sort of cargo would not likely, under the circumstances, ignite to create an explosive charge. The U-boat captain questioned in his boat’s log the opinion that the fatal blast was possibly caused by one of three factors, “boiler or coal or powder?” By “boiler” he meant the interaction of frigid sea water with super-hot pipes or the boiler itself; by “coal” he meant coal dust, extremely volatile under certain circumstances; and by “powder,” illegally shipped munitions. Judgments today seem to suggest “boiler” as the culprit. See Willi Jasper, *Lusitania: The Cultural History of a Catastrophe*, trans. S. Spencer (New York, 2016), pp. 126-7, and plate 23; Erik Larson, *Dead Wake: The Last Crossing of the Lusitania* (New York, 2015), pp. 182-3, 325-6.
- 297) “*Packs*” of ships searching the North Seas waters were universal failures: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., p. 366-7; Terraine, *U-Boat Wars*, op. cit., pp. 69, 99.
- 297) *Grand fleet, sitting in “cold storage”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 111.



- 297) *"A silly question deserves a silly answer"*: Massie, *Castles of Steel*, op. cit., p. 520.
- 298) *In three months 977 ships were sunk, representing almost two million tons*: Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., p. 47.
- 298) *Approaches to southern England became "veritable death traps"*: Beaverbrook, *Men and Power*, op. cit., p. 170.
- 298) *"We have lost command of the sea"*: See Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 221, 229-30, 240-1.
- 298) *"Can the army win the war before the navy loses it?"*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, Vol. III, pp. 451, 454.
- 298) *Almost two million tons of shipping sunk from February through April, 1917*: Massie, *Dreadnought*, op. cit., p. 715.
- 298) *Two hundred and twenty submarines would be required to impose a real death rattle*: Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., p. 16.
- 298) *"Believe me gentlemen, you will not scratch the whale's skin ..."*: Kelly, *Tirpitz*, op. cit., p. 403.
- 298) *"Une demi paix"*: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 280.
- 299) *Scheer did not desire "a decisive battle being forced upon us by the enemy"*: Scheer, *Germany's High Sea Fleet*, op. cit., p. 97.
- 299) *The whole point of the grand fleet's existence was "to achieve victory"*: Admiral Viscount of Scapa Jellicoe, *The Grand Fleet 1914-16: Its Creation, Development and Work* (London, 1919), pp. 12-13.
- 299) *"When you are winning, risk nothing"*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., p. 331.
- 299) *"The British Empire ceases if our Grand Fleet ceases"*: Fisher, *Correspondence*, op. cit., Vol. III, p.148.
- 299) *"The English thought that they controlled the sea ..."*: Ambassador Page to President Wilson, Hendrick, *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 281.
- 300) *The Germans were sailing "in the dark"*: Vice-Admiral K. G. B. Dewar, *The Navy from Within* (London, 1939), p. 271.
- 300) *Battle took place about seventy miles off the Danish coast, and following*: Andrew Gordon, *The Rules of the Game: Jutland and British Naval Command* (London, 1996), p. 1.

- 300) “*Monsters, following in each other’s wake ...*,” and following: King-Hall, *My Naval Life*, op. cit., pp. 105, 119.
- 300) “*There is something wrong with our bloody ships today*”: Ranft, *Beatty Papers*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 315.
- 300) *The “Run to the South,” and following*: Rear-Admiral W. S. Chalmers, *The Life and Letters of David, Earl Beatty* (London, 1951), pp. 220, 240.
- 300) “*Something lurks in that soup ...*”: Kelly, *Tirpitz*, op. cit., p. 413.
- 301) *Haig disparaged Jellicoe*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 186.
- 301) *Victory or defeat was decided in a mere thirty seconds*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., pp. 315, 325-6.
- 301) “*I wish someone would tell me who is firing ...*”: Barnett, *Sword Bearers*, op. cit., p. 140.
- 301) “*The difficulty of ascertaining at the time what was going on was just immense*”: A. Temple Patterson, ed., *The Jellicoe Papers: Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Earl Jellicoe of Scapa, Vol. I, 1893-1916* (London, 1966), p. 276.
- 301) “*Hoist equal-speed pendant south-east ...*”: Barnett, *Sword Bearers*, op. cit., pp. 150-4.
- 302) *Scheer found himself in “a very nasty hole”*: Etienne, *A Naval Lieutenant 1914-1918* (London, 1919), p. 163.
- 302) “*One of the saddest days of my life*”: Ranft, *Beatty Papers*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 434.
- 303) “*Locate and report,*” and following: *Ibid.*, p. 370.
- 303) *The Weekly Despatch*: Patterson, *Jellicoe Papers*, op. cit., p. 273-4 (ftn.).
- 303) “*Don’t believe the bloody papers ...*”: Ranft, *Beatty Papers*, op. cit., p. 360.
- 303) *Jutland losses*: Eugene L. Rasor, *The Battle of Jutland: A Bibliography* (New York, 1992), pp. 31-2.
- 304) “*The German fleet had assaulted the jailer and was [now] back in jail*”: Geoffrey Bennett, *The Battle of Jutland* (London, 1964), p. 161.
- 304) *The imperial fleet had been “put on ice”*: Wegener, *Naval Strategy*, op. cit., p. 61.
- 304) “*Our navy is just beginning its course of instruction ...*”: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 285.
- 304) “*U-boat warfare is the last card*”: Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., p. 45.

- 305) *Some antisubmarine measures were comical*: Massie, *Castles of Steel*, op. cit., p. 524.
- 305) *Depth charges*: Dwight R. Messimer, *Find and Destroy: Antisubmarine Warfare in World War I* (Annapolis, 2001), p. 77.
- 305) *Jellicoe thought a negotiated peace treaty might not be such the bad idea*: Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., pp. 39-40.
- 305) *Fisher had predicted this decision before the war even started*: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 419.
- 306) *"It looks as though the Germans are winning the war" ...* : William Sowden Sims, Burton J. Hendrick, *The Victory at Sea* (New York, 1920), pp. 340-1.
- 307) *"We are sitting on top of a volcano ..."*: Marder, *Dreadnought to Scapa Flow*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 99,
- 307) *HMS Victoria disaster*: Jean Hood, *Come Hell and High Water: Extraordinary Stories of Wreck, Terror and Triumph on the Sea* (Short Hills, NJ, 2006), pp. 208-28.
- 308) *Admirals generally went down with their ships*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 423; Vol. VI, p. 346.
- 308) *Jellicoe and his staff wrote memos in opposition, and following*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., pp. 353-4 (Terraine adds, "Nothing was harder to shift than the belief that convoys represented magnificent targets," *U-Boat Wars*, op. cit., p. 55); Massie, *Castles of Steel*, op. cit., p. 728; Messimer, *Find and Destroy*, op. cit., p. 153.
- 309) *"Confidence of our mercantile marine in the Admiralty has been frittered away ..."*: Beaverbrook, *Politicians and War*, op. cit., p. 170.
- 309) *Jellicoe was slow and resentful in his response, and following*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., p. 366; Admiral of the Fleet Viscount Jellicoe, *The Crisis of the Naval War* (London, 1920), p. 115.
- 309) *"What was it about convoys that discomforted submariners?"*: Halpern, *Naval History*, op. cit., p. 364.
- 309) *Improved depth charges*: Messimer, *Find and Destroy*, op. cit., pp. 160-1; Terraine, *U-Boat Wars*, op. cit., p.27.
- 310) *Approaches to the British Isles*: Massie, *Castles of Steel*, op. cit., p. 715.
- 310) *"The oceans at once became bare and empty"*: Doenitz, *Grand Admiral Karl Ten Years and Twenty Days*, trans. R. H. Stevens (Annapolis, 1990), p. 4.
- 310) *Early convoy results*: Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., p. 52.

- 310) *Geddes* “very cheerful about submarines,” and following: Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 504; Marder, *Dreadnought to Scapa Flow*, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 256-7, 279, 279.
- 311) *By war’s end, only five percent of royal naval vessels were engaged in convoy protection, and following:* Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., p. 66; Hart, *The Real War*, op. cit., p. 472.
- 311) *U-155:* Edwyn Gray, *The Killing Time: The U-Boat War 1914-1918* (London, 1972), p. 227.
- 310) *U-boat statistics:* Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., pp. 53, 59; Halpern, *Naval War*, op. cit., pp. 365, 338, 365, 423; Terraine, *U-Boat Wars*, op. cit., pp. 131, 119; Marder *Dreadnought to Scapa Flow*, op. cit., p. 279.
- 311) “*Blockade, the dreadful weapon of our sea power ...*”: Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 579.
- 312) “*The whole sea is a powder barrel ...*”: Edgar Freiherr von Spiegel, *The Adventures of the U-202* (New York, 1917), p. 34.
- 312) *Bergen narrative:* K. Neureuther, C. Bergen, *U-Boat Stories: Narratives of German U-Boat Sailors*, trans. E. Sutton (London, 1931), pp. 169, 102.
- 313) *Submarines are “steel cigars”:* King-Hall, *My Naval Life*, op. cit., p. 153.
- 313) “*Smoking eels,*” and following: Neureuther, Bergen, *U-Boat Stories*, op. cit., pp. 5, 65, 99, 148, 127-9, 192, 166, 66, 147, 51, 85, 2.
- 315) *Ships go down with “a death gurgle”:* Spiegel, *U-202*, op. cit., p. 74.
- 315) *U-boats would cast off alone “under orders for the next world,” and following:* Neureuther, Bergen, *U-Boat Stories*, op. cit., pp. 158, 3.
- 316) “*A bunch of murderers,*” and following: Spiegel, *U-202*, op. cit., pp. 160, 74, 104.
- 316) *The drag of a mooring cable running the entire length of the boat, and following:* Neureuther, Bergen, *U-Boat Stories*, op. cit., pp. 166, 55, 83, 161.
- 316) *Doenitz and UB-68 sunk:* Doenitz, *Ten Years*, op. cit., pp. 2-4.
- 316) “*A wolf in a flock of sheep*”: Spiegel, *U-202*, op. cit., p. 68.
- 317) “*Two tremendous detonations followed,*” and following: Neureuther, Bergen, *U-Boat Stories*, op. cit., pp. 168, 116, v.
- 317) “*We were utterly convinced we would win the war,*” and following: *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 56, 171 (ftn.).

- 317) *We “have been doing all the navy’s work ...”*: U. S. Navy, *German Submarine Activities*, op. cit., p. 114.
- 318) *“We weren’t the ones who had lost the war ...”*: Michael L. Hadley, *Count Not the Dead: The Popular Image of the German Submarine* (Montreal & Kingston, 1995), p. 54.
- 318) *“A sorry prize”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 293.
- 318) *“That ass Wilson ...,”* and following: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 306; Vol. II, pp. 134, 136-7.
- 319) *Kiel mutiny*: Hadley, *Count Not the Dead*, op. cit., pp. 53-4; Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., p. 146. See also Daniel Horn, *The German Naval Mutinies of World War I* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969).
- 319) *Final U-boat statistics*: Terraine, *U-Boat Wars*, op. cit., pp. 141-2, 149, 150; Tarrant, *U-Boat Offensive*, op. cit., pp. 148-9.
- 319) *Surrendered U-boats looted* : King Hall, *My Naval Life*, op. cit., pp. 161-2.

## 12) ‘Halifax Wrecked’

- page 322) *Halifax Harbor busy and congested*: John Griffith Armstrong, *The Halifax Explosion and the Royal Canadian Navy: Inquiry and Intrigue* (Vancouver, BC, 2002), pp. 15, 10.
- 322) *The “Olympic”*: Blair Beed, *1917 Halifax Explosion and American Response* (Halifax, NS, 2002), p. iv.
- 322) *56,000 Canadian boys died in World War I*: Robert Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada* (Toronto, 2006), p. 300.
- 324) *“Boys, there’s going to be a head-on here”*: Laura M. MacDonald, *Curse of the Narrows* (New York, 2005), p. 39.
- 324) *“The greatest man-made explosion before Hiroshima”*: Michael J. Bird, *The Town that Died: The true story of the greatest man-made explosion before Hiroshima* (Halifax, NS: 1995), title page.
- 325) *“Everybody out! Run like hell!”* and *“Stop trains ...”*: Ibid., pp. 61, 62.
- 325) *Everything on board “was engineered to blow up,”* and *sequence of events*: MacDonald, *Curse*, op. cit., pp. 61, 63-8.
- 325) *Two hundred people sucked to their deaths by tsunami*: Samuel Henry Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change: Based Upon A Sociological Study Of The Halifax Disaster* (New York, 1920), pp. 28-9.

- 326) *A steeplejack, Karl Norgan Pettersen, an immigrant from Norway ...*: Personal communication, direct descendant of Karl Pettersen, Porter's Lake, NS, July 14, 2011.
- 326) *Smoke plume 12,000 feet high*: Bird, *Town that Died*, op. cit., p. 10; MacDonald, *Curse*, op. cit., p. 70.
- 326) *Enormity of explosion most apparent to Canadian veterans*: Prince, *Catastrophe*, op. cit., p. 27.
- 326) *Force of the Halifax explosion*: While entries posted on *Wikipedia* have often been found wanting in academia, the quality of many have improved dramatically over the past decade. A perfectly acceptable layman's explanation for calculating the relative strength of various historical explosions can be found in an article entitled "TNT Equivalent."
- 327) *Deaths and damages*: MacDonald, *ibid.*, p. 222; Reed, *1917 Halifax Explosion*, op. cit., p. 16; Prince, *Catastrophe*, op. cit., p. 26.
- 327) *Prices on the New York Stock Exchange fall* : MacDonald, op. cit., p. 142; "Stock Market," *The Boston Globe*, Dec. 7, p. 13. See also Dec. 8, p. 7: "Halifax disaster had a psychological effect upon the market, and nothing cheerful could be summoned to depress the gloom;" and "Financial district is blue and depressed ... Prices are regarded by many as being at rock bottom," Dec. 9, p. 50.
- 327) "Understand that your city in danger ...": MacDonald, *ibid.*, pp.104-105.
- 327) *Richmond "looked like some blackened hillside ..."*: Prince, *Catastrophe*, op. cit., p. 29.
- 327) *6,000 eye injuries alone*: MacDonald, *Curse*, op. cit., p. 234.
- 327) *Annie Walsh*: Kristen Lipscombe, "Thinking of Dec. 6, 1917: Halifax Explosion survivor commemorates horrific event," *Halifax Herald*, December 7, 2004. Ms. Walsh was claimed by relatives and lived her long life in the reconstructed North End. She died in 2010.
- 327) *On Day 6 of the search and rescue effort, the last surviving Haligonian was found in the rubble ...*: Reed, *1917 Halifax Explosion*, op. cit., p. 16.
- 328) *Supply trains and rumors of Micmacs looting*: MacDonald, *Curse*, op. cit., pp. 207, 219.
- 328) *Many current Haligonians have never heard of Richmond*: *Ibid.*, p. 276.
- 328) *Oral recollections, assiduously collected*: A representative collection can be found on the internet resource [www.halifaxexplosion.org](http://www.halifaxexplosion.org).

### 13) Von Richthofen – The Last Knight?

- page 330) "*Le diable rouge*": Rittmeister Manfred Freiherrn von Richthofen, *The Red Air Fighter* (London, 1918), p. 103.
- 330) *German attitude towards tanks*: Terraine, *To Win A War: 1918, The Year of Victory* (Garden City, NY, 1981), pp 23-4.
- 330) "*One can hear every shot ...*": Peter Kilduff, *Beyond the Legend of the Red Baron* (London, 1993), p. 115.
- 331) *Machine gun lanyard and "deflector wedge"*: Leon Bennett, *Fall of the Red Baron: World War I Aerial Tactics and the Death of von Richthofen* (Solihull, UK, 2011), pp. 80, 56-7.
- 331) *Jagdstaffel, or "hunters"*: William E. Burrows, *Richthofen: A True History of the Red Baron* (New York, 1969), p. 80.
- 331) *Observation planes became highly vulnerable, and assoc. endnote regarding T. E. Lawrence's brother (#1, p. 634)*: A. R. Weyl, *Fokker: The Creative Years* (London, 1965), p. 219; Scott Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York, 2013), p. 148.
- 331) *Boelcke's word was "gospel," and following*: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., pp. 75, 76.
- 332) *Elaborate funerals "like that of a reigning prince"*: Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 56.
- 333) "*Victory would belong to him who was calmest ...*," and following: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., pp. 98, 23, 25.
- 333) *Richthofen's disdain for fancy maneuvers*: Bennett, *Fall of the Red Baron*, op. cit., p. 107.
- 333) *Flashy French pilots reminded him of bottled lemonade*: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 89.
- 334) "*Hunting fever*": Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 7.
- 334) "*He must fall,*" and following: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., pp. 76, 106, 99, 79, 127.
- 334) *Inscription "Du notch night!!!"*: Ernst Udet, *Ace of the Iron Cross*, trans. R. K. Stein (Garden City, NY, 1970), photo caption # 14, following p. 78. The phrase can also be read as "Definitely Not You."
- 334) *Painting his aircraft red indicated "a certain insolence ..."* and following: Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p.69; Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 91.

- 334) *His “bag of machines,” and following*: Ibid., pp. 78, 103.
- 335) *Udet had one memento sprayed with a pilot’s blood*: Udet, *Ace*, op. cit., p. 58.
- 335) *Richthofen lectured airplane manufacturers on the deficiencies of their designs*: Weyl, *Fokker*, op. cit., pp. 222-3.
- 335) *“It does not matter to me that [enemy aircraft] are shot down in my [sector] ...,” and following* : Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., pp. 137, 33; Bennett, *Fall of the Red Baron*, op. cit., p. 171.
- 335) *All he liked to do was “fly and shoot pigs”*: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 62.
- 335) *According to Udet, von Richthofen “was the least complicated man I ever knew”*: Udet, *Ace*, op. cit., p. 72.
- 335) *“I no longer know any mercy”*: Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 100.
- 335) *The Albatross fighter plane*: W. M. Lamberton, ed., *Fighter Aircraft of the 1914-1918 War* (Letchworth, UK, 1960), pp. 108-14; Bennett, *Fall of the Red Baron*, op. cit., p. 83-4, 127-37; Burrows, *Richthofen*, op. cit., pp. 85-6 (ftn).
- 336) *Lunch at midday (on occasion, oysters and champagne)*: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 95.
- 336) *The “V” formation*: Udet, *Ace*, op. cit., p. 51; Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 116.
- 336) *In one of his kills, he closed to within thirty feet of his victim*: Bennett, *Fall of the Red Baron*, op. cit., p. 107.
- 336) *Richthofen generally contemptuous of what he considered “very pretty fireworks,” and following*: Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 90; Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 105.
- 336) *Richthofen was a bird of prey “who picked off lame ducks”*: Bennett, *Fall of the Red Baron*, op. cit., p. 18.
- 336) *The Hawker fight*: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., pp. 113, 84; Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 167.
- 337) *The true indication of Richthofen’s skill can found in his body of work and the techniques he used (as gleaned by his instructions to newcomers ...”*: See especially “How Do I Train Beginners,” Kilduff, *ibid.*, pp. 236-8.
- 338) *“My former excitement had gone,” and following*: Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., pp. 91, 132-3.



- 338) *Manufacturing statistics, Fokker Dr. I and Sopwith Camels*: Leon Bennett, *Three Wings for the Red Baron: Von Richthofen, Strategy, Tactics, and Airplanes* (Shippensburg, PA, 2000), p. 214; J. M. Bruce, "Sopwith Camel: Historic Military Aircraft No. 10, Part II," *Flight International*, Vol. 67, No. 2414, April 29, 1955, p. 563 ("Production and Allocation"). Fully equipped, a Camel cost nearly £1,000 which, according to *Measuring Worth* (Internet resource) would be the equivalent in 2014 of approximately £41,000, or \$67,000.
- 338) "*Glück muss man haben*": Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 35.
- 339) "*All I could do was try to dodge my attacker ...*": Ibid., 203. This statement by May was made in a letter from 1950. Kilduff asserts that May's many statements over the years sometimes contradicted remarks he had previously made (see p. 207, fn. 44).
- 339) "*Green*" British pilots were "*easy meat*": Richard Townshend Bickers, *Von Richthofen: The Legend Evaluated* (Annapolis, 1996), p. 163.
- 339) *Brown lived on milk and brandy, and following*: Letter of fellow pilot Raymond Collishaw, *Canadian Aces* (Internet resource).
- 339) "*Here comes number eighty-one*": Richthofen, *Red Air Fighter*, op. cit., p. 99.
- 339) Richthofen "*very close on my tail ...*": Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 203.
- 340) *Brown ended up with the Fokker's pilot seat*: "Housing for the Red Baron's Seat," *Toronto in Time: Tales of the City, Told in Words and Images* (Internet resource).
- 340) "*It is a terrible thing ...*": "Arthur Roy Brown: World War I Fighter Ace," *Canadian Aces* (Internet resource).
- 340) *To be shot down by ground fire was not considered a "beautiful death"*: Kilduff, *Richthofen*, op. cit., p. 210.
- 340) *Udet insulted in Berlin, and suicide*: Udet, *Ace*, op. cit., p. 91; Irvine, Göring, op. cit., pp. 335-6.

#### **14) St. Petersburg ... then Petrograd ... then Leninburg**

- page 342) "*Cosmopolitan in its leanings ...*": Grand Duke Alexander of Russia, *Once a Grand Duke* (New York, 1932), p. 244.
- 343) *Peter called the place "paradise"*: Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great: His Life and World* (New York, 1980), p. 365.
- 343) *Latitudinally, the place was the equivalent of Hudson's Bay in the wilds of Canada*: Ibid.,

p. 355.

- 344) “*The Slav soul is a dark forest*”: Maurice Paléologue, *An Ambassador's Memoirs*, trans. F. A. Holt (New York, 1972), Vol. II, p. 106.
- 344) *Many official office holders identified by German phraseology*: Grand Marshall of the court was called *Oberhofmarchall*, Master of the Hunt was *Jägermeister*, an aide-de-camp, *flügeladjutant*, and so on. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 121-2.
- 344) *Nothing was worse than the “mediocre intelligence of a Baltic German”*: Count Witte, *Memoirs*, ed. and trans. A. Yarmolinsky (New York, 1921), p.136.
- 344) “*You repudiate Moscow ...*,” and following: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 27-8; Vol. III, p. 188.
- 344) “*Many of the visitors looked upon him as a great saint ...*”: Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. C. Garnett (New York, 1963), p. 157.
- 345) “*The Club*”: Andrei Maylunas, Sergei Mironenko, eds., *A Lifelong Passion: Nicholas and Alexandra, Their Own Story* (New York, 1997), p. 307.
- 345) “*You see those two branches? In the night it is Christ holding out His arms to me ...*”: Dostoyevsky, *Brothers Karamazov*, op. cit., p. 160.
- 345) “*Haggard and ragged*” saints, and following: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 102.
- 346) “*Gregory has turned a pilgrim out of laziness,*” and following: Colin Wilson, *Rasputin and The Fall of the Romanovs* (New York, 1964), p. 33; Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 102.
- 347) *Rasputin's eyes green “like a viper”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 500.
- 347) “*It is impossible to understand Russian history if one judges Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great – or even Stalin – as if they were Englishmen*”: Wilson, *Rasputin*, op. cit., p. 17.
- 348) *Militsa Nikolaevna a “superstitious, gullible, excitable” woman*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 329.
- 348) *Rasputin was one of many “remarkable men [that] they dragged to the imperial palace”*: *Ibid.*, p. 329.
- 348) *Maître Philippe*: For a jaundiced view, see Witte, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 199-206.
- 349) “*He wanted to be alone. Alone with his conscience*”: Mossolov, *At the Court of the Last Tsar*, op. cit., p. 13.

- 349) *His uncles often treated Nicholas with “well-rehearsed bellowing,” and following:* Ibid., p. 173.
- 350) *Nicholas did not even have a private secretary:* Mossolov, *At the Court of the Last Tsar*, op. cit., p. 12.
- 350) *Long work days often left him “worn out, subdued, disillusioned,” and following:* Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 173; Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 282.
- 350) *“I forget who it was said of Caesar that he had ‘all the vices and not one fault’ ...”:* Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 106.
- 351) *“I would give my life a thousand times, not just once ...,”:* Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 269.
- 351) *25,000 Muscovites lost their jobs in now-defunct Jewish businesses:* Christopher Warwick, *Ella: Princess, Saint and Martyr* (Hoboken, NJ, 2006), p. 165.
- 352) *Sergei treated Ella “as if she were a child ...”:* Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 264
- 352) *Kalyaev had spent weeks “stalking the grand duke like a shadow ...,” and following:* Ibid., pp. 257, 270, 276, 399, 492, 400, 240.
- 354) *Queen Victoria insisted that her dead consort's bed be turned down every evening ...:* Brian Moynahan, *Rasputin: The Saint Who Sinned* (New York, 1997), p. 59.
- 355) *Victoria felt the future of the Russian throne was unsteady:* Ibid., p. 61.
- 355) *Alexandra spent her honeymoon “attending two masses a day and receiving visits of condolence,” and following:* Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 169.
- 356) *Her pride prevented her from “letting others see the knife digging into” her back:* Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 249.
- 356) *The gap between the royal couple and those who should have been their staunchest allies – intelligentsia and the aristocracy – was thus further exacerbated. “Intellectuals?”, Nicholas was heard to say, “How I detest that word”:* Witte, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 190.
- 357) *“How I wish I could pour my will into your veins”:* Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 490.
- 357) *“Life lost all meaning for the imperial parents ...”:* Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 183.

- 357) “*God’s fool ...*,” and following: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., pp. 329, 238.
- 358) *The tsar referred to the Japanese as “monkeys,” and following*: see Witte, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 189; Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 212.
- 358) *Tsushima, the last time in the history of naval warfare that an actual capitulation on the high seas would take place*: Dennis E. Showalter, “Mass Warfare and the Impact of Technology,” Chickering, Förster, *Great War, Total War*, op. cit., p. 77. Showalter explains why surrender on the high seas was now obsolete: Modern technology (especially the long distances from which ships could batter each other) generally meant they fought to the death.
- 358) “*The word ‘surrender’ tortures me ...*”: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 251.
- 358) *A war initially thought to require 400,000 troops with 100,000 horses ...*: Bucholz, *Prussian War Planning*, op. cit., p. 250.
- 358) “*How far away is the front? ...*”: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 218.
- 358) “*When a sewer has to be cleaned, they send for Witte*”: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 53.
- 358) *Nicholas a man of “intellectual and moral weakness”*: Witte, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 189.
- 358) *France, Germany, Great Britain, even Russia ... these were the countries advancing the borders of civilization, usually by force ...*: Taylor *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, op. cit., pp. 32-3.
- 359) “*Bloody Sunday*” called “*butcher’s work*”: “Day of Terror in Czar’s Capital,” *New York Times*, January 23, 1905.
- 359) *The tsar “viewed the internal tumult indifferently ...*”: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 49-50.
- 359) *Nicholas understood his peoples’ “dense ignorance”*: Anna Vyubova, *Memories of the Russian Court* (New York, 1923), p. 26.
- 360) “*We all wore our full-dress uniforms ...*”: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 226.
- 360) “*All this frightens me greatly ...*”: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 130, 131.
- 360) *First Duma too full of “talkative professors”*: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 189.

- 360) *The October Manifesto, and everything that came in its wake, was merely “a police whip wrapped in the parchment of a constitution”*: Trotsky, 1905, op. cit., p.117.
- 360) *Dealing with the Duma “was like drowning or getting stuck in a bog,” and following*: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 304, 184, 172.
- 360) *“Stolypin’s necktie,” and following*: Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia* (New York, 1963), p. 459; Witte, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 371, 327.
- 361) *Nabokov “asked a coachman if he had any sympathy for revolution ...”*: Constantine Nabokov, *Letters of a Russian Diplomat to an American Friend*, eds. J. F. Melby, W. W. Straka (Lewiston, NY, 1988), p. 133.
- 361) *“The boy would be fine, send away the doctors ...,” and following*: Vyubova, *Memories*, pp. 94, 170.
- 362) *“He ran his pale eyes over me ...”*: M. V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin: An Empire’s Collapse*, trans. C. Zvegintzoff (Gulf Breeze, FL, 1973), p. 24.
- 362) *“Annushka, look at me ...”*: Ibid., p. 162.
- 362) *“If you could see their lives now, even if they are tsars, you wouldn’t want to live like that ...”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 456.
- 362) *How Rasputin did it we will never know*: “I do not doubt his utter sincerity. He would not have such a fascination for people if he was not convinced himself of his extraordinary gifts. His confidence in his mystical power is the main element in his personal ascendancy.” Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 92.
- 362) *Rasputin gave Alexandra “hope, as a drowning man seizes an outstretched hand”*: Pierre Gilliard, *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court: A Personal Record of the Last Years and Death of the Czar Nicholas II and His Family*, trans. F. A. Holt (New York, 1922), p. 52.
- 362) *“He always senses when I need him”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 352.
- 362) *Kokovtsov found “the peculiar, mystic nature of this woman” unsettling*: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 282.
- 363) *“Revolted comments” alleged tsarina was sleeping with Rasputin*: Ibid., p. 290.
- 363) *Caesar’s wife must be above suspicion*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 486.
- 363) *“Only quite lately I was still thinking that Russia hated me ...”*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 158.

- 363) *Crowds attracted only by a “shallow curiosity”*: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 361.
- 363) *“This disgusting libertine,” and following*: Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin*, op. cit., pp. 9, 30, 76-7.
- 364) *Rasputin’s influence “recalls the 10<sup>th</sup> century rather than the twentieth”*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 256.
- 364) *“You do not seem to trust your friends anymore, Nicky ...”*: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 275.
- 364) *Russian soldiers were instructed to scavenge what weapons they could from dead comrades on the field*: Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, op. cit., p. 464.
- 365) *Knox felt the average soldier, though “sound at heart,” was fatally “tired”*: Knox, *With the Russian Army*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 552, 551.
- 365) *“The grand duke did not possess sufficient energy”*: Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin*, op. cit., p.130.
- 365) *The Napoleonic “campaign was very short ...”*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 109.
- 366) *Rodzianko considered the idea “insane”*: Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin*, op. cit., p. 149.
- 367) *The young tsarevich “was the center of this united family ...”*: Gilliard, *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court*, op. cit., p. 72.
- 367) *“It’s either me or Rasputin ...”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 351.
- 367) *“The Emperor and Empress gave her a very frigid reception ...”*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 159.
- 367) *“She entered the room trembling and in tears ...”*: Prince Felix Youssouppoff (Yusupov), *Lost Splendor*, trans. A. Green, N. Katkoff (New York, 1954), p.194.
- 367) *“I allow no one to give me advice”*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 164.
- 367) *The Winter Palace “a place of depressing magnitude ...”*: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 201.
- 368) *“You know what I thought of Rasputin ...,” and following*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 169, 119.
- 369) *Essence of orthodox religious teaching “a sealed book to her”*: Witte, *Memoirs*, op. cit.,

- p. 197. See also Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 531.
- 369) *Rasputin, "my only friend"*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 134.
- 370) *Rasputin, while not apolitical by any means, had no genuine motivations other than a loyalty to the Romanovs*: See Rodzianko, *Reign of Rasputin*, op. cit., pp. 238-9.
- 370) *The "German woman ...," and following*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 121, 139-40, 157; Vol. II, p. 265, 314; Vol. III, p. 114. Rodzianko recorded a conversation with Grand Duchess Marie Pavlovna where she insisted that the tsarina must be "eliminated," *Reign of Rasputin*, op. cit., pp. 246-7.
- 372) *"I'm going to kill him like a dog"*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 486.
- 372) *Yusupov liked to boast that his family sent their dirty laundry to Paris to be washed: Youssouppoff, Lost Splendor*, op. cit., p. 57.
- 372) *"Heavens! What a kiss, boy ..."*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 143.
- 372) *"What had become of his second sight?"*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 496.
- 373) *"I couldn't believe my eyes"*: Moynahan, *Rasputin*, op. cit., p. 337.
- 374) *Yusupov had to shoot "one of my best dogs" later that night*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 505.
- 374) *One of the more lurid rumors involved Tatiana, and following*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 135, 133.
- 374) *Conspiracy theories*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., pp. 513, 525. For sensationalized variations, see Wikipedia entry, "Rasputin."
- 374) *"We are on the verge of a catastrophe ..."*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 533.
- 375) *"My dear martyr," and following*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 136, 173.
- 375) *"He believed in his lucky star ..."*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 511.
- 375) *"It was the will of the family ..."*: Vyubova, *Memories*, op. cit., p. 183.
- 375) *Did they expect "the tsar of Russia to decorate his two relatives for having committed a murder?"*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 515.
- 375) *"I am filled with shame ..."*: Vyubova, *Memories*, op. cit., p. 183.

- 375) *Prince Dmitry “is physically ill and deeply shaken”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 517.
- 376) *The empress “is in a state of complete and incurable delusion ...,” and following*: Ibid., pp. 531, 536.
- 376) *“Perhaps a scapegoat is needed to save Russia”*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 65.
- 376) *“A single wasted hour made [Lenin] ill”*: Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Lenin in Zurich: Chapters*, trans. H. T. Willetts (New York, 1976), p. 69.
- 376) *Nicholas consulted a well-known “Mongolian quack”*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 51.
- 376) *“A forced, mirthless smile fixed upon [the tsar’s] lips”*: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., pp. 478-80.
- 376) *The city was buried in a “strange mood of constant, if repressed, unease”*: Count Constantine Benckendorff, *Half A Life: The Reminiscences of a Russian Gentleman* (London, 1955), p. 148.
- 376) *One army general was incredulous at the mutinous condition of the Petrograd garrison, and following*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 80-1, 118, 238; Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 506.
- 377) *Alexandra wired her husband that the disturbances were only a “drawing room revolt,” and following*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 170, 151; Catrine Clay, *King, Kaiser, Tsar: Three Royal Cousins Who Led the World to War* (New York, 2006), p. 398.
- 377) *“What struck me was the uncanny silence of it all ...,” and following*: Knox, *With the Russian Army*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 553-6.
- 377) *The government “completely paralyzed and totally incapable of restoring order”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 540.
- 378) *“Take the power ...”*: Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York, 1967), p. 405.
- 378) *Speed of the tsar’s consent to abdicate stunning to family members and retainers*: Benckendorff, *Reminiscences*, op. cit., pp. 182-7.
- 378) *Nicholas had said that Petrograd and Moscow were merely “two needle-dots on the map of our country”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 439.
- 378) *“A twenty-four hour battle in the suburbs of St. Petersburg would have restored order”*: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 289.



- 378) *"The tsarina's despair almost defied imagination"*: Gilliard, *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court*, op. cit., p. 213.
- 378) *"I fully understand your action – my own hero," and following:* Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 549; Vyubova, *Memories*, op. cit., p. 209.
- 379) *"If we had known how thin the sides of the volcano were ..."*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 76.
- 380) *Russia required something more authoritarian than "a parody on Western European parliamentarism"*: Kokovtsov, *Memoirs*, op. cit., p. 124.
- 380) *"In the case of genuine revolutionaries you know where you are at any rate ..."*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 103-104.
- 380) *"My dear Knox, you must be easy ...," and following:* Knox, *With the Russian Army*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 569, 576-7.
- 380) *Trotsky disparaged his socialist credentials, likening them to a "little red silk handkerchief"*: Service, *Trotsky*, op. cit., p. 404.
- 380) *Kerensky considered the tsar "a simpleton"*: Kerensky, *Catastrophe*, op. cit., p. 267.
- 381) *"We can always find enough strength to bear the misfortune of others"*: François de la Rochefoucauld, *Reflections; or Sentences and Moral Maxims* (London, 1871), # 19; see also Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 257.
- 381) *"What an artless and affecting sight it is ...," and following:* Paléologue, *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 255-7, 160.
- 382) *"In twenty years of life and struggle, Lenin had experienced every kind of opponent:* Solzhenitsyn, *Lenin in Zurich*, op. cit., pp. 117-18.
- 383) *Lenin's "excessive reclusiveness" and "unsociability"*: Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA, 2000), p. 62.
- 383) *Lenin fell in love with Karl Marx, more so than he ever did with a woman:* *Ibid.*, p. 103.
- 384) *Lenin wondered if he might ever see the day when the "carrion crow" of the Romanov coat of arms would ever crumble into dust during "the next rising of the tide"*: Bertram D. Wolfe, *Three Who Made A Revolution: A Biographical History* (New York, 1964), p. 558.
- 384) *Lenin pent up "as if in a corked bottle," and following:* Solzhenitsyn, *Lenin in Zurich*, op. cit., pp. 232, 17.
- 384) *Trying to get to know the "real" Lenin is very difficult:* Edward Acton, "Shorter Notices,"

*English Historical Review*, Vol. 103, No. 4 (April 1988), p. 526.

- 384) *Stephan Zweig, "How did this obstinate little man ..."* : Assaf Sharon, "This Obstinate Little Man," *NYRB*, Nov. 4, 2021, p. 43.
- 384) "*I'm a Marxist! The world's best Marxist is me!*": Service, *Lenin*, op. cit., p. 195.
- 385) *Russian émigrés, "compulsive revolutionary windbags"*: Solzhenitsyn, *Lenin in Zurich*, op. cit., p. 110.
- 385) *Lenin's pedagogical disputes disparaged by Stalin as "storms in a tea cup"*: A. J. P. Taylor, "The Great Antagonists," *Essays on Twentieth-Century Europe*, op. cit., p. 281.
- 386) *Erich Ludendorff stated in 1937 that he had never heard of Lenin*: Louis Fischer, *The Life of Lenin* (New York, 1964), p. 110.
- 386) "*They sent us the bolsheviks as they might have sent tanks or poison gas*": Kleinmichel, *Memories*, op. cit., p. 264.
- 386) *Joyce likened the whole thing to the Trojan horse, and following*: Helen Rappaport, *Conspirator: Lenin in Exile* (New York, 2012), pp. 288, 289.
- 387) *Lenin should "resemble a human being" if at all possible*: Service, *Lenin*, op. cit., p. 259.
- 387) *Lenin appeared to have become "the universal apostle of destruction"*: *Ibid.*, p. 267.
- 388) *In May alone, Lenin published nearly fifty articles for "Pravda"*: *Ibid.*, p. 272.
- 388) *Lenin "is not afraid of rejecting today what he required yesterday ..."*: Tom Segev, *A State At Any Cost: The Life of David Ben-Gurion*, trans. H. Watzman (New York, 2019), p. 182.
- 388) *A "Son of a bitch, but the most famous Jew since Christ"*: George F. Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton, 1956), p. 422.
- 389) *Lenin's wife had to pay Trotsky's cab fare*: Service, *Lenin*, op. cit., p. 149. Service contradicts this point in his later book, *Trotsky: A Biography* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), p. 70.
- 389) "*We shall not enter into the kingdom of socialism in white gloves and on a polished floor*": Repington, *After the War*, op. cit., p. 20.
- 389) *Trotsky had no use for the "parliamentary eloquence" that might distinguish a Disraeli or a Palmerstone*: Service, *Trotsky*, op. cit., p. 74.
- 390) *Trotsky "shouted" from the balcony*: Leon Trotsky, *My Life: An Attempt at an Autobiography* (New York, 1970), p. 179.
- 390) *Worrying about law or justice was some sort of middle-class "fetish," and following*:

- Service, *Trotsky*, op. cit., pp. 81, 172.
- 390) *Lenin was “the prophet of the creed”*: PWW, Vol. 54, p. 155.
- 390) “*Ah, these Russians, they are original ...*”: John Reed, *Ten Days That Shook the World* (New York, 1960), p. 242.
- 390) *Kerensky, the “soul” of the provisional government*: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 51.
- 391) *Lenin “did not regard the bourgeois motherland as his own ...”*: Kerensky, *Catastrophe*, op. cit., p. 229.
- 392) *Kerensky’s government “was overthrown before it could say ouch”*: Fischer, *Lenin*, op. cit., p. 141.
- 393) *Trotsky predicted the “dictatorship of the proletariat” would evolve into a “dictatorship over the proletariat” (emphasis is the author’s)*: Service, *Trotsky*, op. cit., p. 82.
- 393) *One of Lenin’s more astute biographers called him “a monumental opportunist”*: Fischer, *Lenin*, op. cit., p. 150.
- 393) “*So much the worse for reality*”: Paléologue, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 30.
- 393) “*We’ve won the power, now we must keep it!*”: Reed, *Ten Days*, op. cit., p. 265.
- 393) “*The first principle of an hereditary monarch is to survive,*” and following: Rose, *George V*, op. cit., pp. 215, 208, 209.
- 393) “*I won’t be his flunkey*”: A. J. P. Taylor, ed., *My Darling Pussy: The Letters of Lloyd George and Frances Stevenson, 1913-1941* (London, 1975), p. 198.
- 394) “*You see, sir, you only see fashionable Tories ...*”: Eleanor Brock, “Margaret Asquith,” *DNB*, Vol. 2, p. 756.
- 394) “*Our poor blue-eyed German will have to go,*” and following: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 147. See also Nicolson, *King George the Fifth*, op. cit., pp. 250-2, 280-4.
- 394) *King George was the first crowned head of Great Britain in over seventy years who did not speak the native tongue with a “foreign” accent*: Matthew, “George V,” op. cit., p. 869.
- 394) *Stamfordham best known for his nickname, “Better Not,”* and following: Rose, *George V*, op. cit., pp. 122, 212.
- 395) “*God! He is our only recourse,*” and following: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., pp. 608, 589.

- 396) *The bolsheviks “are after me, and then will be after you,” and following*: Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, op. cit., p. 467; Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 578.
- 396) *“I refuse to be the Marat of the Russian Revolution”*: Kerensky, *Catastrophe*, op. cit., p. 259.
- 397) *Arriving in Tobolsk, they were settled in “a dirty, boarded-up, smelly house consisting of 13 rooms”*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., p. 583.
- 397) *The arrival of a special commissary from Moscow, “an evil portent ...”*: Gilliard, *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court*, op. cit., pp. 259, 262.
- 397) *“We saw the whole family looking through the window ...,” and following*: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, op. cit., pp. 616-17, 622, 623, 621, 608, 633.
- 399) *“The revolution does not need historians”*: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 334.
- 400) *“The squad were ready in the next room”*: Ibid., pp. 634, 638.
- 402) *“I was shown into the dining room ...,” and all following Kleinmichel entries: Memories*, op. cit., pp. 271, 272, 109-12, 222, 227-8, 230-1, 286.
- 402) *Kleinmichel was a “pretty and clever” gossip*: Princess Catherine Radziwill, *Memories of Forty Years* (New York, 1915), p. 286.
- 403) *“Je suis tellement accoutumée à ces choses”*: Julia P. Gelardi, *From Splendor to Revolution: The Romanov Women, 1847-1928* (New York, 2011), p. 211.
- 404) *The British ambassador was offended at accusations that he did nothing to help his former tsarist friends*: Sir George Buchanan, *My Mission to Russia and Other Diplomatic Memories* (Boston, 1923), Vol. II, pp. 94-106.
- 404) *“On tuesday I was photographed, so my picture is now side by side with those of pickpockets, robbers and such”*: Ibid., p. 512.
- 405) *“In the military sense, we were a zero”*: Fischer, *Lenin*, op. cit., p. 156.
- 406) *Lenin “lack[ed] any sentiment of nationality,” and following*: Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, op. cit., pp. 156, 74, 21, 25.
- 406) *Lenin “meant to conquer the world”*: PWW, Vol. 54, p. 155.
- 406) *“War to End Christmas Day ...”*: Hershey, *Odyssey of Henry Ford*, op. cit., p. 7. See also Allan Nevins, Frank Ernest Hill, *Ford: Expansion and Challenge 1915-1933* (New York,

1957), pp. 26-85.

- 407) “*I have no doubt you are saying to yourself at this moment, this American woman is quite mad ...*”: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 265-6.
- 410) “*Baboons,*” and following: Robert Service, *Spies and Commissars: The Early Years of the Russian Revolution* (New York, 2012), p. 184; Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., p. 21. Lloyd George was also recorded by Riddell as saying that Churchill “has bolshevism on the brain,” p. 50.
- 410) “*In three years we circled the earth five and a half times,*” and following: Trotsky, *My Life*, op. cit., p. 414, 467.
- 410) *Trotsky’s ability to organize a Red army “one of the greatest achievements of the war”*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 376.
- 410) “*In a civil war there is no such thing as neutrality ...*”: Benckendorff, *Reminiscences*, op. cit., p. 196.
- 411) “*Opera bouffe,*” and assoc. endnote (#36, p. 640): John C. Cairns, “Edmund Ironside,” *DNB*, Vol. 29, pp. 355-7; Geoffrey Powell, “John Buchan’s Richard Hannay,” *History Today*, Vol. 37, No. 8 (August 1987), pp. 32-9. See also W. E. Ironside, *Archangel, 1918-1920* (London, 1953).
- 411) *Kolchak’s men “brigands and murderers,”* and following: William S. Graves, *America’s Siberian Adventure 1918-1920* (New York, 1972), pp. 261, 110. Graves was particularly critical of Alfred Knox, see pp. 337-8. See also Betty Miller Unterberger, *America’s Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920* (Durham, NC, 1956).
- 411) “*Just enough for every one of us*”: Alexander, *Once a Grand Duke*, op. cit., p. 330. See also Peter Fleming, *The Fate of Admiral Kolchak* (London, 1963), p. 217.
- 412) *Over 750,000 civilians perished during those ghastly weeks, most from starvation*: Anna Reid, *Leningrad: The Epic Siege of World War II, 1941-1945* (New York, 2011), pp. 417-19.
- 413) “*These costly trinkets appeared to me symbols of tsarist Russia ...,*” and following: Toby Faber, *Fabergé’s Eggs: The Extraordinary Story of the Masterpieces that Outlived an Empire* (New York, 2008), pp. 53-4; Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak Memory: An Autobiography Revisited* (New York, 1966), p. 111.
- 413) *His “extinct” family (as Nabokov called it)*: Ibid., pp. 79, 45.
- 414) *I cannot say if this is because Vladimir Lenin has ceased to be the pivotal figure of world history he seemed to be just three decades ago ...*: A Russian poet in the 1930s had written,

“Lenin –  
Lived.  
Lenin –  
Lives.  
Lenin –  
Will live.”

He meant by his last line, presumably, forever, but such may not be the case. See Trevor J. Smith, “The Collapse of the Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia, 1985-1995,” *TH*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (December 1998), pp. 325-43.

### 15) T. E. Lawrence, “of Arabia”

- 415) “*T. E. was an intuitive, affectionate, Galahad-like man ...*”: Robert Graves, *Between Moon and Moon, Selected Letters of, 1946-1972*, ed. P. O'Prey (London, 1984), p. 137.
- 415) *T. E. Lawrence “was perhaps the most interesting product of the Great War,” and following*: Viscount Allenby, *T. E. Lawrence by His Friends*, ed. A. W. Lawrence (London, 1937), p. 145.
- 415) *One officer wondered who this “pipsqueak” was*: Ernest Dowson, *Lawrence by His Friends*, *ibid.*, p. 32.
- 415) *Not a trace of “ethnological competence”*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
- 416) *Lawrence complained his mother was always “hammering” him*: T. E. to Charlotte Shaw, *Selected Letters*, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.
- 416) *T. E.'s father, “who is said never to have written a check ...,” and following*: Irving Howe, “T. E. Lawrence: The Problem of Heroism,” *The Hudson Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Autumn 1962), p. 334; V. S. Pritchett, *The Tale Bearers, Literary Essays* (New York, 1980), p. 57.
- 416) *T. E. was but “a flea in the legitimate prince’s bed,” and assoc. endnote( #3, p. 640)*: T. E. to Lionel Curtis, *Selected Letters*, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Scott Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia* (New York, 2013), p. 513 (#19); David Murphy, “Lawrence of Arabia -- and Ireland,” *The Irish Times*, Aug. 26, 2013 (Internet resource).
- 416) “*Had he been born on the fringe of a desert ...*”: L. B. Namier, *Lawrence by His Friends*, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
- 417) *Carchamish*: T. E. Lawrence to his mother, *Selected Letters*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 36; Lawrence James, *The Golden Warrior: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia* (New York, 1993), p. 48; Harold Orlans, *T. E. Lawrence: Biography of a Broken Hero* (Jefferson, NC, 2002), pp. 18-20.

- 418) *Dahoum as a surrogate squire*: James, *Golden Warrior*, op. cit., p. 58; see also Leonard Woolley, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 89.
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- 429) *Ali had no "force of character, " and following on Hussein's sons*: Ibid., pp. 76-7, 95.
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- 432) *T. E. "said to have intimate knowledge of the Turks and the Arabs"*: Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia*, op. cit., p. 227.
- 433) *"It was much against my grain ..."*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 114. Wilson accepts this disclaimer at face value, *Authorized Biography*, op. cit., p. 328.
- 433) *"Lawrence wants kicking ..., " and following*: Wilson, *Authorized Biography*, op. cit., pp. 331-2; James, *Golden Warrior*, op. cit., p. 138.
- 434) *"Old rubbish thought serviceable for the wild Arabs"*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 128.
- 434) *Arabs often took no prisoners "if their blood was hot"*: Ibid., p. 308.
- 434) *Turkish troop strength*: Figures vary, see Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, op. cit., p. 179; Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia*, op. cit., p. 273; James, *Golden Warrior*, op., cit., pp. 139, 194, 270-1; Nicholas Saunders, *Desert Insurgency: Archaeology, T. E. Lawrence, and the Arab Revolt* (Oxford, 2020), p. 72.
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- 434) *T. E. as Feisal's "omnipotent adviser," and following*: T. E. to Charlotte Shaw, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 348; T. E. to his mother, *ibid.*, p. 91.
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- 437) “*Most of my opinions were strong*”: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 111.
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- 437) *Gold sovereigns, “the all-powerful persuader”*: S. C. Rolls, *ibid.*, p. 171; Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, op. cit., p. 383.
- 437) “*It gives one great power to be always on the edge of something*”: Eric Kennington, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 270.
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- 442) *To be chewed out by Allenby “was like being blown from the muzzle of a gun”*: Ronald Storrs, *The Memoirs of* (New York, 1937), p. 270.
- 442) *Allenby had “no ideas” to speak of*: Matthew Hughes, “Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby, first Viscount Allenby of Megiddo (1861–1936),” *DNB*, Vol. 1, p. 839.
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- 442) *The advantages of “marrying war with rebellion”*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 507.
- 442) *Allenby “cared nothing for our fighting power ...*”: *Ibid.*, p. 539.
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- 443) *Syria and Iraq “were Arab countries ...*”: T. E. to Colonel C. E. Wilson, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 112.

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- 444) *Importance of Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca for Bedouins*: James, *Golden Warrior*, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Muhammad Munayyir, *The Hejaz Railway and the Muslim Pilgrimage: A Case of Ottoman Political Propaganda*, ed. J. Landau (Detroit, 1971), pp. 16, 17.
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- 446) *Lawrence's bodyguard*: Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, *op. cit.*, p. 372.
- 446) "Mangy camels ...," and following: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, *op. cit.*, pp. 434, 502.
- 446) *Allenby, thirty-fourth conqueror of Jerusalem, and casualties*: Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, *op. cit.*, pp. 365, 369.
- 446) *The New York Herald* banner headline, and *Punch*: *The New York Herald*, 9 December 1917; *Punch*, 19 December 1917. See also Adam Knobler, "Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (April 2006), pp. 309-17.
- 447) *T.E.'s driver claimed they drove over 20,000 miles together*: S. C. Rolls, *Lawrence by His Friends*, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
- 447) *Over the course of two days some 4000 Turks and Germans were slaughtered*: Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
- 447) "He must accept the situation as it was": James, *Golden Warrior*, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 448) *Lawrence "asked them in a gentle voice to stop," and following*: *Ibid.*, p. 261.
- 448) *Chaos in "liberated" Damascus*: Graves, in his biography, insists that T. E. put city services in order more or less immediately. His version relies exclusively on what T. E. related to him. Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, 1927), pp. 382-7.
- 449) "I was tired to death of these Arabs": Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, *op. cit.*, p. 586.

## 16) Berlin: Black Hours in a Red Tide

page 450) "New Year's Day, which throughout Germany and the whole of the world has been greeted as the year of peace ...": Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

- 450) “*Your Majesty, we have lost the war*”: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 576.
- 450) “*They admit that they cannot win the war ...*”: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 137.
- 450) “*A gambler’s throw*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 276.
- 451) “*The reader will now observe how low the art of war had sunk*”: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 340.
- 451) “*We chop a hole ...*”: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 415.
- 451) *The Fifth Army “no longer exists”*: Barrie Pitt, *1918: The Last Act* (New York, 1963), p. 100.
- 451) *Gough knew he would be attacked, and following*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 268; Farrar-Hockley, *Goughie*, op. cit., pp. 254, 257; Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 258.
- 451) *Passchendaele an “utter fiasco”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 420.
- 451) *Asquith had called Sir Henry Wilson “that serpent”*: Asquith, *Letters to Venetia*, op. cit., p. 342.
- 451) *Whenever Wilson came in contact with someone who might do him a good turn, it was said, he got an immediate erection*: Fay, *War Office*, op. cit., p. 100.
- 451) “*The Versailles soldiers sent in a few memoranda ...*”: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 168.
- 452) “*I’ll never go farting with Haig again*”: David R. Woodward, “Sir William Robertson and Sir Douglas Haig,” Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., p. 75.
- 452) “*I feel in the words of 2<sup>nd</sup> Chronicles, XX Chap...*”: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 290. For Haig’s religiosity, see Lady Haig, *The Man I Knew*, op. cit., p. 242; Cooper, *Haig*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 327-8; Vol. II, p. 402.
- 452) *The antipathy to Gough “is almost impossible to describe to you”*: Beaverbrook, *Men and Power*, op. cit., p. 371.
- 452) “*We must make the best due with what we have ...*”: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., p. 261.
- 452) *A “fairy wand”*: Pitt, *1918*, op. cit., p. 70.

- 453) *Gough “issued a few orders,” then stood by the telephone*: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., pp. 260-1, 266.
- 453) *Canadians reported they had seen British conscripts “bolting in no sort of formation”*: Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., p. 561.
- 453) *Germans sliced through allied lines as though they were butter*: As Liddell Hart observed, “Why, when the Allies had made so little visible impression on the German front in two years of constant offensive, were the Germans able to tear a huge hole in the Allied front within a few days?” Liddell Hart, *The Real War*, op. cit., p. 387.
- 453) *“The fastest, not the slowest, must set the pace”*: Farrar-Hockley, *Goughie*, op. cit., p. 249.
- 453) *“A retreat is not necessarily a defeat,” and following*: Gough, *Fifth Army*, op. cit., pp. 321, 327, 321, 301.
- 453) *The Fifth was never “broken”*: Repington, *Personal Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 269.
- 453) *“I was conceited enough to think that the army could not spare me”*: Peter Simkins, “Haig and the Army Commanders,” Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., pp. 90, 105 (ftn. 74).
- 454) *“The enemy has taken a terrific pasting ..”*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., p. 344.
- 454) *“With our backs to the wall ...”*: Charteris, *At G. H. Q.*, op. cit., p. 302.
- 454) *“This sentence was ranked with Nelson’s last message ...”*: A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (Oxford, 1965), p. 102.
- 454) *Lloyd George felt Haig seemed “rattled,” and following*: Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., pp. 223-5.
- 455) *Two-thirds of all German losses from “Michael” to the end of the war were battlefield captures, and following*: Cook, *Madman*, op. cit., pp. 238, 263, 286-7.
- 455) *People were worried that Haig might launch “another Passchendaele”*: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 126.
- 455) *Haig predicted since the Somme that the Germans would collapse*: Taylor, *English History*, op. cit., p. 108.
- 455) *“War is like this ...,” and following*: B. H. Liddell Hart, *Reputations Ten Years After* (Boston, 1928), pp. 176, 174.
- 455) *“We really have the Bosche on the hop”*: Hamilton, *Monty*, op. cit., p. 140.

- 455) *Karl's childhood personality marked by "an exceptional sweetness of character"*: Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *The Last Habsburg* (London, 1968), p. 9.
- 456) *Only two years into the war, Austria-Hungary had suffered casualties of over two million men*: Keegan, *First World War*, op. cit., p. 174.
- 456) *Galicia produced over a quarter of the empire's grains, and following*: Rietveld, *1914-1918*, op. cit., pp. 201, 302, 197, 188.
- 456) *Freud asked for payment in potatoes*: Adamthwaite, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 46.
- 456) *Continued reports of military failures generated "an increasingly hostile mood towards us ..."*: Röhl, *1914*, op. cit., p. 87.
- 456) *Austria's new emperor "young, very earnest and rather disconsolate," and following*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., pp. 219, 331.
- 456) *Wilhelm called Karl just "a boy, weak-kneed and easily led"*: Baron Clemens von Radowitz-Nei, "Monarchy Will Return, But Not I," *New York Times*, July 3, 1922.
- 457) *"Mr. Lloyd George said he wanted no diplomats ...," and following*: Brook-Shepherd, *Last Habsburg*, op. cit., pp. 89, 235.
- 457) *"Main object of the Bulgarian king is to avoid assassination"*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., p. 306.
- 457) *"Au revoir ..."*: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., p. 252.
- 457) *Berlin a relatively "new" metropolitan entity*: Richard M. Watt, *The Kings Depart, The Tragedy of Germany: Versailles and the German Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 259.
- 457) *Kaiserin awarded an ornate medal to one of the shop stewards "which, as evil tongues affirm, he promptly hung around his dog's neck ..."*: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., p. 168.
- 457) *German army "was obviously at the end of its tether," and following*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., pp. 397, 363, 40-1, 191, 346, 305.
- 458) *"There is no hope. Germany is lost"*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 425.
- 458) *Ludendorff "was like a cat on hot coals"*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., p. 400.
- 458) *"It is a pitiful sight to watch the death throes of a great nation," and following*: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., pp. 253, 3, 6, 115, 16, 116, 150, 149, 178 (ftn.), 157, 154, 158, 160, 173, 164, 189, 162, 161, 144, 162, 287.

- 460) *It was estimated that German civilians lost half a million tons of weight*: Avner Offer, *The First World War: An Agrarian Interpretation* (Oxford, 1989), p. 33.
- 461) *"I'll tell you something ..."*: Ibid., p. 252.
- 462) *Max felt like a man who had just awoken from a deep, deep sleep, only to remember that he was about to be executed*: Prince Maximilian of Baden, *Memoirs*, trans. W. M. Calder, C. W. H. Sutton (New York, 1928), Vol. II, p. 24.
- 462) *"We had not much in common"*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 393.
- 462) *Max "an arrogant ignoramus ..."*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., p. 399.
- 462) *Ballin told the kaiser "revolution will break out"*: Ibid., 384. Cecil writes that Ballin was actually prevented from disturbing the emperor with this opinion, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 276.
- 462) *"I was able to say to him for the first time ...," and following*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., pp. 262, 201, 276, 396, 295.
- 463) *In one address at a munitions plant, Wilhelm was greeted in complete silence*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 275.
- 463) *"Banging their fists on the table"*: Watt, *The Kings Depart*, op. cit., p. 139.
- 463) *"Now we have got them!"*: Ibid., p. 145.
- 464) *"If the kaiser goes, we will get a better peace"*: Joachim von Kürenberg, *The Kaiser : A Life of Wilhelm II, Last Emperor of Germany*, trans. H. T. Russell, H. Hagen (New York, 1955), p. 353.
- 463) *The world was now the SPD's oyster*: See Watt, *The Kings Depart*, op. cit., pp. 111-23.
- 464) *Lenin called the SPD a pack of whores*: Ibid., p. 119.
- 465) *"Two years ago I went into prison a socialist ..."*: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., p. 263.
- 466) *"The bitterest moment of my life," and following*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 426, 425.
- 466) *To "beard the lion in his den"*: Sir Walter Scott, *Marmion*, Canto Sixth, XIV.
- 466) *The "Siamese twins"*: John Toland, *No Man's Land: 1918, The Last Year of the Great War* (New York, 1980), p. 482.
- 467) *Exercitus facit imperatorem*: Michael Stürmer, *The German Empire* (London, 2000), p. 5.

- 467) *Flight to Varennes*: Watt, *The Kings Depart*, op. cit., p. 172.
- 467) *Kaiser was “convulsed in rage”*: Maurice Baumont, *The Fall of the Kaiser*, trans. W. I. James (New York, 1931), p. 141.
- 468) *Wilhelm “wanted to make his subjects love him by means of a stick”*: A remark by Oskar Cohn during parliamentary debate, “Reichstag Deputy Flays Government,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1917.
- 468) *Wild schemes were debated back and forth, “taking up a good deal of time,” and following*: Baumont, *Fall of the Kaiser*, op. cit., pp. 137, 233-4, 114.
- 468) *The conferences of November 9*: See Baumont, *Fall of the Kaiser*, op. cit., pp. 81-123.
- 468) *“In that case I shall place myself at the head of the units that remain loyal ...”*: Kürenberg, *The Kaiser*, op. cit., p. 368.
- 469) *“Today, oaths are but words”*: Sir John Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power: The German Army in Politics, 1918-1945* (New York, 2005), p. 3 (fn. 2). Baumont has Groener saying, “Oaths to the colours? War Lord? These are but words.” The kaiser remarked to an aide that as far as Groener was concerned, “I would have nothing more to do with him.” *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 145.
- 469) *Belgian workers spent several hours “staring, pointing, hooting and jeering”*: Lady Susan Townley, *Indiscretions* (New York, 1922), p. 288.
- 469) *Kaiser ordered a cup of English tea*: Pitt, 1918, op. cit., p. 290.
- 469) *Dona should be by the kaiser's side to give the state of exile “a more private character”*: Andreas Dorpalen, “Empress Auguste Victoria and the Fall of the German Monarchy,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 58, Vol. 1 (October 1952), p. 38.
- 469) *“The loss of her throne had not affected her so much as the possible and eventual loss of her wardrobe,” and following*: Vassili, *Disillusions of a Crown Princess*, op. cit., pp. 202-204, 212-14.
- 470) *“What is the purpose of your visit? What do you want from me?” and following*: Pitt, 1918, op. cit., pp. 265-6.
- 471) *Haig insisted on a crushing military victory so that Germany would have to accept “an ignominious peace”*: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 476.
- 471) *“That ass Wilson,” and following*: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 306; Vol. II, pp. 135-7.



- 471) “*Materially, I do not see that victory is possible ...*”: Liddell Hart, *Reputations*, op. cit., p. 169.
- 471) “*Germans accepted battle everywhere*”: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 476. Greenhalgh disputes the notion that Foch was surprised by the imminent collapse of the German army (p. 477). Her description of Foch before and after November 9 is superior (pp. 464-94).
- 473) *Liddell Hart considered Horne “stupid”*: F. B. Maurice, “Henry Horne,” *DNB*, Vol. 28, p. 137.
- 473) “*It would be a great satisfaction for me to take [Mons] ...*,” and following : Humphries, *Selected Papers*, op. cit., pp. 136-7.
- 474) *Currie was “suffering from a swollen head”*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 303.
- 474) *Capture of Mons*: Joseph E. Persico, *Eleventh Month, Eleventh Day, Eleventh Hour: Armistice Day, 1918, World War I and Its Violent Climax* (New York, 2005), pp. 348-50.
- 475) *There they were, Masefield said, “singing the good old pre-war drunken rubbish”*: *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield*, eds. V. O’Sullivan, M. Scott (Oxford, 1984-1996), Vol. II, p. 291.
- 475) *Clemenceau burst into tears*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 106.
- 475) “*There are reports current here ...*”: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., p. 244.
- 475) *No love lost for those “pigs of Prussia,” and following*: *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 307-308, 315, 314, 307, 197.
- 475) *Admiral Müller issued a revolver, and following*: Müller, *The Kaiser and His Court*, op. cit., pp. 422, 423.
- 476) *Luxembourg and Liebknecht “the people of the hour,” and following*: Princess Blücher, *An English Wife in Berlin*, op. cit., pp. 305, 306, 310.
- 477) *Marx had said, communist uprisings would inevitably “be answered with cannons”*: Sperber, *Marx*, op. cit., p. 99.
- 478) *Luxemburg mocked the emphasis on “Order”*: Watt, *The Kings Depart*, op. cit., p. 270.

## **17) Versailles: Where It All Ended (Or Should Have)**

- page 479) “*What sort of peace would the Americans have imposed ...*”: Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., p. 55.

- 479) “*We are dealing with an army that has been pounded every day for three months*”: John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War* (New York, 1931), Vol. II, p. 361.
- 479) *Americans were “ignorant of modern warfare,” and following*: Donald Smyth, *Pershing: General of the Armies* (Bloomington, IN, 1986), p. 220; Duff Cooper, *Haig* (London, 1935), Vol. II, p. 401; Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston, 1928), Vol. IV, p. 121; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 338. Haig blamed the snafu on his French, which he claimed was poorly translated.
- 479) *Clemenceau dismissed Pershing’s remarks as “theatrical,” and following*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., pp. 221, 162.
- 480) *The United States wanted “to throw her full power for the supreme victory on the last battlefield”*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 75.
- 480) *Wilson thought Pershing had gone “glory mad”*: PWW, Vol. 53, p. 320.
- 480) “*My ancestors were troublesome Scotsmen*”: Charles Callan Tansill, *America Goes to War* (Boston, 1938), p. 157.
- 481) *Wilson loved writing constitutions*: Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (Princeton, 1992), p. 4.
- 482) *Henry Ford called Wilson “a small man”*: Nevins, Hill, *Ford*, op. cit., p. 29.
- 482) *Republicans gave him gas attacks, “enough to poison any man,” and following*: PWW, Vol. 55, pp. 473, 466.
- 482) *Colonel House “colourless and a political ‘Merlin’”*: A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York, 2013), p. 542; Dos Passos, *1919*, op. cit., p. 193.
- 483) “*Wilson was his idol ...*”: David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* (New Haven, 1939), Vol. I, p. 155.
- 483) *A. J. P. Taylor wrote that the war had no aims other than mastery*: A. J. P. Taylor *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, op. cit., pp. 22-3.
- 483) *The “crude melodrama” of making the kaiser, the tsar, or anyone convenient, a villain,” and following*: Shaw, *What I Really Wrote*, op. cit., p. 255.
- 484) “*Too proud to fight*” and “*Peace without victory*”: PWW, Vol. 33, p. 149; Vol. 40, p. 536.
- 484) *Henry Cabot Lodge called this “the most unfortunate phrase that he ever coined,” and following*: Berg, *Wilson*, op. cit., pp. 364, 378; John Dos Passos, *Mr. Wilson’s War* (Garden City, NY, 1962), p. 430; Edmund Morris, *Colonel Roosevelt* (New York, 2011), p. 480; Knock, *To End All Wars*, op. cit., p. 35.
- 484) “*Once the war was stopped it would [be] impossible to resume it*”: Scott, *Political*

- Diaries*, op. cit., p. 236.
- 484) *Hardline militarists would not tolerate their country being starved to death*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 117.
- 485) *The speaker of the house condemned the draft measure, saying a conscript was nothing more than a convict*: Pershing, *My Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 13.
- 486) *"The old Jacobin"*: King, *Generals & Politicians*, op. cit., p. 240.
- 487) *Clemenceau virtually hogtied his top generals and forced them to attend ...*: Porch, *Marne*, op. cit., p. 87.
- 487) *Clemenceau was the last man on earth that most of the political establishment wanted at the helm, and following*: Terraine, *To Win a War*, op. cit., pp. 11, 10.
- 487) *"You wish to sleep with Madame Poincaré? ..."* and following: Adamthwaite, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 8; Robert Lansing, *The Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference* (Boston, 1921), p. 31.
- 488) *"My foreign and my domestic policy are ever the same ..."*: Frederick J. Cox, "The French Peace Plans, 1918-1919: The Germ of the Conflict Between Ferdinand Foch and Georges Clemenceau," in eds. F. J. Fox, B. C. Weber, et al., *Studies in Modern European History in Honor of Franklin Charles Palm* (New York, 1956), p. 100, fn. 11.
- 488) *Clemenceau had the "powerful and the square brow of the logician ..."*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 140.
- 489) *Pershing was appalled at the "pessimism" he found in England, and following*: Pershing, *My Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 55, 96, 70, 73, 63.
- 490) *"Of course the western front can be broken ..."*: Emmet Crozier, *American Reporters on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (New York, 1959), p. 149.
- 490) *Sergeant York*: See John Bowers, "The Mythical Morning of Sergeant York," *The Great War: Perspectives*, op. cit., pp. 449-67.
- 490) *Pershing found the scenes of panic at a Parisian railroad station "pathetic"*: Pershing, *My Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 358.
- 491) *"Will to win," and following*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., pp. 106, 108.
- 491) *A British diplomat called Pershing "an able man ..."* and following: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., pp. 162, 136; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 307.
- 491) *Pershing's "tight-lipped smile"*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 64.
- 491) *All these people "wanted was to get shot at" without being hit ...*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 169.

- 492) *Pershing “friendly but obstinate”*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 65.
- 492) *The “Brusilov System”*: Liddell Hart, *Reputations*, op. cit., p. 309. See also Jamie H. Crockfield, “Brusilov’s Immortal Days,” in R. Crowley, ed., *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York, 2003), pp. 217-34.
- 492) *Smuts wanted to “squeeze every last ounce” out of the Americans, and following*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 136; Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 65.
- 492) *“It is by manipulation ...,” and following*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 217; *PWW*, Vol. 58, p. 501.
- 493) *“I win the war with forty”*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 211.
- 493) *The opening round at Amiens a “black day for the German army”*: Ludendorff, *Own Story*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 326.
- 494) *Foch believed the “immaturity” of the Americans stood fully exposed in this battle*: King, *Generals & Politicians*, op. cit., p. 223.
- 494) *Lloyd George called the American performance to date “our worst disappointment”*: George L. Cook, “Sir Robert Borden, Lloyd George and British Military Policy, 1917-1918,” *HJ*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1971), p. 384.
- 494) *Weygand characterized the First Army as being in a stage of paralysis, and following*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 200.
- 494) *Billy Mitchell saw infantrymen “knocking their heads against a stone wall ...”*: Brigadier-General William Mitchell, *Memoirs of World War I: From Start to Finish of Our Greatest War* (New York, 1960), p. 260.
- 494) *The battle proved “continuous” for almost two weeks*: T. Bentley Mott, *Twenty Years as Military Attaché* (New York, 1937), p. 257.
- 494) *Pershing would not obey, nor would Foch command, and following*: King, *Generals & Politicians*, op. cit., p. 235; Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., pp. 206, 213, 217, 234.
- 496) *Balfour called this “dividing up the bearskin before the bear was killed”*: John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York, 2009), p. 396.
- 496) *Comparisons to Luther’s 95 articles were common*: Dos Passos, *1919*, op. cit., p. 196.
- 496) *Clemenceau compares the Fourteen Points with Ten Commandments*: John Hampden Jackson, *Clemenceau and the Third Republic* (New York, 1948), p. 183.
- 497) *Sea dogs in the admiralty were “breathing fire” about it*: Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p.168.
- 497) *Ho Chi Minh and Trotsky*: Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and*

- the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 3-4; William J. Duiker, *Ho Chi Minh* (New York, 2000), pp. 54-66; Trotsky, *My Life*, op. cit., p. 372.
- 498) “*I will have to do some plain talking when we get on the other side,*” and following: *PWW*, Vol. 53, pp. 314, 366.
- 498) “*A fatal error of judgment*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 92.
- 499) *Wilson “a trifle of a bully*”: Ibid., Vol. 54, p. 152.
- 499) “*I pointed out that he held at present a dominant position in the world ...*”: Ibid., Vol. 53, p. 66.
- 500) *Wilson’s presence in Paris “constitutes a historical disaster of the first magnitude,” and following*: Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919: Being Reminiscences of the Paris Peace Conference* (Boston, 1933), p.71; Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 488.
- 500) *Wilson was given “an ice bath” by Republicans, and following*: *PWW*, Vol. 53, pp. 301, 310.
- 500) “[*Prime Minister*] *lunched at Mr. Balfour’s flat to meet with Queen of Rumania ...*”: Stevenson, *Diary*, op. cit., p.171.
- 500) *Wilson treated “so like a god,” and following*: *PWW*, Vol. 53, pp. 457, 383, 429, 358, 457.
- 501) *Wilson’s attire, “an ordinary black dress suit*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 112.
- 501) *Margot Asquith, “clever, egotistical, and exceedingly plain,” and following*: Edith Bolling Wilson, *My Memoir* (New York, 1939), pp. 198-9; Rose, *George V*, op. cit., p. 232.
- 501) *Wilson’s trip to Carlisle “entirely unofficial,” and following*: *PWW*, Vol. 53, pp. 537, 524.
- 502) *Wilson’s hosts were “hounding” him to see the battlefields*: Ibid., Vol. 54, p. 175.
- 502) *Wilson would not judge Germany “in frenzy*”: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 140; Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, *Woodrow Wilson: An Intimate Memoir* (New York, 1960), p. 71.
- 502) *Description of war-torn France*: See Margaret MacMillian, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York, 2002), p. 28.
- 502) “*The amount of material damage done in the invaded districts has been the subject of enormous, if natural, exaggeration*”: John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic*

*Consequences of the Peace* (New York, 1920), p.120.

- 502) *The French public “is beginning to recover from the state of semi-coma into which it had sunk ...,” and following: Sir Henry Wilson, The Military Correspondence of Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, 1918-1922, ed. K. Jeffrey (London, 1985), pp. 80, 417.*
- 503) *“For President Wilson ...”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 185.
- 503) *French “were content to wait while the Germans starved a little more”*: Dos Passos, *Mr. Wilson’s War*, op. cit., pp. 448-9.
- 503) *La Place de la Concorde, “site of Old Mother Guillotine,” and following: PWW, Vol. 54, p. 5.*
- 503) *By entering the war at the last moment, he had become the decisive factor in the achievement of victory ...* : Patrick Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson’s Neutrality* (London, 1975), pp. 679-80.
- 504) *One of his advisers said he “did not know a God damn thing about what the Prez was thinking,” and following: PWW, Vol. 53, pp. 349, 471. Lansing said Wilson’s plan was “crude and undigested,” The Big Four, op. cit., p. 31. See also Henry Wilson, Diaries, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 135.*
- 504) *Lloyd George resented Wilson’s “little sermonettes”*: MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, op. cit., p. 14.
- 504) *Lloyd George has “no real interest in League”*: Knock, *To End All Wars*, op. cit., p. 214.
- 504) *Lloyd George and Clemenceau grew tired of listening to Jesus Christ, and following: Riddell, Intimate Diary, op. cit., p. 78; Nicolson, Peacemaking 1919, op. cit., p. 7.*
- 505) *“My mind is a one-track railroad ...”*: David F. Houston, *Eight Years With Wilson’s Cabinet, 1913 to 1920: With a Personal Estimate of the President* (Garden City, NY, 1926), p. 169.
- 505) *What was coming out in various drafts was but a “skeleton” of his original intent: Knock, To End All Wars, op. cit., p. 217.*
- 505) *“Monsieur Cambon expressed great disappointment ...”* : PWW, Vol. 54, p. 235.
- 506) *Lloyd George wanted Wilson “to come down to earth”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 140.
- 506) *Lloyd George was “a man without principle ...”*: PWW, Vol. 53, p. 367.
- 506) *“We cannot merely sign a peace treaty ...”*: Knock, *To End All Wars*, op. cit., p. 196.

- 506) *Political leaders were “not masters of their people,” he said, but “the servants of their people”*: PWW, Vol. 55, p. 239.
- 507) *The press in each country, all outdoing themselves “in emotional extravagance,” and following*: Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., pp. 63, 64, 65, 289, 309.
- 507) *It was either bend, or no treaty and no League*: Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 379.
- 507) *Wilson, “setting his jaws”*: PWW, Vol. 55, p. 297.
- 507) *“It was sometimes necessary to compromise in order to get things done ...”*: Berg, *Wilson*, op. cit., p. 54.
- 507) *Colonel House, the quintessential “yes man,” and following*: Edith Wilson, *My Memoir*, op. cit., pp. 236-7; Dos Passos, *Mr. Wilson’s War*, op. cit., p. 474.
- 507) *House “has given away everything I had won before we left Paris”*: Edith Wilson, *My Memoir*, op. cit., p. 246.
- 508) *Wilson “irreconcilably angry”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 159.
- 508) *“The plain people are with the president ...”*: Dos Passos, *Mr. Wilson’s War*, op. cit., pp. 438-9.
- 508) *The bullet that struck Clemenceau “was quite happy [to find] a resting place”*: Repington, *After the War*, op. cit., p. 189.
- 508) *Clemenceau now seemed “a very old man conserving his strength for important occasions”*: Keynes, *Economic Consequences*, op. cit., p. 30.
- 508) *“My main drive now is for peace with Germany at the earliest possible moment”*: Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 384.
- 508) *“Les 4 Bigs”*: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 497.
- 508) *“TNT stuff”*: PWW, Vol. 54, p. 382.
- 509) *“Three old men shuffling the pack ...”*: Dos Passos, *1919*, op. cit., pp. 196-7.
- 509) *“The League of Nations was to him what a toy was to a child ...”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 121.
- 509) *“The president was completely fagged out this evening”*: PWW, Vol. 68, p. 348.
- 509) *“I found him in a very truculent mood”*: PWW, Vol. 55, p. 539. A member of the American delegation summarized the contrast between Wilson and House best. “Wilson put his trust in fighting – to win all; House put his trust in compromise, as much as

- necessary to win as much as possible.” Hamilton Fish Armstrong, *Peace and Counterpeace from Wilson to Hitler: Memoirs* (New York, 1971), p. 102.
- 509) *Herbert Hoover always “gloomy,” and following:* Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., pp. 268, 254.
- 509) *Lloyd George found the demands on the German economy simply “absurd,” and following:* Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., p. 31; Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 392.
- 509) *Churchill called them “harlots”:* M. Asquith, *War Diary*, op. cit., p. 76.
- 509) *The French were not so much “greedy” as they were “anxious,” and following:* Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., pp. 64, 7; Keynes, *Economic Consequences*, op. cit., pp. 34-5.
- 510) *The Rhine to serve as “a rampart”:* Aristide Briand, as quoted in Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 252.
- 510) *A substantial emotive difference between that river and the Rio Grande:* Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p.143.
- 510) *Clemenceau “was by far the most eminent member of the Council of Four ...”:* Keynes, *Economic Consequences*, op. cit., pp. 28, 29.
- 510) *“It is our business to stand by our allies”:* *PWW*, Vol. 53, p. 315, ftm. 4.
- 510) *“I am in trouble ...”:* Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 396, ftm. 1.
- 511) *An atmosphere of “snarling and crawling,” and following:* Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 200; Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 459.
- 511) *Wilson called the bolsheviks “poison”:* *PWW*, Vol. 53, pp. 352, 365.
- 511) *Quai d’Orsay, full of “vulgar gold and faded silks”:* Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p.147.
- 511) *Joint occupation of Damascus was “extremely awkward”:* Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., p. 141.
- 511) *They wanted “to divide the swag”:* *PWW*, Vol. 54, p. 308.
- 511) *“Not that I give a damn, but how’s your mother?”:* Charles Seymour, *Letters from the Paris Peace Conference* (New Haven, 1965), p. 29.
- 511) *Lloyd George considered the Poles “hopeless ... very like the Irish”:* Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 387.



- 512) *Clemenceau* dubbed Orlando “the weeper,” and following: “Last of the Big Four,” *Time Magazine*, Vol. 60, No. 23, December 8, 1952, p. 33; *PWW*, Vol. 53, p. 472; Vol. 58, pp. 503-504; Seymour, *Letters from the Paris Peace Conference*, op. cit., p.124.
- 512) *650,000 Italians had lost their lives during the war*: Oliver Janz, “Death and Mourning in the Memory of World War I in Italy,” in E. Lamberti, V. Fortunati, eds., *Memories and Representations of War: The Case of World War I and World War II* (Amsterdam, NL, 2009), p. 272.
- 512) “*Clemenceau wonders what he means ...*”; Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., p. 34.
- 513) *Le “Voyage” de M. Orlando*: Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., p. 315.
- 513) “‘*Do you think, ’asked Balfour of Clemenceau ...*’”: Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 117.
- 513) *An American called them “minor injustices”*: Seymour, *Letters from the Paris Peace Conference*, op. cit., p. 194.
- 513) “*We had seen all we could endure ...*,” and assoc. endnote (#25, p. 646): Walter Simons, “Personal Letters of Dr. Walter Simons to His Wife, Written at Versailles (April 30-June 12, 1919),” in Adam Lackau, ed., *The German Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference* (New York, 1941), pp. 115, 117.
- 514) *Brockdorff-Rantzau “looked ill, drawn and nervous ...*,” and following: Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., pp. 71, 76; *PWW*, Vol. 57, p. 534; Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 454. A member of the German delegation wrote that Brockdorff-Rantzau had had no prior intention of standing, as though a prisoner in the dock awaiting his sentence of execution. Simons, “Letters,” op. cit., p. 119.
- 514) “*The unbelievable has happened,*” and following: Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, op. cit., p. 459; Simons, “Letters,” op. cit., p. 124.
- 514) “*Germans do not appear to agree they have been beaten ...*”: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., p. 496.
- 514) *Von Seeckt, a man who would not hesitate to shoot someone at dawn*: Repington, *After the War*, op. cit., p. 267.
- 515) *Young Turks had now become “renegades”*: Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., p. 187.
- 516) *The poor German seemed reminiscent of a victim waiting for the onrush of the guillotine, and following*: Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., pp. 366, 371.
- 516) “*What I seem to see ... is a tragedy of disappointment*”: Knock, *To End All Wars*, op. cit., p. 290.

- 517) *French delegation in general “still hot from the fray”*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 108.
- 517) *“Every question was viewed by him in the light of how it would affect France,” and following*: Lansing, *The Big Four*, op. cit., pp. 10, 20.
- 518) *The president’s public declarations of intent “will raise hopes that can never be realized”*: MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, op. cit., p. viii.
- 518) *Roosevelt’s rhetoric “raising clouds of dust”*: Gardiner, *Pillars of Society*, op. cit., p. 259; Stephen Kinzer, *The True Flag: Theodore Roosevelt, Mark Twain, and the Birth of American Empire* (New York, 2017), p. 13.
- 518) *Too many architects ...* : Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, op. cit., 281.
- 518) *Wilson “temperamentally unfitted for direct personal” negotiation*: Steed, *Through Thirty Years*, op. cit., Pt. II, p. 292.
- 519) *“The only peace for us is one that rests on ... unconditional surrender ...”*: Knock, *To End All Wars*, op. cit., p. 169; William C. Widenor, *Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy* (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 280-7.
- 519) *“When I get out of this office, I will tell him what I think of him”*: *PWW*, Vol. 53, p. 301. Wilson included the Republican Congressman James Robert Mann of Illinois in this remark, “a bitter partisan,” but Mann, in his view, was at least “a good sport.”
- 519) *Wilson had no idea how “war mad” Americans had become*: Knock, *To End All Wars*, op. cit., p. 171.
- 519) *Clemenceau’s “fierce staccato ...”*: Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 906-907.
- 520) *As Foch repeatedly pointed out, you could never trust a German*: *Ibid.*, pp. 254-5.
- 520) *To “prevent Germans from being Germans”*: Wilson, *Military Correspondence*, op. cit., p. 80.
- 520) *The least desirable outcome would be the creation of a festering sore in the middle of Europe*: Riddell, *Intimate Diary*, op. cit., p. 5.

## 18) Unknown Soldier(s)

- page 521) *“On the day of the funeral procession coffins of cypress wood are carried out on wagons...”*: Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. M. Hammond (Oxford, 2009), pp. 90-1.

- 521) *The Lewis disaster*: Unascribed author, *Sea Sorrow: The Story of the "Iolaire" Disaster* (Stornoway, UK, 1960); Ness Historical Society, *The "Iolaire" Disaster* (Internet resource); Nicolson, *Great Silence*, op. cit., pp. 70-1.
- 521) *Thousands of war memorials that lay throughout the British Isles*: The actual number is around 55,000 according to Neil Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers: The Story of the Missing of the First World War* (New York, 2006), p. 323.
- 522) *The entire scene ("Resurrection of the Soldiers") is nightmarish*: This is the author's personal opinion. Fiona MacCarthy, author of the *DNB* entry, "Sir Stanley Spencer," calls the overall effect of the painting "joyful," Vol. 51, p. 894.
- 522) *"Sentimental purification" seemed to him to mark many of the commemorations*: Keynes, *Economic Consequences*, op. cit., p. 121.
- 522) *The prerequisite was anonymity, the Unknown "sacrificing even the remembrance of his very name"*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 400.
- 523) *The Military Cross was deemed "quite sufficient" for the Belgian Unknown, and associated endnote (#3, p. 647)*: Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers*, op. cit., p. 315; Richard Holmes, *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front 1914-1918* (London, 2004), p. 630.
- 523) *Lutyens' Cenotaph memorial*: Timothy Skelton, Gerald Gliddon, *Lutyens and the Great War* (London, 2008), pp. 37-47; Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950), pp. 35-9; Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens by his daughter* (London, 2002), pp. 164-6. For Lutyens and Jekyll, see Jane Brown, *Lutyens and the Edwardians: An English Architect and his Clients* (London, 1996), pp. 25-45.
- 524) *No one "gave" their lives, they had their lives taken from them*: Blythe, *Age of Illusion*, op. cit., p. 7.
- 525) *"SCHOOL WAR DEATH"*: Holmes, *Tommy*, op. cit., p. 629.
- 525) *"I and a half pence per letter"*: C. Bellamy, "Major Refuses Pardons for Executed Soldiers," *The Independent*, February 20, 1993.
- 525) *An alumnus of Rugby, the famous public school ... , and following*: See Holmes, *Tommy*, op. cit., p. 630; W. H. Auden, *Collected Poems*, E. Mendelson, ed. (New York, 2007), p. 54; Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers*, op. cit., p. 283.
- 525) *"At the Cenotaph"*: Siegfried Sassoon, *Collected Poems* (New York: Viking, 1949), p. 201.
- 526) *"Jingoism run stark mad"*: Seymour, *Papers of Colonel House*, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 249.

- 526) *James Sears fined for "wilful damage"*: "Dr. Rosenberg's Wreath," *The London Times*, May 12, 1933, p. 11.
- 526) *Forster and T. E. Lawrence walking through London, but "avoiding the cenotaph ..."*: Forster, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 285.
- 526) "*Le Canard Enchaîné*": Allen Douglas, *War, Memory, and the Politics of Humor: The Canard Enchaîné and World War I* (Berkeley, 2002), p. 155.
- 526) "*Same prayers/Same grave ...*": C. Trevisan, E. Julien, "Cemeteries," in J. Winter, J-L Roberts, eds., *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919* (Cambridge, 2007), Vol. II, p. 442.
- 526) *Altare della Patria, known to some Italians as "The Typewriter"*: Rick Stevens, "Here's What's New in Italy," *The Seattle Times*, February 4, 2009.
- 527) *Lutyens' Dublin war memorial*: Nuala C. Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War, and the Geography of Remembrance* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 84-111. See also Foster, *Modern Ireland*, op. cit., pp. 471-2; James Charles Roy, *The Back of Beyond; A Search for the Soul of Ireland* (Boulder, CO, 2002), pp. 199-202.
- 527) *Maudlin poetry of Rupert Brooke*: "1914 II: Safety," *The Poetical Works*, G. Keynes, ed. (London, 1970), p. 17.
- 527) *During the long Stalinist regime no memorials were even contemplated*: Aaron J. Cohen, *Imagining the Unimaginable: World War, Modern Art, & the Politics of Public Culture* (Lincoln, NE, 2008), p. 2.
- 528) *Tannenberg memorial and the "Neue Wache"*: Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley, 2000), pp. 106-108, 193-5. See also Ziemann, *War Experiences*, op. cit., pp. 252-68.
- 529) "*Pain is very dark*": Robert Crowley, "The Mourning Parents," in R. Crowley, ed., *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York, 2003), p. 488.
- 529) *One critic said the overall impression was one of an outhouse*: Harold Marcuse, "The National Memorial to the Victims of War and Tyranny: From Conflict to Consensus" (Internet resource: Paper presented, German Studies Association Conference, 1997).
- 530) *British military executions, and following*: See Holmes, *Tommy*, op. cit., pp. 564, 566; Dennis Showalter, "The German Soldier of World War One: Myths and Realities," *A Weekend with the Great War*, op. cit., p. 77.
- 530) *Earl Haig said that many of those judged guilty were "rogues" and "criminals"*: "Pardons Wrong, Haig's Son Says," *The Times*, September 5, 2006.

- 531) *"Shot at Dawn"*: Bellamy, "Major Refuses Pardons," op. cit.
- 531) *Hardiman's equestrian statue of Haig* : See Nicholas Watkins, "A Kick in the Teeth: The Equestrian Monument to 'Field Marshal Earl Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Armies in France, 1915-1918' by Alfred Hardiman" (Henry Moore Institute: Online Papers & Proceedings, Internet resource).
- 531) *"Victors are not judged"*: Geoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War, 1939-1953* (New Haven, 2006), p. 28.
- 531) *God is "on our side"*: See A. J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York, 1989); Graves, *Good-bye*, op. cit., pp. 189-90.
- 531) *There were now 500,000 German widows, 1,000,000 orphans, and 2.7 million amputees ...*: Hanson, *Unknown Soldiers*, op. cit., p. 267.
- 531) *"Death by Wounds"*: Nicholson, *The Great Silence*, op. cit., p. 143.
- 532) *"The uncrowned king of Lancashire"*: Keith Grieves, "Edward Stanley," *DNB*, Vol. 52, p. 190.
- 533) *Critics were already decrying "the hideous waste of money," and following*: Peter Kennerley, *The Building of Liverpool Cathedral* (Lancaster, UK, 2008), pp. 19, vii.
- 533) *"Stick [close] to the Irish ..."*: Helen B. McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 16-17.
- 533) *Derby persuaded his son to stand for a safe seat in Liverpool, and following*: Stephen R. Ward, "Great Britain: Land Fit for Heroes Lost," in S. R. Ward, et al., eds., *The War Generation: Veterans of the First World War* (London, 1975), pp. 14-18, 3, 28.
- 534) *Union membership in Great Britain doubled during and after the war, and following*: Leo Wolman, "Union Membership in Great Britain and the United States," *Bulletin of the National Bureau of Economic Research*, Number 68, December 27, 1937, p. 2.
- 534) *Stain glass committee "questioned the hair style of a long-dead saint ...," and following*: Kennerley, *Liverpool Cathedral*, op. cit., pp. 60, 63.
- 534) *Lutyens "pleased as punch," and following*: Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950), pp. 257, 259, 531.
- 535) *Mosley damned "these old dead men with their old dead minds ..."*: Ward, "Great Britain," op. cit., pp. 32-3.
- 536) *Liverpool Cathedral*: see Kevin Austen, "The Lost Community, The Anglican Cathedral, and The Last House Standing," *Strawberry Fields Arts* (Internet resource).

## 19) Postscripts

page 537) “*What is the outlook for 1919?...*”: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 159.

534) *Currie gave Borden an “awful picture of the war situation among the British ...”*: Brown, Craig, and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, op. cit., p. 284.

537) “*Lack of organization, lack of system ...,*” and following: Henry Borden, *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs* (New York, 1938), pp. 809-11, 869, 899, 874, 894, 874, 893, 987-9. See also Roskill, *Hankey*, op. cit., pp. 562-3, 565.

538) “*A few home truths,*” and following: Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 134, 163; Brown, Craig, and Cook, *Canada 1869-1921*, op. cit., p. 287.

538) *Canadian boys waiting to go home in England initiated thirteen riots*: In all five soldiers were killed, thirty-five required hospitalization, seventy-eight were arrested, of whom twenty-five were convicted and received sentences ranging from ninety days to ten years. “In the course of a few good years of soldiering,” said one soldier, “I have never seen such utter contempt shown to officers by NCOs and men under their control.” Howard G. Coombs, “Dimensions of Military Leadership: The Kinmel Park Mutiny of 4-5 March 1918,” p. 406; Nikolas Gardner, “Disaffection and Disobedience in the aftermath of the First World War: The Canadian Assault on the Epsom Police Station, 17 June 1919,” p. 441; both in C. L. Mantle, ed., *The Apathetic and the Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812-1919* (Toronto, 2007). See also Wilson, *Diaries*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 160.

539) “*Bugger your orders*”: Craig Leslie Mantle, “For Bully and Biscuits: Charges of Mutiny in the 43rd Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force, November and December 1917,” Mantle, *The Apathetic and the Defiant*, op. cit., pp. 343-71.

539) *British military executions*: See John Peaty, “Haig and Military Discipline,” Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., pp. 196-222.

539) “*I note that when Field Marshal French was recalled for incompetence ...*” and following: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 344, 346-7, 361-2.

540) “*No sphere of public activity was opened to him ...*”: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 483. Haig briefly commanded the Home Forces upon his return to England. Postwar Britain was wracked by serious strikes, and it was evidently felt that Haig would have no difficulty ordering troops to fire on misbehaving workers. It was his last employment. De Groot, *Douglas Haig*, op. cit., pp. 402-403.

541) *He accepted their mandate and proceeded to accomplish it (in his words) “without counting the cost”*: Keith Grieves, “Haig and the Government, 1916-1918,” Bond, Cave, *Haig*, op. cit., p. 112.

- 541) *French's "reckless declaration," and following*: Terrain, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 73; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 74, 79, 70. Haig also noted in his diary that wounded men in military hospitals were saying things like "why should we have a King?" Haig was very aware about the danger of rumors circulating behind the front lines (p. 344).
- 542) "*On a dark and dismal night*" Robertson hailed a "broken-down taxi" and returned to his rented house in London: Sir William R. Robertson, *From Private to Field Marshal* (London, 1921), p. 377.
- 542) *Lloyd George and Churchill stared at the two pistols that killed Wilson*: Churchill, *World Crisis*, op. cit., p. 772.
- 542) *Currie's reception in Halifax reminded one reporter of a funeral, and following*: Cook, *Madman*, op. cit., pp. 283, 273, 272, 276, 314, 321, 332.
- 543) *Sir James Edmonds on record concerning Currie's "unsoldierly behavior"*: Terraine, *Ordeal of Victory*, op. cit., p. 362; Cassar, *Hell in Flanders Field*, op. cit., p. 237.
- 544) *Wilson was a neurotic "who in his subconscious was God and Christ"*: Sigmund Freud, William C. Bullitt, *Thomas Woodrow Wilson: A Psychological Study* (Boston, 1966), p. 170.
- 546) *Lodge "that quintessential stuffed shirt" and "petrified dandy"*: David F. Trask, book review, *AHR*, Vol. 86, No. 2 (April 1981), p. 468.
- 546) *Harding's "return to normalcy," and following*: Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steel Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1960), Vol. II, pp. 515, 498.
- 546) "*We won, let's go home*": Dos Passos, *Mr. Wilson's War*, op. cit., p. 469.
- 546) "*I have seen fools resist Providence before and I have seen their destruction*": *PWW*, Vol. 68, p. 468.
- 546) "*The machinery is worn out ...*": *PWW*, Vol. 68, p. 555.
- 546) *Wilson "was as much a casualty of the war as any soldier who fell in the field"*: Grayson, *An Intimate Memoir*, op. cit., pp. 139-40.
- 546) "*It was enough to contemplate in silence the grandeur of it all ...*": Repington *After the War*, op. cit., p. 187.
- 546) *Clemenceau called Foch's memoirs "gossip"*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 393.
- 547) *Lloyd George "aroused every feeling except trust ..."*: Taylor, *English History*, op. cit.,

pp. 192-3, 74.

- 547) *He had already been long dead, he told them, ever since Versailles*: Charles L. Mee, Jr., *The End of Order: Versailles 1919* (New York, 1980), p. 267.
- 548) *Colonel Strutt provides the “moral support of the British government,” and following*: Brook-Shepherd, *Last Habsburg*, op. cit., pp. 240, 229, 232, 234, 240, 265.
- 549) *Repington called this foray an “operetta”*: Repington, *After the War*, op. cit., p. 125.
- 550) *“It is a world that we cannot imagine – a world gone completely to pieces,” and following*: Taylor, *My Darling Pussy*, op. cit., p. 178; Nicolson, *Peacemaking*, op. cit., pp. 293-4.
- 552) *Predictable controversy*: Jane Perlez, “Reburial is Both a Ceremony and a Test for Today's Hungary,” *New York Times*, September 5, 1993. For Horthy, see T. Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918-1944* (New York, 1994); Beevor, *Second World War*, op. cit., pp. 645-6.
- 552) *“Soldiers, your goal is the Mediterranean”*: Kinross, *Atatürk*, op. cit., p. 311.
- 553) *Modern Italians did not remind Woodrow Wilson of ancient Romans*: MacMillan, *Paris, 1919*, op. cit., p. 429.
- 553) *Lloyd George called the Greek invasion “a daring and reckless military enterprise”*: Kinross, *Atatürk*, op. cit., p. 306.
- 553) *“Turkey is no more”*: Lloyd George remark to the House of Commons. See A. E. Montgomery, “Lloyd George and the Greek Question, 1918-22,” Taylor, *Twelve Essays*, op. cit., p. 266.
- 553) *The “war of the giants” was over ...* : Panelist M. MacMillan, “Ending the Great War: The Peace That Failed?,” in J. Winter, ed., *The Legacy of the Great War: Ninety Years On* (Columbia, MO, 2009), p. 124.
- 553) *“The Turks have contributed nothing whatsoever to the progress of humanity ...”*: Nicolson, *Peacemaking*, op. cit., p. 35.
- 554) *“I don't act for public opinion ...,” and following*: Kinross, *Atatürk*, op. cit., pp. xvii, 326.
- 554) *“It looked as if we were drifting into another war”*: Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., p. 375.
- 554) *Turkish representative at Lausanne “more like an Armenian lace-seller than a Turkish general”*: MacMillan, *Paris, 1919*, op. cit., p. 452.
- 555) *Lloyd George recognized the fact that Kemal “was now dictating to Europe,” and*



- following*: Riddell, *Diaries*, op. cit., pp. 375, 359.
- 555) “everyone [too] busy scratching for a living. I don't think people give a hang what happens there”: Stevenson, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 230.
- 555) *Many Greek refugees could not speak Greek*: Keegan, *First World War*, op. cit., p. 425.
- 555) *Greek troopers straggling home, “dirty, tired, unshaven ...”*: MacMillan, *Paris, 1919*, op. cit., p. 452.
- 556) *San Remo “a second-class English watering place”*: Ibid., 442.
- 556) *Turks should “walk from the East in the direction of the West”*: Kinross, *Atatürk*, op. cit., p. 384.
- 556) “*What on earth does this mean ...*”: Nicolson, *King George V*, op. cit., p. 342.
- 556) *Lloyd George said his bookshelves were “groaning” with war memoirs*: Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. v.
- 557) “*Some of his friends think that he would do better sometimes to admit that he has occasionally made mistakes ...*”: Stevenson, *Diary*, op. cit., p. 261.
- 557) *Wilson was a shameless “humbug,” and following*: Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., pp. 290, 90.
- 557) *Haig edited himself, and his suicide “twenty-five years after his death”*: Ibid., p. 149; Beaverbrook, *Men and Power*, op. cit., p. xviii. The extent of Haig’s alterations (and those by his wife) are the subject of controversy to this day: Travers, *The Killing Ground*, op. cit., pp. 25-6, 35 (ftn. 100), 213. See Prior, Wilson, *Passchendaele*, op. cit., p. 215 (ftn. 10) for arguments that the editing was slight.
- 557) “*No man who is responsible can lead us again*”: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 94.
- 557) *Esher told Gough to “suffer in silence”*: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., p. Vol. IV, pp.197-8.
- 558) *George V inveterately opposed to anything that might alleviate the squalid conditions of the laboring class, and following*: Lloyd George, *Family Letters*, op. cit., p. 159; Haig, *Private Papers*, op. cit., p. 79; Rose, *George V*, op. cit., p. 257; Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 58 (photograph); Cooper, *Haig*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 347.
- 558) *Hitler’s opinion that kings are “biological blunders”*: H. R. Trevor-Roper, ed., *Hitler’s Secret Conversations: 1941-1944*, trans. N. Cameron, R. H. Stevens (New York, 1953), p. 312.

- 559) “Lafayette, we are *still* here”: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., pp. 239, 270, 293.
- 560) “Tell me, how is my old friend Marshal Pétain?” ...: Jenkins, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 743.
- 560) *Pershing’s engagement to Patton’s sister*: This unfortunate woman finally arrived in Great Britain, expecting to be reunited with Pershing, but the general, in somewhat caddish fashion, finally put an end to their relationship. This distressed just about everyone in the Patton family. See Stanley P. Hirshson, *General Patton: A Soldier’s Life* (New York, 2002), pp. 97-100, 137-8, 147-8.
- 560) *On his last Armistice Day, only ten telegrams were delivered to the old soldier’s bedside*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 307.
- 560) “I’ll make him a postmaster ...”: Bert Edward Park, *The Impact of Illness on World Leaders* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 85.
- 562) *French wives who were now widows, he suggested, had more grief in store for them ...*: Greenhalgh, *Foch*, op. cit., pp. 518-19.
- 562) *De Gaulle’s book sold more copies in Germany than France*: Alistair Cooke, “Two Titans,” *The New Yorker*, September 20, 1982, p. 136.
- 562) “They only call me in catastrophes ...,” and following: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., pp. 21, 1.
- 563) *Dunkirk*: See Alistair Horne, *To Lose A Battle: France 1940* (Harmondsworth, UK, 1969), pp. 590-6, 617-20.
- 563) *Britain would have its neck wrung like a chicken*: P. M. H. Bell, *France and Britain 1900-1940: Entente and Estrangement* (London, 1996), p. 244.
- 563) “To make Paris a city of ruins ...”: Ibid., p. 616.
- 563) “That would be the end of France,” and following: William H. Shirer, *The Collapse of the Third Republic: An Inquiry into the Fall of France in 1940* (New York, 1969), pp. 783, 861.
- 564) “It is easy, but stupid, to talk of fighting to the last man ...”: Robert B. Bruce, *Pétain: Verdun to Vichy* (Washington, 2008), p. 93.
- 564) “You take Hitler for Wilhelm I ...”: Shirer, *Collapse of the Third Republic*, op. cit., p. 786.
- 564) “Pétain seemed dead”: Sir Edward L. Spears, *Assignment to Catastrophe* (New York, 1955), Vol. II, pp. 181-2.
- 564) “We are criminals”: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 33.
- 565) *Pétain’s trial*: Williams, *Pétain*, op. cit., pp. 486-511. For the Vichy regime in general,

see Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York, 1972).

565) “*Cunt, that's all that matters*”: Atkin, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 3.

565) *Pétain's coffin stolen*: Clyde H. Farnsworth, “Body of Pétain Stolen From Island Grave Off France,” *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1973. See also related articles Feb. 22, 23.

565) *Pétain's wish to be buried “among those French and German soldiers marked as unknown”*: Flanner, *Pétain*, op. cit., p. 53.

566) “*Pétain was a great man ...*”: Lacouture, *De Gaulle*, op. cit., p. 80.

567) “*He went on writing even when he found no readers*”: A. J. P. Taylor, “Trotsky,” *Essays on Twentieth-Century Europe*, op. cit., p. 278.

567) “*Should he have expected a different fate?*”: Fried, Sanders, eds., *Socialist Thought*, op. cit., p. 448.

567) “*The rubbish can of history*”: Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, trans. M. Eastman (New York, 1932), Vol. 3, p. 311.

567) *Saul Bellow sat in the waiting room along with other devotees of the great man*: Bertrand M. Patenaude, *Trotsky: Downfall of a Revolutionary* (New York, 2009), p.305. It was said of Bellow, a student at the time, that “his Trotskyism died at the same time Trotsky did.”

568) “*Wilderness House*”: John Curtis Perry, Constantine Pleshakov, *The Flight of the Romanovs: A Family Saga* (New York, 1999), p. 329.

570) *Maria Rasputin lived off social security checks*: Obituary notice, “Maria Rasputin Bern, Insisted She Was Child of ‘Mad Monk,’” *New York Times*, September 28, 1977.

570) “*The only way to deal with Ireland ...*,” *and following*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., pp. 349, 207, 217, 261 (comment by editor, T. Wilson), 363, 342, 338.

572) *Ireland “was none of our business.”*: *PWW*, Vol. 55, p. 463.

572) “*Resistance would be brushed away ...*”: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 359.

572) *Make-up of Easter Rising fighters*: McGarry, *The Rising*, op. cit., p. 60.

572) *Pro-Treaty forces of 1919- '21 shot or hanged 101 of their former comrades*: Macardle, , *Irish Republic*, op. cit., pp. 912-914.

573) *Richtohfen's grave defaced*: P. Carisella, J. Ryan, *Who Killed the Red Baron?* (Wakefield, MA, 1969), pp. 179-81.

- 574) *Von Richthofen's cousin*: See James S. Corum, *Wolfram von Richthofen: Master of the German Air War* (Lawrence, KS, 2008).
- 574) "Foch was asked how Napoleon would have fought the Great War ...": G. B. Shaw, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 242.
- 575) "The Arabs are like a page I have turned over": Aaron Klieman, "Lawrence as Bureaucrat," *The T.E. Lawrence Puzzle*, S. Tabachnick, ed. (Athens, GA, 1984), p. 253.
- 575) *Churchill posthumously chided Lawrence*: W. Churchill, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 201.
- 575) "I'm bored stiff": T. E. to E. Kennington, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 192.
- 575) *Lawrence had that "instinctive feeling ..."*: Philip Sassoon, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 344.
- 575) *T. E. called his career in the desert a "flash in the pan"*: T. E. to Edward Elgar, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 468. The only portion of T. E.'s "retirement" that gave him any consistent pleasure was probably two years in Plymouth with the RAF, working on power boats, beginning in 1931.
- 575) "He was retiring and yet craved to be seen ...": Namier, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 225.
- 575) "I came here to eat dirt ...": Howe, "T.E. Lawrence," op. cit., p. 363.
- 575) "He said he had finished with the East ...": Namier, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 229.
- 575) *Sergeants were "messy feeders ..."*: T. E. to G. B. Shaw, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 216.
- 575) "It was obvious to me that legends would follow T.E...": Alec Dixon, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 371.
- 576) "Do you read that sort of thing? ...": Graves, *Lawrence*, op. cit., p. 420.
- 576) *T. E. on collecting books, and following inventories*: Hilda Chaundy, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 333; "Books at Clouds Hill," *ibid.*, pp. 476-510; see also "Gramophone Records at Clouds Hill," *ibid.*, pp. 523-29.
- 576) *Guests were supplied with can openers ...*: James, *Golden Warrior*, op. cit., p. 341.
- 576) *Publishing revenues for Jonathan Cape*: Orlans, *Broken Hero*, op. cit., p. 133.

- 576) *Thomas turned Lawrence into “a cheap and vulgar legend ...”*: Howe, “T. E. Lawrence,” op. cit., pp. 355, 333.
- 576) “*The Arab war was not nearly as silly as Thomas makes out*”: T. E. to Fareedah El Akle, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 183.
- 576) *T. E. could often “spread his peacock tail”*: William Rothenstein, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 287.
- 576) *Thomas said that Lawrence had an affinity for “backing into the limelight”*: Lowell Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 215.
- 576) *Lawrence's sideshow “was war as [many people] romantically dreamed it ought to be ...”*: Pritchett, *The Tale Bearers*, op. cit., p. 54.
- 577) “*I'm in a trough of the waves ...*”: T. E. to Charlotte Shaw, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 419.
- 577) “*There was in him a deep neurotic negation of life*”: Namier, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 227.
- 577) *Roger Casement*: See R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats, A Life: II. The Arch Poet* (Oxford, 2003), p. 755 (# 4).
- 577) *Graves wrote that T. E. “knew a good deal about himself ...”*: Graves, *Lawrence by his Friends*, op. cit., p. 330.
- 577) *Seven Pillars “my beastly thing,” and following*: T. E. to Edmund Blunden; T. E. to R. D. Blumenfeld, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., pp. 243, 212.
- 577) “*If people read [the book] as a history, then they mistake it*”: T. E. to W. F. Stirling, *ibid.*, p. 275.
- 578) “*On the whole I prefer lies to truth ...*”: Ralph Isham, *Lawrence by His Friends*, op. cit., p. 298.
- 578) “*Seven Pillars of Fiction*” and T. E. “*a charlatan*”: Ifrain Karsh, “Seven Pillars of Fiction,” *Wall Street Journal* (8 August 2013). Trevor Roper called T. E. a “charlatan” as well, and also “a fraud”: Wyatt-Brown, “Image and Reality,” op. cit., p. 532.
- 578) *T. E. was nicknamed Prince Dynamite, “for his explosive energy”*: Graves, *Lawrence*, op. cit., p. 12.
- 578) *Officials in Cairo were always “butting into our show”*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 197.

- 578) *Arab warriors “quivering together in the yielding sand ...”*: Lawrence, *ibid.*, p. 30; Wyatt-Brown, “Image and Reality,” *op. cit.*, pp. 527-8.
- 578) “*A gradual cracking apart of my whole being, ” and following*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, *op. cit.*, pp. 444, 445.
- 579) *T.E. “was living dangerously close to scandal”*: James, *Golden Warrior*, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
- 579) *Jack Bruce, “the roughest diamond of our tank corps hut, ” and following*: T. E. to F. N. Doubleday, *Selected Letters*, *op. cit.*, p. 445; John E. Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder: The Life of T. E. Lawrence* (Cambridge, MA, 1998), p. 431.
- 579) “*Look to duty now, Jock*”: James, *Golden Warrior*, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-21. There has been skepticism whether Bruce was even there. One of Lawrence's more perceptive biographers called his presence “unlikely.” Orlans, *Broken Hero*, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- 579) *Lawrence, self-confessed “extinct volcano, ” begins work on the “Odyssey”*: Howe, “T. E. Lawrence,” *op. cit.*, pp. 361, 360; Jeremy Wilson, “T. E. Lawrence and the Translating of the *Odyssey*, 1928-1931,” *T. E. Lawrence Studies* (Internet resource, 2006).
- 579) *Brough Superior motorcycles*: T. E. had commissioned an eighth motorcycle, which was unfinished at the time of his death. Orlans, *Broken Hero*, *op. cit.*, p. 124. For more on the “Rolls Royce of motorcycles,” see Mac McDairmid, *Classic British Bikes* (Clifton, UK, 1998), pp. 20-1.
- 580) *Kennington’s effigy*: Jonathan Black, *The Sculpture of Eric Kennington* (Much Hadham, UK, 2002), pp. 57-65.
- 580) *Lawrence's dagger, and following*: Lawrence owned at least three *jambiya* daggers (also known as *khanjar*). The first he was forced to relinquish as a gift to a Bedouin chief. The second was given to him by the Sharif of Medina after the victory at Aqaba. The third, of gold, he claims to have commissioned himself on a surreptitious trip to Mecca. The sharifian gift was “a heavy thing, and I discarded it with pleasure.” The gold dagger was the one he sold to pay for the work at Clouds Hill; it fetched £725. It is now in the collection of All Souls College in Oxford. At a recent auction, the second dagger (Sharif of Medina's gift) was sold to a collector, along with other Lawrencian memorabilia, and only saved from export overseas by a grant totaling some £100,000. It is now in the collection of The National Army Museum in London. The provenance supplied by the auctioneer establishes clearly that T. E. did not “discard” this dagger. See Wilson, *Authorized Biography*, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-3, 1079 (# 36); Saunders, *Desert Insurgency*, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-7; “Silver-Gilt Mounted Arab Jambiya Dagger. Ornatly-tooled hilt and scabbard, curved blade. 30cm long,” Christie's Live Auction 1045 ([www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5915241](http://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5915241), 14 July 2015); *Manchester Guardian*, “Dagger and Robes of Lawrence of Arabia Saved for Nation,” 18 October 2016.
- 581) “*And as for the unbelievers ...”*: Chapter 24, verse 39; James, *Golden Warrior*, *op. cit.*, p.

224.

- 581) "*The self determination of peoples*": Robert M. MacIver, "Woodrow Wilson and Self-Determination," *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, Vol. 4 (1945-1946), p. 33.
- 581) "*I can't shoot them all for mutiny*": Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, op. cit., p. 429.
- 582) "*I cannot understand why our troops were halted ...*": Lord (Charles Wilson) Moran, *Churchill: Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran - The Struggle for Survival* (Boston, 1966), p. 755.
- 583) *Every word of McMahon was "dead paper"*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 275.
- 583) "*Saladin, we're back*": Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, op. cit., p. 461.
- 583) "*The Forty Thieves*": Meyer, Brysac, *Kingmakers*, op. cit., p. 160.
- 583) *T. E.'s way to "redeem in large measure the promises he had made .."*: Churchill, *Lawrence By His Friends*, op. cit., p. 198.
- 584) "*Feisal owed me Damascus first of all ...*": T. E. to Charlotte Shaw, *Selected Letters*, op. cit., p. 348.
- 584) "*It is a bad day for us kings ...*": Graves, *Lawrence*, op. cit., p. 54.
- 585) *T. E. characterized the sharif as "absurd," "conceited ..."*: T. E. cable to Foreign Office, *ibid.*, p. 188.
- 586) "*Arabia seemed far less admirable in peace than in war*": Howe, "T. E. :Lawrence," op. cit., p. 353.
- 586) *Ibn Saud's pretensions supported by officials in the Indian Office*: Wilson, *Authorized Biography*, op. cit., pp. 521, 613; Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War*, op. cit., p. 155.
- 586) "*We sealed [his] doom*": Graves, *Lawrence*, op. cit., p. 397.
- 586) *Wahhabi sect of Sunni Islam "a fanatical Moslem heresy"*: Lawrence, *Seven Pillars*, op. cit., p. 148.
- 586) *Ibn Saud "the last protest of the desert against Europe"*: Namier, *Lawrence By His Friends*, op. cit., p. 231.
- 586) "*The order of civilization" created in the Middle East ...*": Howe, "T. E. Lawrence," op. cit., p. 352.

- 586) “*In peace the kaiser was a war-lord ...*”: Wheeler-Bennett, *Three Episodes*, op. cit., p. 22. This is a compression from Prince Bernhard von Bülow, *Memoirs* (Boston, 1932), Vol. III, pp. 330-2 .
- 587) *Lloyd George the great “foolometer”*: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 61.
- 587) *A scurrilous rumor spread about that George V had approached his opposite number in Holland, Queen Wilhelmina, to grant Wilhelm permanent asylum*: Wheeler-Bennett, *Three Episodes*, op. cit., p. 17. In fact, George V did not initially offer an opinion as to Wilhelm's fate, though he did object to the kaiser being charged with war crimes. Lamar, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 298.
- 587) “*An ocean of abuse ...*”: Waters, *Potsdam and Doorn*, op. cit., p. 95.
- 587) *Wilhelm's mania for wood cutting*: Lady Norah Bentinck, *The Ex-Kaiser in Exile* (New York, 1921), pp. 46-8; Lamar, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 300-301. At Doorn, he cut down over 20,000 trees.
- 588) *The locals, however, would not frequent the place. “They are frightened of it” ...* : Bentinck, *The Ex-Kaiser*, op. cit., p. 53.
- 588) *Wilhelm detested the term “ex-kaiser”*: Cecil, *Wilhelm II*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 445 (ftn. 113).
- 588) *British politicians had “engineered [an] unjust war against me and my country”*: Waters, *Potsdam and Doorn*, op. cit., p. 96.
- 588) “*How little the kaiser has changed ...*”: Röhl, “The emperor's new clothes,” op. cit., p. 29.
- 588) *Kaiserin a “thoroughly downtrodden” woman*: Countess Alice of Athlone, *For My Grandchildren*, op. cit., p. 93.
- 589) *The “Kapp farce”*: Harry Kessler, *In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler*, trans. O. Friedrich (New York, 1971), p. 121.
- 589) “*Tonight we will have champagne!*”: James Charles Roy, *The Vanished Kingdom: Travels Through the History of Prussia* (Boulder, CO, 1999) p. 203.
- 589) *Germany was a “mustard republic, brown and sharp”*: Christian Zentner, Friedemann Bedürftig, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (New York, 1991), Vol. 2, p. 1048.
- 589) “*Though the bluest of East Elbian blood flowed through their veins ...,*” and following: J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Knaves, Fools and Heroes in Europe Between the Wars* (London, 1974), p. 181; Wheeler-Bennett, *Three Episodes*, op. cit., pp. 24-5.



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- 590) *Crown prince portrayed as a warmonger*: Ibid., p. 108.
- 590) *Ceremony, Potsdam Garrison Church, 1933*: Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler* (New York, 1973), pp. 258-60; Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris* (New York, 1999), pp. 464-5; Roy, *The Vanished Kingdom*, op. cit., pp. 38-42.
- 591) *After Hitler left, Wilhelm's estranged wife had a servant open the windows "to get the stench out"*: Ursula Grosser Dixon, "Germany's Last Crown Prince" (Internet resource: posted Nov. 8, 1997).
- 591) *Burial of crown prince's son*: William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent 1934-1941* (New York, 1941), p. 386.
- 591) *"Slobbering pig dog aristocrats"*: Roy, *The Vanished Kingdom*, op. cit., p. 259.
- 591) *"You have lost above all, monsieur, your sense of dignity ...," and following*: Klaus W. Jonas, *The Life of Crown Prince William*, trans. C. W. Bangert (Pittsburgh, 1961), pp. 215, 224.
- 592) *Krupp AG's tremendous profit growth between 1916 and the following year, over 152%*: Ferguson, *Pity of War*, op. cit., p. 263.
- 592) *"The first chariot of socialism!"*: Solzhenitsyn, *Lenin in Zurich*, op. cit., p. 134.
- 592) *Larne guns last-known use, the Ethiopian war, 1940*: A. T. Q. Stewart, *The Ulster Crisis: Resistance to Home Rule 1912-14* (London, 1969), pp. 248-9.
- 593) *HMS Hampshire*: "HMS Hampshire: Birsay Bay, Atlantic," *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland* (Internet resource); R. N. Baird, *Shipwrecks of the North of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 261-71. For casualty figures see [www.hmshampshire.org](http://www.hmshampshire.org).
- 594) *"Queen Victoria, For Sale"*: V. S. Pritchett, E. Hofer, *Dublin: A Portrait* (New York, 1967), pp. 34-5. After its stay at Kilmainham, the statue evidently ended up at a former reform school in County Offaly. In 1986, it was shipped to Sydney Australia, where it was re-erected outside of The Queen Victoria Building. See "Statues of Dublin: The unveiling (and removal) of Queen Victoria," *Come Here to Me! Dublin Life and Culture*, May 24, 2012 (Internet resource).
- 594) *Kitchener desecrated the tomb of Muhammad Ahmad, the "Mahdi"*: Gilbert, *Churchill*, op. cit., p. 327 (ftn. 2).
- 594) *Controversy over a centenary £2 coin issued by the Royal Mint*: According to the critic, "At a time when we are seeking reconciliation between the West and the Muslim world,

how can it make sense to lionize Lord Kitchener, whose military record includes the butchery of thousands of Sudanese at Omdurman?” See “Calls for ‘Offensive’ Kitchener World War I Centennial Coin to be Scrapped,” *The Herald Scotland*, January 14, 2014.

595) *American forces needed 32,000 fresh mounts a month*: Smyth, *Pershing*, op. cit., p. 207.

595) *30,000 dogs used by Germans, and following*: Burkhard Bilger, “Beware of the Dogs: Can New York’s canine units keep the city safe from terrorism?”, *The New Yorker*, February 27, 2012, p. 48; Susan Orleans, *Rin Tin Tin: The Life and the Legend* (New York, 2011).

596) *Ypres was so close you could almost touch its famous tower, Hitler said*: Trevor-Roper, *Hitler's Secret Conversations*, op. cit., p. 495.

596) *Otto Dix*: See Olaf Peters, ed., *Otto Dix* (New York, 2010); Peter Schjeldahl, “Dark Pleasures: An Otto Dix retrospective,” *The New Yorker*, March 22, 2010, pp. 78-9.

596) *Shove their bayonets “point, barrel, left and right and even the butt, right through his guts ...”*: Eric Fisher Wood, *The Note Book of an Intelligence Officer* (New York, 1917), pp. 266-7. See also Graves, *Good-bye*, op. cit., p. 237. A volunteer in the Canadian force thought bayonet training was a waste of time. “A personal kill is very rare,” he wrote. “Of the four or five hundred thousand Germans killed during the fighting with the British armies in France, the greater part by far have fallen victims to shell explosions or machine-gun bullets.” Dinesen, *Merry Hell*, op. cit., p. 172.

596) *It is thought unlikely that Hitler ever killed anybody ...*: Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris* (New York, 1999), pp. 87-97.

597) *Killing someone now was no longer an acceptable job description, it was murder*: Wood, *Note Book*, op. cit., p. 267.

597) *Hitler’s street fighting thugs in the early days grew steadily augmented by young men who had been too young to fight in World War I, and following*: Showalter, “The German Soldier of World War One,” op. cit., p. 79; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936*, op. cit., p. 98; James M. Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany* (Bloomington, IN, 1977), pp. 152-4, 169-75.

597) *They did not understand that Hitler’s years in the trenches were the happiest of his life*: Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. R. Manheim (Boston, 1943), pp.161-4.

598) *The Menin Gate, and following*: Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 1917-1967* (London, 1967), pp. 86-106; Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto, 1987); Herbert F. Wood, John Swettenham, *Silent Witnesses* (Toronto, 1974); Jacqueline Hucker, “Monuments of the First and Second World Wars,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Internet

resource); “Last Post Association” (Website, Internet resource); “Menin Gate,” *The London Times*, July 25, 1917, p. 14; Siegfried Sassoon, “On Passing the New Menin Gate,” *The War Poems of Siegfried Sassoon*, R. Hart-Davis, ed. (London, 1983), p. 153.

599) “*I died in hell – (They called it Passchendaele)*”: S. Sassoon, “Memorial Tablet (Great War),” *ibid.*, p. 137.

599) “*Boulogne had gone to bed ...*”: Clint, *Our Bit*, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

600) *Able Seaman Pax G. Yates*: Jessamy Carlson, “Armistice Babies,” *The National Archives Blog*, 1 November 1918 (Internet resource); Guy Cuthbertson, *Peace at Last: A Portrait of Armistice Day, 11 November 1918* (New Haven, 2018), p. 242.

## 20) Mistakes: Who Must Shoulder The Blame?

page 601) “*There died a myriad ...*”: Ezra Pound, “Hugh Selwyn Mauberley,” *Selected Poems* (New York, 1957), p. 64.

601) *Clemenceau blamed the war on “the murderous incoherencies of an imperial degenerate”*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

602) “*No decent person wants a war because of the Slavs ...*”: Maylunas, Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion*, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

602) *Clemenceau said “vote for the stupidest”*: Adamthwaite, *Grandeur and Misery*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

602) *The “P.M. is absolutely devoid of all principles except one ...*”: Stevenson, *Diary*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

602) “*Twenty very able gentlemen in England ...*”: Esher, *Journals and Letters*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

603) *Wilson still believed the greatest threat to his country was the “yellow peril”*: Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight*, *op. cit.*, p. 676; Shusuke Takahera, “Wilsonian Idealism and its Impact on Japan: The Case of Japan’s Racial Equality Proposal” (The Asiatic Society of Japan: Lecture archive, March 17, 2003).

603) *The only politician who took the bull by its horns was Lenin ...*: Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

603) *Great Britain also had the most hidebound officers afloat*: John Gooch, “The Weary Titan: Strategy and Policy in Great Britain, 1890-1918,” Murray, *The Making of Strategy*, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

603) *Who made the most serious mistakes?*: For a short primer, see Rubin, *Summer the Archduke Died*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-31.

- 604) *Germany did not begin the war with ideas similar to Hitler's ...* : Herwig, "Strategic Uncertainties," op. cit., p. 264.
- 605) *Coal production: Adamthwaite, Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 2.
- 605) *Great Britain had no treaty entanglement with France, only "informal understandings"*: Snyder, *Ideology of the Offensive*, op. cit., p. 115.
- 606) *Prince von Bülow confined responsibility in Germany to a mere "two or three"*: John C. G. Röhl, "Germany," in K. Wilson, ed., *Decisions for War 1914* (London, 1995), p. 29.
- 607) *"This time, we will make an end to it"*: Basil Liddell Hart, *Fog of War*, op. cit., p. 316.
- 608) *"We are face to face with the fact that pugnacity is still a part of human nature ..."*: Shaw, *What I Really Wrote*, op. cit., p. 236.
- 608) *"Look at war, the most serious business of a barbarous people"*: John Stuart Mill, "Civilization," *Essays on Politics and Culture* (Garden City, NY, 1963), p. 49.
- 608) *"Mere wind and stink"*: G. B. Shaw, "Annajanska, the Bolshevik Princess," *Selected Short Plays*, op. cit., p. 305.
- 609) *According to Shaw, the British had gutted downtown Dublin far worse than the Germans had Arras*: Shaw, *What I Really Wrote*, op. cit., p. 223.
- 609) *"The great flourish of ideals"*: Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight*, op. cit., p. 675.
- 609) *There was no reason that Hans Castorp had to succumb to the allure of military glory*: Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter (New York: Vintage, 1969), pp. 706-16.
- 609) *"The glory of our civilization ..."*: Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery*, op. cit., p. 105.
- 609) *A. J. P. Taylor wondered if "civilization" meant central heating for all, and following*: Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, op. cit., pp. 7, 32-3.
- 609) *"That is cant ... we did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians"*: Blythe, *Age of Illusion*, op. cit., p. 27.
- 610) *Mills asked "whether civilization is on the whole a good or an evil"*: Mills, "Civilization," op. cit., p. 45.
- 610) *"Civilization" took a noisier turn ...* : See Paul Fussell, "The Great War and Cultural Modernism," *A Weekend with the Great War*, op. cit., pp. 248-60.
- 610) *"Mediocre kitschmongers"*: Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to Music in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2007), p. 66.

- 610) *Rupert Brooke hadn't died by a bullet, but a mosquito bite, and following*: Christopher Hassall, *Rupert Brooke: A Biography* (New York, 1964), pp. 505-10; Nicolson, *The Great Silence*, op. cit., p. 17. See also Sassoon, *War Poems*, op. cit., p. 119. For Brooke's reputation, see William E. Laskowski, *Rupert Brooke* (New York, 1994), pp. 100-38.
- 610) *Austria could no longer be regarded as a country, only as "a sort of colony"*: Repington, *After the War*, op. cit., p. 293.
- 610) *"From Archduke to Grocer"*: Wölfling, *My Life Story*, op. cit.
- 610) *Germany continued to subsist on turnip jelly*: See Harry A. Franck, *Vagabonding Through Changing Germany* (New York, 1920), pp. 137-58.
- 610) *"This is my purse"*: Wölfling, *My Life Story*, op. cit., p. 228.
- 610) *Great Britain "is finished ..."*: Pershing, *My Experiences*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 119.
- 610) *"The rich to spend more and save less, the poor to spend more and work less"*: Keynes, *Economic Consequences*, op. cit., p. 4.
- 610) *The end of the war "ought to sound the death knell of all the autocracies ...," and following*: Scott, *Political Diaries*, op. cit., p. 93; Taylor, *From Sarajevo to Potsdam*, op. cit., p. 78.
- 611) *The divorce rate in Great Britain exploded threefold*: Nicolson, *The Great Silence*, op. cit., p. 44.
- 611) *"Now Albert's coming back ..."*: T. S. Eliot, "The Wasteland," *The Complete Poems and Plays 1909-1950* (New York, 1962), p. 41.
- 611) *The endless "white caps of a great sea of graves ..."*: F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender is the Night* (New York, 1962), p. 59.
- 626) *Germany was producing 320,000 shells a week versus Great Britain's 30,000 (endnote # 8)*: C. P. Scott, *The Political Diaries of C. P. Scott 1911-1918*, T. Wilson, ed. (Ithaca, 1970), p. 132.
- 650) Additional references for endnote #19: For *"too much advertisement behind all the humility,"* see D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (London, 1994), p. 281; Stanley Weintraub, "Lawrence of Arabia: The Portraits from Imagination, 1922-1979," *The T. E. Lawrence Puzzle*, op. cit., pp. 472-3. For *Mozart was T. E.'s favorite composer*, see Graves, *Lawrence*, op. cit., p. 437.
- 652) Additional reference for endnote #26: *"The Conquerors,"* see Beaverbrook Collection of War Art (Canadian War Museum: Internet resource).
- 652) References for endnote #31, *Prince Louis-Ferdinand*: Jonas, *Crown Prince William*, op.

cit., pp. 206-10; William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York, 1960), p. 907; Waters, *Potsdam and Doorn*, op. cit., pp. 168-9. See also "The Hohenzollerns," *Life International*, Vol. 35, No. 3, Aug. 12, 1963, pp. 70-81 (photographs by Alfred Eisenstaedt).