

The Russian Orange Book, 1914

DOCUMENTS RESPECTING THE NEGOTIATIONS PRECEDING THE WAR, PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

No. 1.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Belgrade, July 10 (23), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

The Austrian Minister, at 6 o'clock this evening, presented an ultimatum from his Government to the Minister of Finance, Patchou, in the absence of Pashitch, requiring the acceptance of the demands contained therein within forty-eight hours. Giesl added verbally that, in the event of failure to accept the note integrally within forty-eight hours, he was under instructions to leave Belgrade with the staff of the legation. Pashitch and the other Ministers, who are away electioneering, have been recalled and are expected at Belgrade to-morrow, Friday, at 10 A.M. Patchou, who communicated to me the contents of the note, solicits the help of Russia and declares that no Servian Government could accept the demands of Austria.

No. 2.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Belgrade, July 10 (23), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

TEXT of the note presented to the Servian Government by the Austro-Hungarian Minister to day. Here follows the text of the note, for which see No. 4 in British Correspondence, page 3.

No. 3.

Note verbale personally presented by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, at 10 A.M. on July 11 (24), 1914.

THE Austro-Hungarian Government felt compelled to address the following note to the Servian Government on Thursday, the 10th (23rd) instant, through the medium of the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade.

[Here follows the text of the note.]

No. 4.

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna.

St. Petersburg, July 11 (24), 1914. (Telegram.)

PLEASE convey the following message to the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs: --

[See No. 13 of British Correspondence, page 19.]

Communicated to London, Rome, Paris, and Belgrade.

No. 5.

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Representatives at London, Berlin, Rome, and Paris.

St. Petersburg, July 11 (24), 1914. (Telegram.)

WITH reference to my telegram of to-day to Kudachef* we trust that the Government to which you are accredited will share the Russian point of view and will at once instruct their Representative at Vienna to hold similar language.

Communicated to Belgrade.

* Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Vienna.

No. 6.

Telegram from His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Servia to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Belgrade, July 11 (24), 1914.

THE Austro-Hungarian Government yesterday evening presented to the Servian Government a note respecting the outrage at Sarajevo. Servia, aware of her international obligations, has declared, ever since the horrible crime was committed, that she condemned it, and that she was ready to open an enquiry in Servia if the complicity of certain of her subjects were proved at the trial instituted by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The demands contained in the Austro-Hungarian note are, however; unnecessarily humiliating for Servia, and incompatible with her dignity as an independent State. for instance, we are peremptorily called upon to insert a declaration by the Government in the "Official Journal," and for an order from the Sovereign to the army, in which we are to check the spirit of hostility towards Austria and to blame ourselves for criminal weakness as regards our treacherous intrigues. We are further required to admit Austro-Hungarian officials into Servia to take part with our officials at the trial and to superintend the carrying out of the other conditions laid down in the note. We are required to accept these demands in their entirety within forty-eight hours, failing which the Austro-Hungarian Legation will leave Belgrade. We are prepared to accept those of the Austro-Hungarian conditions that are compatible with the position of an independent State, as well as those to which your Majesty may advise us to agree, and all those persons whose complicity in the crime may be proved will be severely punished by us. Certain of the demands could not be carried out without changes in our legislation, which would need time. We have been allowed too short a time limit. We may be attacked at the expiration of the time limit by the Austro-Hungarian army that is concentrating upon our frontier. We are unable to defend ourselves and we beg your Majesty to come to our aid

as soon as possible. The much-appreciated goodwill that your Majesty has so often shown towards us inspires us with the firm belief that once again our appeal to your noble Slav heart will not pass unheeded.

At this critical moment I echo the feelings of the Serbia people in praying your Majesty to be pleased to interest yourself in the fate of the Kingdom of Serbia.

No. 7.
Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, July 11 (24), 1914.
(Telegram.)

ALL the morning papers, even those few that recognize the impossibility of Serbia's accepting the prescribed conditions, warmly welcome the strong line adopted by Austria. The semi-official {"Lokal-Anzeiger " is particularly violent; it describes as fruitless any possible appeals that Serbia may make to St. Petersburg, Paris, Athens or Bucharest, and concludes by saying that the German people will breathe freely when they learn that the situation in the Balkan peninsula is to be cleared up at last.

No. 8.
Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 11 (24), 1914.
(Telegram.)

The Austrian Ambassador has communicated a copy of the note officially presented at Belgrade to the French Government. the German Ambassador later visited the Minister and read to him a communication containing the Austrian arguments, and indicating that in the event of a refusal on the part of Serbia, Austria would be obliged to resort to pressure, and, in case of need, to military measures. The communication ended with the observation that, in the opinion of Germany, this question ought to be settled between Austria and Serbia direct, and that it was to the interest of the Powers to localize the affair by leaving it to the interested parties. The Acting Head of the Political Department, who was present at the interview, asked the Ambassador whether the Austrian action should be considered as an ultimatum in other words, whether, in the event of Serbia not submitting entirely to the Austrian demands, hostilities were inevitable. The Ambassador avoided a direct reply, alleging that he had no instructions.

No. 9.
Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Belgrade, July 11 (24), 1914.
(Telegram.)

PASHITCH has returned to Belgrade. He intends to give an answer to Austria within the prescribed time limit that is to say, to-morrow, Saturday, at 6 P.M. showing the points which are acceptable or unacceptable. To day an appeal will be addressed to the Powers

to defend the independence of Servia. Then, added Pashitch, if war is inevitable, we will make war.

No. 10.

**Announcement by the Russian Government.
St. Petersburg, July 12 (25), 1914.**

RECENT events and the dispatch of an ultimatum to Servia by Austria-Hungary are causing the Russian Government the greatest anxiety. The Government are closely following the course of the dispute between the two countries, to which Russia cannot remain indifferent.

No. 11.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Vienna, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

COUNT BERCHTOLD is at Ischl. In view of the impossibility of arriving there in time, I have telegraphed to him our proposal to extend the time limit of the ultimatum, and I have repeated this proposal verbally to Baron Macchio. The latter promised to communicate it in time to the Minister for Foreign Affairs but added that he had no hesitation in predicting a categorical refusal.

No. 12.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Vienna to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Vienna, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram)**

IN continuation of my telegram of to day I have just heard from Macchio that the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse our proposal to extend the time limit of the note.

No. 13.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Belgrade, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Delayed in transmission, received July 14 (27), 1914.)
(Telegram.)**

FOLLOWING is the reply that the President of the Servian Cabinet to day handed to the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade before the expiration of the time limit of the ultimatum. [Here follows the text of the Servian reply, for which see No. 39 in British Correspondence, page 31]

No. 14.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, July 19 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I HAVE received your telegram of the 11th (24th) July and have communicated its contents to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He tells me that the British Government have likewise urged him to advise Vienna to extend the time limit of the ultimatum. He has informed Vienna telegraphically of this step, and he will do the same as regards Russia's action, but he fears that in the absence of Berchtold, who has left for Ischl, and in view of the lack of time, his telegrams may have no result. Moreover, he has doubts as to the wisdom of Austria yielding at the last moment, and he is inclined to think that such a step on her part might increase the assurance of Servia. I replied that a great Power such as Austria could give way without impairing her prestige, and I adduced every other similar argument, but failed, nevertheless, to obtain any more definite promise. Even when I gave him to understand that action must be taken at Vienna if the possibility of terrible consequences was to be avoided, the Minister for Foreign Affairs answered each time in the negative.

No. 15.
Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)

I HAVE received your telegram of the 11th (24th) July respecting the extension of the time limit of the Austrian ultimatum, and I have made the communication in accordance with your instructions. The French Representative at Vienna has been furnished with similar instructions.

No. 16.
Russian Ambassador at London to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)

I HAVE received your telegram of the 11th July. Grey has instructed the British Ambassador at Vienna to support our action for the extension of the time limit of the ultimatum. At the same time he explained to me that the Austrian Ambassador had come to see him, and had explained that the Austrian note should not be regarded as an ultimatum. It should be regarded as a step, which, in the event of no reply, or in the event of an unsatisfactory reply within the time fixed would be followed by a rupture of diplomatic relations and the immediate departure of the Austro-Hungarian Minister from Belgrade; without, however, entailing the immediate opening of hostilities. Grey added that as a result of this explanation he had told the British Ambassador at Vienna that, should it be too late to raise the question of extending the time limit of the ultimatum, the question of preventing hostilities might perhaps serve as a basis for discussion.

No. 17.
Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at London.
St. Petersburg, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)

IN the event of a change for the worse in the situation which might lead to joint action by the Great Powers, we count upon it that England will at once side definitely with Russia and France, in order to maintain the European balance of power, for which she has constantly intervened in the past, and which would certainly be compromised in the event of the triumph of Austria.

No. 18.

Note verbale handed to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, July 12 (25), 1914.

(Translation.)

WE learn from an authoritative source that the news spread by certain newspapers, to the effect that the action of the Austro-Hungarian Government at Belgrade was instigated by Germany, is absolutely false. The German Government had no knowledge of the text of the Austrian note before it was presented, and exercised no influence upon its contents. A threatening attitude is wrongly attributed to Germany.

Germany, as the ally of Austria, naturally supports the claims made by the Vienna Cabinet against Servia, which she considers justified.

Above all Germany wishes, as she has already declared from the very beginning of the Austro-Servian dispute, that this conflict should be localized.

No. 19.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 12 (25), 1914.**

(Telegram.)

PLEASE refer to my telegram of the 11th (24th) July.

A morning paper has to day published, in a not altogether correct form, the declaration made yesterday by the German Ambassador, and has added comments in which it characterizes these utterances as being in the nature of threats. The German Ambassador, who is much upset by these disclosures, to-day visited the Acting Head of the Political Department, and explained to him that his words in no wise bore the threatening character attributed to them. He stated that Austria had presented her note to Servia without any definite understanding with Berlin, but that Germany nevertheless approved of the Austrian point of view, and that undoubtedly "the bolt once fired"(these were his own words), Germany could only be guided by her duties as an ally.

No. 20.

**Russian Ambassador at London to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 12 (25), 1914.**

(Telegram.)

GREY has told me that the German Ambassador has declared to him that the German Government were not informed of the text of the Austrian note, but that they-entirely supported Austria's action. The Ambassador at the same time asked if Great Britain could see her way to bring conciliatory pressure to bear at St. Petersburg. Grey replied that this was quite impossible. He added that, as long as complications existed between Austria and Servia alone, British interests were only indirectly affected; but he had to look ahead to the fact that Austrian mobilization would lead to Russian mobilization, and that from that moment a situation would exist in which the interests of all the Powers would be involved. In that event Great Britain reserved to herself full liberty of action.

No. 21.
Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Belgrade to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Belgrade, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)

IN spite of the extremely conciliatory nature of the Servian reply to the ultimatum, the Austrian Minister has just informed the Servian Government, in a note handed in at 6.30 P.M. this evening, that, not having received a satisfactory answer within the time limit fixed, he was leaving Belgrade with the entire staff of the legation. The Skupchtina is convoked for the 14th (27th) July at Nish. The Servian Government and the Diplomatic Body are leaving this evening for that town.

No. 22.
Russian Ambassador at London to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 12 (25), 1914.
(Telegram.)

GREY has told the German Ambassador that in his opinion Austrian mobilization must lead to Russian mobilization, that grave danger of a general war will thereupon arise, and that he sees only one means of reaching a peaceful settlement, namely, that, in view of the Austrian and Russian mobilizations, Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain should abstain from immediate mobilization, and should at once offer their good offices. Grey told me that the first essential of this plan was the consent of Germany and her promise not to mobilize. He has therefore, as a first step, made an enquiry on this point at Berlin.

No. 23.
Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Rome.
St. Petersburg, July 13 (26), 1914.
(Telegram)

ITALY might play a part of the first importance in favor of preserving peace, by bringing the necessary influence to bear upon Austria, and by adopting a definitely unfavorable attitude towards the dispute on the ground that it could not be localized. You should express your conviction that Russia cannot possibly avoid coming to the help of Servia.

No. 24.

**Acting Russian Consul at Prague to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Prague, July 13 (26), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

MOBILISATION has been ordered.

No. 25.

**Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Vienna.
St. Petersburg, July 13 (26), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I HAD a long and friendly conversation to day with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. After discussing the ten demands addressed to Servia, I drew his attention to the fact that, quite apart from the clumsy form in which they were presented some of them were quite impracticable, even if the Servian Government agreed to accept them. Thus, for example, points 1 and 2 could not be carried out without recasting the Servian press law and associations' law, and to that it might be difficult to obtain the consent of the Skupchtina. As for enforcing points 4 and 5, this might lead to most dangerous consequences, and even to the risk of acts of terrorism directed against the Royal Family and against Pashitch, which clearly could not be the intention of- Austria. With regard to the other points it seemed to me that, with certain changes of detail, it would not be difficult to find a basis of mutual agreement, if the accusations contained in them were confirmed by sufficient proof.

In the interest of the maintenance of peace, which, according to the statements of Szapary, is as much desired by Austria as by all the Powers, it was necessary to end the tension of the present moment as soon as possible. With this object in view it seemed to me most desirable that the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador should be authorized to enter into a private exchange of views in order to redraft certain articles of the Austrian note of the 10th (23rd) July in consultation with me. This method of procedure would perhaps enable us to find a formula that would prove acceptable to Servia, while giving satisfaction to Austria in respect of the chief of her demands. Please convey the substance of this telegram to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in a judicious and friendly manner.

Communicated to Russian Ambassadors in Germany, France, Great Britain, and Italy.

No. 26.

**Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Berlin.
St. Petersburg, July 13 (26), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

PLEASE communicate the contents of my telegram to Vienna of to day to the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, and express to him the hope that he, on his part, will be able to advise Vienna to meet Russia's proposal in a friendly spirit.

No. 27.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 13 (26), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

THE Director of the Political Department informs me that upon his informing the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador of the contents of the Servian reply to the ultimatum, the Ambassador did not conceal his surprise that it had failed to satisfy Giesl. In the opinion of the Director of the Political Department, Servia's conciliatory attitude should produce the best impression in Europe.

No. 28.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 13 (21), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

THE German Ambassador again visited the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs to-day, and made to him the following declarations:

(Translation.)

"Austria has declared to Russia that she does not desire territorial acquisitions, and that she harbors no designs against the integrity of Servia. Her sole object is to secure her own peace and quiet, and consequently it rests with Russia to prevent war. Germany is at one with France in her ardent desire to preserve peace, and she sincerely hopes that France will exercise a moderating influence at St. Petersburg."

The Minister pointed out that Germany on her part might well act on similar lines at Vienna, especially in view of the conciliatory spirit displayed by Servia. The Ambassador replied that such a course was not possible, owing to the decision not to intervene in the Austro-Servian dispute. The Minister then asked whether the four Powers Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and France could not make representations at St. Petersburg and Vienna, for that the matter amounted, in effect, to a dispute between Austria and Russia. The Ambassador alleged that he had no instructions. Finally, the Minister refused to agree to the German proposal.

No. 29.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 13 (21), 1914.
(Telegram)**

THE Director of the Political Department has expressed the personal opinion that the series of representations made by Germany at Paris aim at intimidating France and at securing her intervention at St. Petersburg.

No. 30.

Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

**Berlin July 13 (26), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

ON the news reaching Berlin that the Austrian army had mobilized against Servia, a large crowd, in which the papers report the presence of an Austrian element, gave vent to a series of noisy demonstrations in favor of Austria. Late in the evening the crowd several times collected before the Imperial Russian Embassy and some anti-Russian shouting occurred. Hardly any police were present and no precautions were taken.

**No. 31.
Russian Ambassador at London to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I HAVE received your telegram of the 13th (26th) July. Please inform me by telegraph whether you consider that your direct discussions with the Vienna Cabinet harmonize with Grey's scheme for mediation by the four Governments. Having heard from the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg that you would be prepared to accept such a combination, Grey decided to turn it into an official proposal, which he communicated yesterday to Berlin, Paris, and Rome.

**No 32.
Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassadors at Paris and London**

[See No. 53 of British Correspondence, page 47.]

**No. 33.
Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassadors at Paris, London,
Berlin, Vienna, and Rome.
St. Petersburg, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I HAVE taken note of the reply returned by the Servian Government to Baron Giesl. It exceeds all our expectations in its moderation, and in its desire to afford the fullest satisfaction to Austria. We do not see what further demands could be made by Austria, unless the Vienna Cabinet is seeking for a pretext for war with Servia.

**No. 34.
Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

The German Ambassador discussed the situation again to day at great length with the Director of the Political Department. The Ambassador laid great stress on the utter impossibility of any mediation or conference.

No. 35.

Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, July 14 (27), 1914.

(Telegram.)

I DISCUSSED the situation with the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the presence of Berthelot, directly after my return to Paris. They both confirmed the information respecting the action taken by the German Ambassador, which Sevastopol has already telegraphed to you. This morning Baron von Schoen confirmed his declaration of yesterday in writing, i.e.:

1. That Austria has declared to Russia that she seeks no territorial acquisitions and that she harbors no designs against the integrity of Servia. Her sole object is to secure her own peace and quiet.

2. That consequently it rests with Russia to avoid war.

3. That Germany and France, entirely at one in their ardent desire to preserve peace, should exercise their moderating influence upon Russia.

Baron von Schoen laid special emphasis on the expression of solidarity of Germany and France. The Minister of Justice is convinced that these steps on the part of Germany are taken with the evident object of alienating Russia and France, of inducing the French Government to make representations at St. Petersburg, and of thus compromising our ally in our eyes; and finally, in the event of war, of throwing -the responsibility not on Germany, who is ostensibly making every effort to maintain peace, but on Russia and France.

No. 36.

**Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

IT is clear from your telegrams of the 13th (26) July that you were not then aware of the reply of the Servian Government. The telegram from Belgrade informing me of it also took twenty hours to reach us. The telegram from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, sent the day before yesterday at 11 o'clock in the morning, at the special urgent rate, which contained instructions to support our representations only reached its destination at 6 o'clock. There is no doubt I that the Austrian telegraph office intentionally delayed this telegram.

No. 37.

**Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

ON the instructions of his Government, the Austrian Ambassador has informed the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs that Servia's answer has not been considered satisfactory in Vienna, and that to-morrow, Tuesday, Austria will proceed to take "energetic action " with the object of forcing Servia to give the necessary guarantees. The Minister having asked what form such action would take, the Ambassador replied that he had no exact information on the subject, but it might mean either the crossing of the Servian frontier, or an ultimatum, or even a declaration of war.

No. 38.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I BEGGED the Minister for Foreign Affairs to support your proposal in Vienna that Szapary should be authorized to draw up, by means of a private exchange of views with you, a wording of the Austro-Hungarian demands that would be acceptable to both parties. Jagow answered that he was aware of this proposal and that he agreed with Pourtalès that, as Szapary had begun this conversation, he might as well go on with it. He will telegraph in this sense to the German Ambassador at Vienna. I begged him to press Vienna with greater insistence to adopt this conciliatory line; Jagow answered that he could not advise Austria to give way.

No. 39.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs
Berlin July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

BEFORE my visit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to day his Excellency had received the French Ambassador, who endeavored to induce him to accept the British proposal for action in favor of peace, such action to be taken simultaneously at St. Petersburg and at Vienna by Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and France. Cambon suggested that these Powers should give their advice to Vienna in the following terms: " To abstain from all action which might aggravate the existing situation." By adopting this vague formula, all mention of the necessity of refraining from invading Servia might be avoided. Jagow refused pointblank to accept this suggestion in spite of the entreaties of the Ambassador, who emphasized, as a good feature of the suggestion, the mixed grouping of the Powers, thanks to which the opposition between the Alliance and the Entente a matter of which Jagow himself had often complained was avoided.

No. 40.

Telegram from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia to His Royal Highness Prince Alexander of Servia, July 14 (27), 1914.

WHEN your Royal Highness applied to me at a time of especial stress, you were not mistaken in the sentiments that I entertain for you, or in my cordial sympathy with the Servian people. The existing situation is engaging my most serious attention, and my Government is using their utmost endeavor to smooth away the present difficulties. I have no doubt that your Highness and the Royal Servian Government wish to render that task easy by neglecting no step that might lead to a settlement, and thus both prevent the horrors of a new war and satisfy the dignity of Servia. Solong as the slightest hope exists of avoiding bloodshed, all our efforts must be directed to that end; but if in spite of our earnest wish we are not successful, your Highness may rest assured that Russia will in no case disinterest herself in the fate of Servia.

No. 41.

**Russian Ambassador at Vienna to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Vienna, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs is away. During a long conversation which I had with Macchio to-day I drew his attention, in a perfectly friendly way, to the unfavorable impression produced in Russia by the presentation of demands by Austria to Servia, which it was quite impossible for any independent State, however small, to accept. I added that this method of procedure might lead to the most undesirable complications, and that it had aroused profound surprise and general condemnation in Russia. We can only suppose that Austria, influenced by the assurances given by the German Representative at Vienna, who has egged her on throughout this crisis, has counted on the probable localization of the dispute with Servia, and on the possibility of inflicting with impunity a serious blow upon that country. The declaration by the Russian Government that Russia could not possibly remain indifferent in the face of such conduct has caused a great sensation here.

No. 42.

**Russian Ambassador at London to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 14 (27), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

GREY has just informed the German Ambassador, who came to question him as to the possibility of taking action at St. Petersburg, that such action ought rather to be taken at Vienna, and that the Berlin Cabinet were the best qualified to do so. Grey also pointed out that the Servian reply to the Austrian note had exceeded anything that could have been expected immoderation and in its spirit of conciliation. Grey added that he had therefore come to the conclusion that Russia must have advised Belgrade to return moderate reply, and that he thought the Servian reply could form the basis of a peaceful and acceptable solution of the question.

In these circumstances, continued Grey, if Austria were to begin hostilities in spite of that reply, she would prove her intention of crushing Servia. Looked at in this light, the question might give rise to a situation that might lead to a war in which all the Powers would be involved.

Grey finally declared that the British Government was sincerely anxious to act with the German Government as long as the preservation of peace was in question; but, in the contrary event, Great Britain reserved to herself full liberty of action.

No. 43.

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at London.

[See No. 54 of British Correspondence, page 48.]

No. 44.

**Russian Consul General at Fiume to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Fiume, July 15 (28), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

STATE of siege has been proclaimed in Slavonia, in Croatia, and at Fiume, and the reservists of all classes have also been called up.

No. 45.

Russian Ambassador at Vienna to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

[See No. 93 (1) of British Correspondence, page 70.]

No. 46.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, July 15 (28), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

THE Wolff Bureau has not published the text of the Servian reply, although it was communicated to them. Up to the present this note has not appeared in extensor in any of the local papers, which, to all appearances, do not wish to publish it in their columns, being well aware of the calming effect which it would have on German readers.

No. 47.

**Russian Ambassador at Vienna to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Vienna, July 15 (28), 1914
(Telegram.)**

THE order for general mobilization has been signed.

No. 48.

**Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at London.
St. Petersburg, July 15 (28), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

In face of the hostilities between Austria-Hungary and Servia, it is necessary that Great Britain should take instant mediating action, and that the military measures undertaken by Austria against Servia should be immediately suspended. Otherwise mediation will only serve as an excuse to make the question drag on, and will meanwhile make it possible for Austria to crush Servia completely and to acquire a dominant position in the Balkans.

Sent to Paris, Berlin Vienna, and Rome.

No. 49.

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin.

[See No. 93 (2) of British Correspondence, page 71.]

No. 50.

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassadors at London and Paris.

[See No. 93 (3) of British Correspondence page 72.]

No. 51.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, July 16 (29), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

On my enquiry whether he had received from Vienna a reply respecting your proposal for private discussions at St. Petersburg the Secretary of State answered in the negative. He declares that it is very difficult for him to produce any effect at Vienna, especially openly. He even added, in speaking to Cambon, that were pressure brought to bear too obviously Austria would hasten to face Germany with a fait accompli.

The Secretary of State tells me that he received a telegram to day from Pourtalès, stating that you seemed more inclined than you previously were to find a compromise acceptable to all parties. I replied that presumably you had been in favor of a compromise from the outset, provided always that it were acceptable, not only to Austria, but equally to Russia. Hethen said that it appeared that Russia had begun to mobilize on the Austrian frontier, and that he feared that this would make it more difficult for Austria to come to an understanding with us, all the more so as Austria was mobilizing against Servia alone, and was making no preparations upon our frontier. I replied that, according to the information in my possession, Austria was mobilizing upon the Russian frontier also, and that consequently had to take similar steps. I added that whatever measures we might, perhaps have taken on our side was in no wise directed against Germany.

No. 52.

Russian Chargé d'Affaires to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Nish, July 16 (29), 1914.

(Telegram.)

'The Bulgarian Minister to-day declared to Pashitch, in the name of his Government, that Bulgaria would remain neutral.

No. 53.

Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, July 16 (29), 1914.

(Telegram.)

FOR the information of the President of the French Republic on his return, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had prepared a short summary of the present political situation, approximately in the following terms: Austria, fearing internal disintegration, seized upon the assassination of the Archduke as an excuse for an attempt to obtain guarantees, which may assume the form of an occupation of Servian military lines or even Servian territory. Germany is supporting Austria. The preservation of peace depends upon Russia alone, for the question at issue must be "localized" between Austria and Servia; that question is the punishment of Servia for her previous policy and the obtaining of guarantees for the future. Germany concludes from this that a moderating influence should be exerted at St. Petersburg. This sophism has been refuted both in Paris and in London. In Paris, Baron von Schoen vainly endeavored to induce France to adopt joint action with Germany towards Russia for the preservation of peace. The same attempts were made in London. In both capitals the answer was given that any action taken should be at Vienna, as it was Austria's inordinate demands, her refusal to discuss Servia's few reservations, and her declaration of war, that threatened to provoke a general war. France and England are unable to bring any moderating pressure to bear upon Russia, as, so far, that Power has shown the greatest moderation, more particularly in her advice to Servia to accept as much as was possible of the Austrian note. Apparently Germany has now given up the idea of pressure upon Russia only and inclines towards mediating action both at St. Petersburg and at Vienna, but at the same time both Germany and Austria are endeavoring to cause the question to drag on. Germany is opposing the conference

without suggesting any other practical course of action. Austria is continuing discussions at St. Petersburg, which are manifestly of a procrastinating nature. At the same time she is taking active steps, and if these steps are tolerated, her claims will increase proportionately. It is highly desirable that Russia should lend all her support to the proposal for mediation that will be made by Sir E. Grey. In the contrary event, Austria, on the plea of " guarantees," will be able, in effect, to alter the territorial status of Eastern Europe.

No. 54.
Russian Ambassador at London Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs
London, July 16 (29), 1914.
(Telegram.)

I HAVE communicated the contents of your telegrams of the 15th(28th) July to Grey. He informed the German Ambassador to-day that the direct discussions between Russia and Austria had been fruitless, and that press correspondents were reporting from St. Petersburg that Russia was mobilizing against Austria in consequence of the latter's mobilization. Grey said that, in principle, the German Government had declared themselves in favor of mediation, but that he was experiencing difficulties in the form it should take. Grey has urged that the German Government should indicate the form which in their opinion, would enable the four Powers to have recourse to mediation to prevent war, France, Italy, and Great Britain having consented, mediation could only come into play if Germany consented to range herself on the side of peace.

No. 55.
Russian Ambassador at Paris Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 16 (29), 1914.
(Telegram.)

VIVIANI has just confirmed to me the French Government's firm determination to act in concert with Russia. This determination is upheld by all classes of society and by the political parties, including the Radical Socialists who have just addressed a resolution to the Government expressing the absolute confidence and the patriotic sentiments of their party. Since his return to Paris, Viviani has telegraphed an urgent message to London that, direct discussions between St. Petersburg and Vienna having ended, the London Cabinet should again put forward their proposal for mediation by the Powers as soon as possible under one form or another. before seeing me to-day Viviani saw the German Ambassador, and the latter again assured him of the peaceful intentions of Germany. Viviani having pointed out that if Germany wished for peace she should hasten to give her support to the British proposal for mediation, Baron von Schoen replied that the words " conference" or "arbitration" alarmed Austria. Viviani retorted that it was not a question of words, and that it would be easy to find some other form for mediation. In the opinion of Baron von Schoen, it was necessary for the success of the negotiations between the Powers to know what Austria intended to demand from Servia. Viviani answered that the Berlin Cabinet could quite easily make this enquiry of Austria, but that, meanwhile, the Servian reply might well form the basis of discussion; he added that

France sincerely desired peace, but that she was determined at the same time to act in complete harmony with her allies and friends, and that he, Baron von Schoen, might have convinced himself that this determination met with the warmest approval of the country.

No. 56.

Telegram from His Royal Highness, the Alexander of Serbia to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia.

DEEPLY touched by the telegram that your Majesty was pleased to address to me yesterday, I hasten to thank you with all my heart. Your Majesty may rest assured that the cordial sympathy which your Majesty feels towards my country is especially valued by us, and fills our hearts with the belief that the future of Serbia is secure now that it is the object of your Majesty's gracious solicitude. These painful moments cannot but strengthen the bonds of deep attachment that bind Serbia to Holy Slav Russia, and the sentiments of everlasting gratitude which we feel for the help and protection afforded to us by your Majesty will ever be cherished in the hearts of all the Serbs.

No. 57.

**Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Serbia Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs Nish, July 16 (29), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I HAVE communicated to Pashitch the text of the telegraphic reply returned by His Majesty the Emperor to Prince Alexander. On reading it, Pashitch crossed himself and exclaimed: "The Czar is great and merciful!" He then embraced me and was overcome with emotion. The heir-apparent is expected at Nish late to night.

No. 58.

**Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at Paris.
St. Petersburg, July 16 (29), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

THE German Ambassador to day informed me of the decision of his Government to mobilize, if Russia did not stop her military preparations. Now, in point of fact, we only began these preparations in consequence of the mobilization already undertaken by Austria, and owing to her evident unwillingness to accept, any means of arriving at a peaceful settlement of her dispute with Serbia.

As we cannot comply with the wishes of Germany, we have no alternative but to hasten on our own military preparations and to assume that war is probably inevitable. Please inform the French Government of this, and add that we are sincerely grateful to them for the declaration that the French Ambassador made to me on their behalf, to the effect that we could count fully upon the assistance of our ally, France. In the existing circumstances, that declaration is especially valuable to us.

Communicated to the Russian Ambassadors in Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Germany.

No. 59.

Russian Chargé d'Affaires in Servia to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Nish, July 17 (30), 1914.

(Telegram.)

THE Prince Regent yesterday published a manifesto, signed by all the Servian Ministers, on the declaration of war by Austria against Servia. The manifesto ends with the following words: "Defend your homes and Servia with all your might." At the solemn opening of the Skupchtina the Regent read the speech from the Throne in his own name. At the beginning of his speech he pointed out that the place of their convocation showed the importance of present events. He followed this with a summary of recent events the Austrian ultimatum, the Servian reply, the efforts of the Servian Government to do their utmost to avoid war that was compatible with the dignity of the State, and, finally, the armed aggression of their most powerful neighbor against Servia, at whose side stood Montenegro. Passing in review the attitude of the Powers towards the dispute, the Prince emphasized in the first place the sentiments that animated Russia, and the gracious communication from His Majesty the Emperor that Russia would in no case abandon Servia. At each mention of His Majesty the Czar and of Russia the hall resounded with loud bursts of wild cheering. The sympathy shown by France and England was also touched upon in turn, and called forth approving plaudits from the members. The speech from the throne ended by declaring the Skupchtina open, and by expressing the hope that everything possible would be done to lighten the task before the Government.

No. 60.

Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London, and Rome.

St. Petersburg, July 17 (30), 1914.

(Telegram.)

THE German Ambassador, who has just left me, has asked whether Russia would not be satisfied with the promise which Austria might give that she would not violate the integrity of the Kingdom of Servia and whether we could not indicate upon what conditions we would agree to suspend our military preparations. I dictated to him the following declaration to be forwarded to Berlin for immediate action:

"If Austria, recognizing that the Austro-Servian question has assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate the sovereign rights of Servia, Russia engages to stop her military preparations.

Please inform me at once by telegraph what attitude the German Government will adopt in face of this fresh proof of our desire to do the utmost possible for a peaceful settlement

of the question, for we cannot allow such discussions to continue solely in order that Germany and Austria may gain time for their military preparations

No. 61.

Russian Ambassador at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, July 17 (30), 1914.

(Telegram.)

I learn that the order for the mobilization of the German army and navy has just been issued.

No. 62.

Russian Ambassador at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, July 17 (30), 1914.

(Telegram.)

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has just telephoned that the news of the mobilization of the German army and fleet, which has just been announced, is false; that the news sheets had been printed in advance so as to be ready for all eventualities, and that they were put on sale in the afternoon, but that they have now been confiscated.

No. 63.

Russian Ambassador at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, July 17 (30), 1914.

(Telegram.)

I HAVE received your telegram of 16th (29th) July, and have communicated the text of your proposal to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom I have just seen. He told me that he had received an identical telegram from the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg, and he then declared that he considered it impossible for Austria to accept our proposal.

No. 64.

Russian Ambassador at London Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

London, July 17 (30), 1914.

(Telegram.)

I HAVE communicated the substance of your telegrams of the 16th(29th) and 17th (30th) July to Grey, who looks upon the situation as most serious, but wishes to continue the discussions. I pointed out to Grey that since you agreed with him to accept whatever proposal he might make in order to preserve peace, provided that Austria did not profit by any ensuing delays to crush Servia the situation in which you were placed had apparently been modified. At that time our relations with Germany had not been compromised. After the declaration made by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg regarding German mobilization, those relations had changed, and you had returned the only reply to his request that was possible from a Great Power. When the German Ambassador again visited you, and enquired what your conditions were, you had formulated them in

altogether special circumstances. I also again emphasized to Grey the necessity of taking into consideration the new situation brought about by the fault of Germany in consequence of the German Ambassador's action. Grey replied that he fully understood this, and that he would remember these arguments.

No. 65.
Russian Ambassador at London to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 17 (30), 1914.
(Telegram.)

THE German Ambassador has asked Grey why Great Britain was taking military measures both on land and sea. Grey replied that these measures had no aggressive character, but that the situation was such that each Power must be ready.

No. 66.
Russian Ambassador at to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs
Vienna, July 18 (31), 1914.
(Telegram.)

IN spite of the general mobilization, my exchange of views with Count Berchtold and his colleagues continues. They all dwell upon the absence on Austria's part of any hostile intentions whatsoever against Russia, and of any designs of conquest at the expense of Servia, but they are all equally insistent that Austria is bound to carry through the action which she has begun and to give Servia a serious lesson, which would constitute a sure guarantee for the future.

No. 67.
Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London, and Rome.
St. Petersburg, July 18 (31), 1914.
(Telegram.)

PLEASE refer to my telegram of 17 (30) July. The British Ambassador, on the instructions of his Government, has informed me of the wish of the London Cabinet to make certain modifications in the formula that I suggested yesterday to the German Ambassador. I replied that I accepted the British suggestion. I accordingly send you the text of the modified formula that is as follows:

"If Austria consents to stay the march of her troops on Servian territory; and if, recognizing that the Austro-Servian conflict has assumed the character of a question of European interest. she admits that the Great Powers may examine the satisfaction which Servia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government without injury to her rights as a sovereign State or her independence, Russia undertakes to maintain her waiting attitude."

No. 68.
Russian Ambassador at Berlin to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

**Berlin, July 18 (31), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has just told me that our discussions, which were already difficult enough on account of the mobilization against Austria, were becoming even more so in view of the serious military measures that we were taking against Germany. He said that information on this subject was reaching Berlin from all sides, and this must inevitably provoke similar measures on the part of Germany. To this I replied that, according to sure information in my possession, which was confirmed by all our compatriots arriving from Berlin, Germany also was very actively engaged in taking military measures against Russia. In spite of this, the Minister for Foreign Affairs asserts that the only step taken in Germany has been the recall of officers from leave and of the troops from maneuvers.

**No. 69.
Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Ambassador at London.
St. Petersburg, July 18 (31), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

I HAVE requested the British Ambassador to express to Grey my deep gratitude for the firm and friendly tone which he has adopted in the discussions with Germany and Austria, thanks to which the hope of finding a peaceful issue to the present situation need not yet be abandoned. I also requested him to inform the British Minister that in my opinion it was only in London that the discussions might still have some faint chance of success and of rendering the necessary compromise easier for Austria.

Communicated to Russian Ambassador in France.

**No. 70.
Secret Telegram to Russian Representatives abroad.
July 19 (August 1), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

AT midnight the German Ambassador announced to me, on the instruction of his Government, that if within 12 hours, that is by midnight on Saturday, we had not begun to demobilize, not only against Germany, but also against Austria, the German Government would be compelled to give the order for mobilization. To my enquiry whether this meant war, the Ambassador replied in the negative, but added that we were very near it.

**No. 71.
Russian Ambassador at London Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
London, July 19 (August 1), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

GREY tells me that he has telegraphed to Berlin that in his opinion the last formula accepted by the Russian Government offers the best prospect as a basis of negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. At the same time he expressed the hope that no Great Power would open hostilities before this formula had been considered.

No. 72.

Russian Ambassador at London Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

London. July 19 (August 1), 1914.

(Telegram.)

THE British Government has enquired of the French and German Governments whether they will respect the neutrality of Belgium.

France answered in the affirmative, but the German Government stated that they could not give any definite answer to the question.

No. 73.

Russian Ambassador at Paris Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs

Paris, July 19 (August 1), 1914.

(Telegram.)

THE Austrian Ambassador yesterday visited Viviani and declared to him that Austria, far from harboring any designs against the integrity of Servia, was in fact ready to discuss the grounds of her grievances against Servia with the other Powers. The French Government is much exercised at Germany's extraordinary military activity on the French frontier, for they are convinced that, under the guise of *Kriegszustand*, mobilization is in reality being carried out.

No. 74.

Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, July 19 (August 1), 1914.

(Telegram.)

ON the receipt in Paris of the telegram from the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, reporting the communication made to you by the German Ambassador respecting Germany's decision to order general mobilization to day, the President of the French Republic signed the order for mobilization. Lists of the reservists recalled to the colors are being posted up in the streets. The German Ambassador has just visited Viviani, but told him nothing fresh, alleging the impossibility of deciphering the telegrams he has received. Viviani informed him of the signature of the order for mobilization issued in reply to that of Germany, and expressed to him his amazement that Germany should have taken such a step at a moment when a friendly exchange of views was still in progress between Russia, Austria, and the Powers. He added that mobilization did not necessarily entail war, and that the German Ambassador might stay in Paris as the Russian Ambassador had remained in Vienna and the Austrian Ambassador in St. Petersburg.

No. 75.

**Russian Ambassador at Paris to Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Paris, July 19 (August 1), 1914.
{Telegram.}**

I HEAR from the President that during the last few days the Austrian Ambassador emphatically assured both the President of the Council of Ministers and him that Austria had declared to Russia that she was ready to respect both the territorial integrity of Servia and also her sovereign rights, but that Russia had intentionally received this declaration in silence. I contradicted this flatly.

No. 76.

**Note presented by the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg on July 19 (August 1),
at 7.10 P.M.**

(Translation.)

THE Imperial German Government has used every effort since the beginning of the crisis to bring about a peaceful settlement. In compliance with a wish expressed to him by His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, the German Emperor had undertaken, in concert with Great Britain, the part of mediator between the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg; but Russia, without waiting for any result, proceeded to a general mobilization of her forces both on land and sea. Ill consequence of this threatening step, which was not justified by any military proceedings on the part of Germany, the German Empire was faced by a grave and imminent danger. If the German Government had failed to guard against this peril, they would have compromised the safety and the very existence of Germany. The German Government were, therefore, obliged to make representations to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias and to insist upon a cessation of the aforesaid military acts. Russia having refused to comply with (not having considered it necessary to answer*) this demand. and having shown by this refusal (this attitude*) that her action was directed against Germany, have the honor, on the instructions of my Government, to inform y our Excellency as follows:

His Majesty the Emperor, my august Sovereign, in the name of the German Empire, accepts the challenge, and considers himself at war with Russia.

* The words in brackets occur in the original. It must be supposed that two variations had been prepared in advance, and that, by mistake, they were both inserted in the note.

No. 77.

**Announcement by the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs respecting Recent
Events.
July 20 (August 2), 1914.**

A GARBLED version of the events of the last few days having appeared in the foreign press, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs considers it his duty to publish the following brief account of the diplomatic discussions during the period under review:

On the 10th (23rd) July, 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade presented a note to the Prime Minister of Serbia, in which the Servian Government were accused of having fostered the pan-Serb movement, which had led to the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. Austria-Hungary, therefore, demanded of the Servian Government, not only the condemnation in the most formal manner of the above-mentioned propaganda, but also the adoption, under Austrian supervision, of a series of measures for the discovery of the plot, for the punishment of any Servian subjects who had taken part in it, and for the prevention of any future attempts at assassination upon Austrian soil. A time limit of forty-eight hours was given to the Servian Government within which to reply to this note.

The Russian Government, to whom the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg had communicated the text of the note seventeen hours after its presentation at Belgrade having taken note of the demands contained therein, could not but perceive that some of these demands were impossible of execution as regards their substance, whilst others were presented in a form which was incompatible with the dignity of an independent State. Russia considered that the humiliation of Serbia, involved in these demands, and equally the evident intention of Austria-Hungary to secure her own hegemony in the Balkans, which underlay her conditions, were inadmissible. The Russian Government, therefore, pointed out to Austria-Hungary in the friendliest manner that it would be desirable to re-examine the points contained in the Austro-Hungarian note. The Austro-Hungarian Government did not see their way to agree to a discussion of the note. The moderating influence of the four Powers at Vienna was equally unsuccessful.

Despite the fact that Serbia had reprobated the crime, and had shown herself ready to give Austria satisfaction to an extent beyond the expectations, not only of Russia, but also of the other Powers despite these facts, the Austro-Hungarian Minister at Belgrade considered the Servian reply insufficient and left the town.

Recognizing the exaggerated nature of the demands made by Austria, Russia had previously declared that she could not remain indifferent, while not desisting from doing her utmost to find a peaceful issue which might prove acceptable to Austria, and spare the latter's self-respect as a Great Power. At the same time Russia let it be clearly understood that she could accept a peaceful settlement of the question only so far as it involved no humiliation of Serbia as an independent State. Unhappily all the efforts of the Russian Government to this end were fruitless. The Austro-Hungarian Government, which had shunned any attempt at conciliatory intervention by the Powers in the Austrian dispute with Serbia, proceeded to mobilizing declared war officially against Serbia, and the following day Belgrade was bombarded. The manifesto that accompanied the declaration of war openly accuses Serbia of having prepared and carried out the crime of Sarajevo. Such an accusation of a crime at common law, launched against a whole people and a whole State, aroused, by its evident inanity, widespread sympathy for Serbia throughout all classes of European society.

In consequence of this behavior of the Austro-Hungarian Government, in spite of Russia's declaration that she could not remain indifferent to the fate of Serbia, the

Russian Government considered it necessary to order mobilization in the military districts of Kieff, Odessa, Moscow, and Kazan. This decision was rendered necessary by the fact that since the date when the Austro-Hungarian note was communicated to the Servian Government, and since the first steps taken by Russia, five days had elapsed, and yet the Vienna Cabinet had not taken one step to meet Russia halfway in her efforts towards peace. Indeed, quite the contrary; for the mobilization half of the Austro-Hungarian army had been ordered.

The German Government was kept informed of the steps taken by Russia. At the same time it was explained to them that these steps were only the result of the Austrian preparations, and that they were not in any way aimed at Germany. Simultaneously, the Russian Government declared that Russia was ready to continue discussions with a view to a peaceful settlement of the dispute, either in the form of direct negotiations with Vienna or, as suggested by Great Britain, in the form of a conference of the four Great Powers not directly interested, that is to say, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy.

This attempt on the part of Russia was, however, equally unsuccessful. Austria-Hungary declined a further exchange of views with Russia, and the Vienna Cabinet was unwilling to join the proposed conference of the Powers.

Nevertheless Russia did not abandon her efforts for peace.

When questioned by the German Ambassador as to the conditions on which we would still agree to suspend our preparations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that these conditions were Austria's recognition that the Austro-Serbian question had assumed a European character, and a declaration by her that she agreed not to insist upon such of her demands as were incompatible with the sovereign rights of Servia.

Germany considered this Russian proposal unacceptable to Austria-Hungary. At that very moment news of the proclamation of general mobilization by Austria-Hungary reached St. Petersburg. All this time hostilities were continuing on Servian territory, and Belgrade was bombarded afresh. The failure of our proposals for peace compelled us to extend the scope of our precautionary military measures.

The Berlin Cabinet questioned us on this, and we replied that Russia was compelled to begin preparations so as to be ready for every emergency.

But while taking this precautionary step, Russia did not on that account abandon her strenuous efforts to find some solution of the situation, and she announced that she was ready to accept any proposed settlement of the problem that might be put forward, provided it complied with the conditions laid down by her.

In spite of this conciliatory communication, the German Government on the 18th July demanded of the Russian Government that they should suspend their military measures by midday on the 19th July (1st August), and threatened, should they fail to comply, to proceed to general mobilization. On the following day, the 19th July (1st August), the

German Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, forwarded a declaration of war to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

No. 78

**Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Russian Representatives Abroad.
St. Petersburg, July 20 (August 2), 1914.
(Telegram.)**

IT is quite evident that Germany is now doing her utmost to foist upon us the responsibility for the rupture. We were forced to mobilize by the immense responsibility which would have fallen upon our shoulders if we had not taken: all possible precautionary measures at a time when Austria, while confining herself to discussions of a dilatory nature, was bombarding Belgrade and was undertaking general mobilization.

The Emperor of Russia had promised the German Emperor that he would take no aggressive action as long as the discussions with Austria continued. With such a guarantee, and after so many proofs of Russia's desire for peace, Germany neither could, nor had the right to, doubt our declaration that we would joyfully accept any peaceful settlement compatible with the dignity and independence of Servia. Any other solution, besides being entirely incompatible with our own dignity, would assuredly have upset the European balance of power by securing the hegemony of Germany. The European nay, the worldwide character of this dispute is infinitely more important than the pretext from which it springs. By her decision to declare war upon us, at a moment when negotiations were in progress between the Powers, Germany has assumed a heavy responsibility.

No. 79.

Note presented by the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs on July 24 (August 6), 1914, at 6 P.M.

ON the instructions of his Government, the undersigned the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, has the honor to inform his Excellency the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs as follows:

(Translation.)

"In view of the threatening attitude adopted by Russia in the conflict between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Servia; and of the fact that, according to a communication from the Berlin Cabinet, Russia has seen fit, as a result of that conflict, to open hostilities against Germany; and whereas Germany is consequently at war with Russia; Austria-Hungary therefore considers herself also at war with Russia from the present moment."