CONCLUSION

An Armistice at Any Price

At ten minutes past eight on the evening of November 7, 1918, five automobiles appeared along Route Nationale 2 and approached the line guarded by the Third Company of the 171st French Infantry Regiment. A large white flag flew from the first car, and from somewhere in the caravan the French soldiers heard a trumpet blaring "cease-fire." The arrival of the five large German cars had been prearranged for 8:30 that morning, nearly twelve hours earlier, but the poor state of the roads in the sector and the masses of retreating German soldiers had caused unavoidable delays. Many of the delays were the result of German demolition teams that had felled trees and mined intersections in the hopes of slowing down the pursuing Allied armies. At each barricade, the German drivers had to convince local commanders to clear the roads and indicate a route free of mines.

The arrival of the German delegation suggested to the men of the Third Company that rumors of an imminent armistice might be true. They watched as a large man in a German general's uniform got out of the second car and apologized to the French captain in command of the company for his tardiness. The general then tried to make introductions, but the French officer cut him short, saying, "General, I have no authority to receive you officially. Please get into this car and follow me." The general then got into a car driven by a French corporal and the convoy disappeared.[1]

The general was Detlef von Winterfeldt, the liaison officer between German army headquarters and the chancellor's office. Before the war, he had served on the German military mission to

France as military attaché and therefore seemed a logical choice to undertake the awesome responsibility of being the senior military figure on the German armistice team. Since mid-September, he had advocated an armistice and had observed the growing pessimism in German higher headquarters. He had hoped that a late German victory on the battlefield might create the conditions to get an armistice favorable to Germany; such an armistice, he and many other German officers hoped, might leave Germany in control of its eastern conquests and leave the fate of Alsace-Lorraine up to a plebiscite. The woeful state of the German army, with some German divisions now down to less than 500 healthy men, had dashed all of these expectations. Now Winterfeldt sat in a car driven by a French soldier, unsure of his exact whereabouts, on his way to Marshal Foch to negotiatiate an armistice.

Behind him, in another car, was the head of the German mission, Mathias Erzberger, a key figure in the German Catholic Center party who had recently assumed office in the new German government. Neither the kaiser, who was then preparing to abdicate, nor Ludendorff, who had resigned and fled to Sweden, was present to take responsibility for ending the war they had prosecuted with such ferocity. Instead, that job fell to Erzberger, who on November 5 had been named by the cabinet as head of the armistice mission. Erzberger later recalled that the government had given him no official papers and no orders. "Despite my desire," he wrote shortly after the war, "they gave me no instructions other than the general one of concluding an armistice at any price."[2] He, too, sat in a car somewhere in France headed for an unknown destination.

Erzberger and his delegation eventually came to a clearing in a forest near Compiègne, where Foch and the Allied delegation were waiting for them in a vintage Second Empire railroad car. Foch, expecting a much higher level delegation, demanded introductions from the unfamiliar faces in front of him. He also asked for formal presentation of evidence that the delegates had

Londoners celebrate news of the armistice in November 1918. Perceptive leaders on both sides knew that the armistice only halted hostilities and that creating a lasting peace would require a Herculean diplomatic effort to match the military effort of the Allies in 1918. (National Archives)

authority to speak for the German government. Upon seeing Winterfeldt, Foch demanded that the German officer remove his French Cross of the Officer of Legion of Honor, which he had been awarded before the war. Foch then told the delegates that he had not come to negotiate, but to give them the conditions by which they could obtain an armistice. His chief of staff, Maxime Weygand, then read the conditions aloud to the Germans.

The terms included a complete German evacuation of Belgium, France (understood to include Alsace and Lorraine), and Luxembourg within fifteen days of the signing of the armistice; the creation of three Allied military bridgeheads across the Rhine River at Coblenz, Mainz, and Cologne; the surrender and internment of the German battle fleet; and German surrender of 5,000

The men charged with making peace meet in Paris. From left to right: David Lloyd George of Britain, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States. (National Archives)

heavy guns, 30,000 machine guns, 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 railway cars, and 150 submarines as insurance against the Germans' using the armistice as a respite before resuming the offensive. Foch then told the Germans that the terms were unalterable, that combat and the British blockade would continue until the Germans agreed to the terms, and that the terms expired in seventy-two hours. He then dismissed them.

Erzberger sent the terms of the armistice back to the German government by radiogram. After the war, German officials disingenuously expressed shock at what they claimed was the harshness of the terms Foch had presented. In November 1918, however,

they knew that they had no choice. The winter of 1918–1919 only promised more suffering from the Allied blockade, more political turmoil, even a possible revolution. The Americans would continue to arrive in force, and if there were to be a 1919 military campaign, the Allies would prosecute it with tanks and airplanes in numbers the Germans could not possibly hope to match. On November 10, Hindenburg replied to Erzberger with a coded telegram asking him to ameliorate Foch's terms, most notably in allowing Germany to keep more machine guns in order to quell the Bolshevik rebellion then taking place inside some German cities. "If you cannot obtain these points," Hindenburg concluded, "you must sign all the same."[3]

Shortly thereafter another telegram arrived, this one unencoded. It informed Erzberger that the kaiser had abdicated and was in exile in Holland. Despite this development, the telegram informed Erzberger that he retained the authority to negotiate and sign an armistice. Although Hindenburg had written the text, the telegram was signed "Reichskanzler Schluss." The French officer who received the telegram demanded to know who Chancellor Schluss was (no politician named Schluss was familiar to the Allies) and by what authority he had empowered Erzberger to continue the negotiations. Erzberger explained to the French officer that Schluss meant "stop" in German and only indicated the end of the telegram.

At 2:15 on the morning of November 11, Erzberger sat across from Foch and asked for the number of machine guns and airplanes to be modified. Foch agreed to only the most minor of changes, and at 5:12 Erzberger agreed to sign. The armistice was to go into effect almost six hours later, on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month. The war was over. Foch telegraphed to Clemenceau to tell him that the Germans had signed and that he was on his way to Paris to present the armistice to the French government. At 8:00 a.m. Clemenceau telegraphed to the

Emir Faisal stands at the Paris Peace Conference with his close advisors. His wartime ally, British colonel T. E. Lawrence, stands to Faisal's left. Despite the wishes of both men, Arabia did not achieve full independence after the war. (© Corbis)

heads of the other Allied governments to tell them of the signing. "I do not yet know the details of the deliberations with the German plenipotentiaries," he told them. "As soon as I have been informed, I will communicate them to you."[4]

It had been 1,597 days since Archduke Franz Ferdinand entered Sarajevo on an official state visit. The events of those days had forever transformed Europe and, with it, the world. The Hohenzollern, Romanov, Habsburg, and Vahdeddin (Ottoman) dynasties were gone. In their place came Bolshevism, authoritarianism, the beginnings of fascism, and fragile democracies. The infrastructure of Europe lay in shambles, and the economies of the continent were in a precarious state. Perhaps worst of all, the emo-

[To view this image, refer to the print version of this title.]

Germans destroy airplane propellers in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles's ban on Germany's possessing an air force. The number of propellers testifies to the importance of aviation in the war's final year. (© Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

tional scars resulting from so much death and destruction could not heal because Europeans were ill equipped to understand and treat such trauma.

The armistice only meant an end to hostilities, not a final peace. Many intelligent observers understood that the end of the killing had done nothing to bring a final peace to the continent of Europe. Few expected the armistice or a final peace treaty to restore order for any significant length of time. Before the Paris Peace Conference even convened, the phrase "First World War" had already been coined, signaling the expectations of many that a second world war could not be far away. Ludendorff and other

right-wing Germans had already begun to propagate the myth that Germany's defeat had not come on the battlefield, but as a result of domestic enemies, most notably socialists and Jews.

The signing of the armistice, therefore, did little to calm the hatreds of Europe. It merely marked a relative respite in the volatile history of Europe from 1914 to 1945. The next generation of young men from Russia, Britain, the United States, and France would have to fight again to contain German aggression. The leaders of those men, almost without exception, were veterans of the First World War. The Second World War would not have been necessary without the frustrations that emerged from the First. Still, it is wrong to see the First World War as a futile and pointless war, a prelude to an even more titanic struggle twenty years later. Rather, it is important not to allow the heroic Allied achievements of the Second World War to dim by comparison those of the First.

NOTES

Abbreviations

IWM	Imperial War Museum, London
LHCMA	Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, Kings College, London
SHAT	Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes

Introduction

1. Alexei Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1930; 1971), p. 4.
2. Cambon quoted in Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 1 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 101.
3. Moltke quoted in Robert Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne* (Philadelphia: Lippincourt, 1962), p. 34.
4. Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook,* p. 1.
5. Douglas Porch, *March to the Marne: The French Army, 1871–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. vii.
6. Wilson quoted in Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne,* p. 40.
7. The Triple Entente refers to a prewar diplomatic arrangement between Great Britain, France, and Russia. In September 1914 these nations signed the Pact of London, creating the Entente Alliance. Thereafter, these nations and the nations that fought alongside them became known as the Allies.

1. A Cruel Disillusion

The epigraph is from Bulletin des Opérations, September 21, 1914, "Opérations du 2 au 25 août 1914," SHAT Fonds BUAT 6N9, carton 8, dossier 5.

1. Hew Strachan, *The First World War,* vol. 1, *To Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 211.

2. John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 53.
3. Bethmann Hollweg quoted in Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 1 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 255.
4. Sophie de Schaepdrijver, "The Idea of Belgium," in Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, eds., *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 267–294, quotation at p. 268.
5. Diary of A. Reeve, IWM 90/21/1, p. 1.
6. Quoted in Robert Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne* (Philadelphia: Lippincourt, 1962), p. 42.
7. General Sir Henry de Beauvoir de Lisle, "My Narrative of the Great German War," 1919, LHCMA, de Lisle Collection, Part 1, p. 5.
8. Diary of A. Reeve, p. 2.
9. Diary of John McIlwain, IWM 96/29/1, entry for September 2, p. 12.
10. For an excellent overview of Plan XVII, see Robert Doughty, "French Strategy in 1914: Joffre's Own," *Journal of Military History* 67 (April 2003): 427–454.
11. Joffre quoted in Halsey, *History of the World War,* vol. 1, p. 279.
12. For more on Foch see Michael Neiberg, *Foch: Supreme Allied Commander in the Great War* (Dulles, Va.: Brassey's, 2003).
13. Ministère de la Guerre, *Les Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre,* series 1, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1925), p. 587.
14. French quoted in Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne,* pp. 80–81.
15. *Les Armées Françaises,* series 1, vol. 2, p. 627.
16. Frank Pusey, "A Long and Happy Life," 1978, IWM 79/5/1, p. 12. Emphasis in original.
17. *Les Armées Françaises,* Tome 1, vol. 2, p. 681.
18. Falkenhayn quoted in Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne,* p. 126. Count Alfred von Schlieffen had been Moltke's predecessor as Chief of the German General Staff. His detailed notes and planning remained influential in German thinking, as did Schlieffen himself, whom Moltke consulted regularly until Schlieffen's death in 1913.

19. Moltke quoted in Asprey, *The First Battle of the Marne,* p. 153.
20. Rupprecht quoted in GQG des Armées de L'Est, "La Bataille des Flandres," 19 Novembre 1914, SHAT Fonds BUAT, 6N9, p. 4.
21. French quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), p. 97.
22. Robert Cowley, "Albert and the Yser," *Military History Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (Summer 1989): 106–117.

2. Loosed Like Wild Beasts

The epigraph is from a quotation in Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 7 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 40.

1. Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917* (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 36.
2. Alexei Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1930; 1971), pp. 22, 37.
3. See Dennis Showalter, *Tannenberg: Clash of Empires,* rev. ed. (Dulles, Va.: Brassey's, 2003), pp. 63–65.
4. Stone, *The Eastern Front,* p. 63.
5. Hoffmann quoted in Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 7 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 89.
6. Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Schweik,* trans. Paul Selver (New York: Doubleday, 1963, [1930]), p. 21.
7. Holger Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914–1918* (London: Edward Arnold, 1997), p. 12.
8. C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 4.
9. John R. Schindler, "Disaster on the Drina: The Austro-Hungarian Army in Serbia, 1914," *War in History* 9 (2002): 159.
10. John Reed quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), p. 111.
11. Halsey, *History of the World War,* vol. 1, p. 93.
12. Quoted in Stone, *The Eastern Front,* p. 114.
13. Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook,* pp. 93–94.

14. Quoted in Halsey, *History of the World War,* vol. 7, p. 93.
15. These numbers are from ibid., pp. 94–97.

3. The Country of Death

The epigraph is from LHCMA 2/1/1–41. Grant's father-in-law was Lord Rosebery.

1. Extracts from a German soldier's journal, 160th Infantry Regiment, VIII Corps, found in a trench near Souain, SHAT 19N159, Carton 1, Dossier 6, entry for September 9, 1914.
2. See especially Gary Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory: The First World War, Myths and Realities* (London: Headline, 2001) and Brian Bond, *The Unquiet Western Front* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
3. Jean-Pierre Guéno and Yves Laplume, eds., *Paroles de Poilus: Lettres et Carnets du Front, 1914–1918* (Paris: Librio and Radio France, 1998), p. 90.
4. Grand Quartier Général [Headquarters] Army of the East, "The war of February to August, 1915," SHAT Fonds BUAT, 6N9, pp. 2 and 10.
5. Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory,* p. 43.
6. Philip Gibbs, *Now It Can Be Told* (New York: Harper, 1920), p. 69.
7. Ibid., p. 13.
8. Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 2 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 283.
9. General John Charteris quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), p. 133.
10. General Sir Henry de Beauvoir de Lisle, "My Narrative of the Great German War," 1919, LHCMA, de Lisle Collection, Part 1, p. 59.
11. Normally, Germany's eastern position proved to be a great advantage: allied attacks at dawn had to move directly into the bright, rising sun.
12. Dennis Showalter, "Mastering the Western Front: German, British, and French Approaches," paper presented at the Second European Conference in First World War Studies, University of Oxford, England, June 23, 2003.
13. C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 158. Other sources put the percent-

age of shells that contained shrapnel at 75 percent, but the overall idea of British overreliance on shrapnel remains true.

14. Brigadier General Oxley quoted in Gilbert, *The First World War,* p. 160.
15. Albert Palazzo, *Seeking Victory on the Western Front: The British Army and Chemical Warfare in World War I* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), p. 55. The French were producing 100,000 per day.
16. Quoted in Pierre Miquel, *Les Poilus: La France Sacrifiée* (Paris, Plon, 2000), pp. 209–210.
17. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War,* p. 167.

4. Ordered to Die

The epigraph is from a quotation in Dennis Showalter, "Salonika," in Robert Cowley, ed., *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York: Random House, 2003), p. 235.

1. Richard Hall's *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2000) is an excellent introduction to these critical, and often understudied, wars.
2. Edward Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 8.
3. Ibid., pp. 76–77.
4. W. L. Berridge to his parents, March 4, 1915, IWM P73.
5. Kemal quoted in Andrew Mango, *Atatürk* (London: John Murray, 1999), p. 146.
6. Tim Travers, "Gallipoli," in Robert Cowley, ed., *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York: Random House, 2003), p. 191.
7. Dennis Showalter, "Salonika," in Robert Cowley, ed., *The Great war: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York: Random House, 2003), p. 235.
8. Ibid., p. 242.
9. Holger Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914–1918* (London: Edward Arnold, 1997), pp. 119 and 137.
10. Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917* (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 187.

11. Alexei Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1930; 1971), pp. 170–171.
12. Falkenhayn quoted in Herwig, *The First World War,* p. 148.
13. Ulrich Trumpener, "Turkey's War," in Hew Strachan, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 85.
14. Erickson, *Ordered to Die,* p. 119.
15. Quoted in Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers* (London: John Murray, 2001), p. 454.

5. Gordian Knots

The epigraph is from a quotation in Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 9 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 257.

1. Churchill quoted in Geoffrey Parker, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 258.
2. C. R. M. F. Crutwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 68.
3. Hew Strachan, *The First World War,* vol. 1, *To Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 393.
4. Crutwell, *A History of the Great War,* p. 188.
5. German Undersecretary for Naval Affairs Alfred Ballin quoted in B. J. C. McKercher, "Economic Warfare," in Hew Strachan, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 126.
6. "America and Britain," *Archives de la Grande Guerre,* Series 1 (Paris: E. Chrion, 1919), p. 381.
7. Roosevelt quoted in Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), p. 158.
8. Robert Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience* (New York: Rowan and Littlefield, 2001), p. 44.
9. Wilhelm II quoted in John Keegan, "Jutland," in Robert Cowley, ed., *The Great War: Perspectives on the First World War* (New York: Random House, 2003), p. 167.
10. Holtzendorff quoted in Gilbert, *The First World War,* p. 306.

11. Wilhelm II quoted in Strachan, *The First World War,* vol. 1, p. 696.
12. Edward Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 112.
13. This Hussein family is no relation to Saddam Hussein of Iraq.
14. Anthony Bruce, *The Last Crusade: The Palestine Campaign in the First World War* (London: John Murray, 2002), p. 80.
15. Lt. Gen. Sir Henry de Beauvoir de Lisle, "My Narrative of the Great German War," [1919], LHCMA, de Lisle papers, vol. 2, p. 36.
16. Allenby quoted in Erickson, *Ordered to Die,* p. 171.

6. Bleeding France White

The epigraph is from a quotation in Pierre Miquel, *Les Poilus: La France Sacrifiée* (Paris: Plon, 2000), p. 262.

1. John Schindler, *Isonzo: The Forgotten Sacrifice of the Great War* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001), p. 47.
2. I am grateful to Vanda Wilcox for permitting me to use her paper, "Discipline in the Italian Army, 1915–1918," presented at the Second European Conference in First World War Studies, University of Oxford, England, June 23, 2003.
3. Schindler, *Isonzo,* p. 109.
4. Erich von Falkenhayn, *General Headquarters, 1914–1916, and Its Critical Decisions* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1920), pp. 209–211.
5. Falkenhayn quoted in Alistair Horne, *The Price of Glory: Verdun, 1916* (London: Penguin, 1962), p. 36.
6. Ibid.,, p. 40.
7. Anthony Clayton, *Paths of Glory: The French Army, 1914–1918* (London: Cassell, 2003), pp. 100, 104.
8. Herr quoted in Horne, *The Price of Glory,* p. 51.
9. Joffre quoted in C. R. M. F. Crutwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 243.
10. Bruce Gudmundsson, *Stormtroop Tactics: Innovation in the German Army, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1989), pp. 50–60.
11. Pierre Miquel, *Les Poilus: La France Sacrifiée* (Paris: Plon, 2000), p. 270.

12. See Robert Bruce, "To the Limits of Their Strength: The French Army and the Logistics of Attrition at the Battle of Verdun, 21 February–18 December 1916," *Army History* 45 (Summer 1998): 9–21.
13. Quoted in Miquel, *Les Poilus,* p. 287.
14. Bruce, "To the Limits of Their Strength," p. 18.
15. Horne, *The Price of Glory,* p. 316.
16. Quoted in Miquel, *Les Poilus,* p. 292.
17. See Paul Ferguson and Michael Neiberg, "America's Expatriate Aviators," *Military History Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (Summer 2002): 58–63.
18. Pétain quoted in John Morrow, *The Great War in the Air* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1993), p. 199.

7. A War against Civilization

The epigraph is from Philip Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme* (New York: George H. Doran, 1917), p. 26.

1. John Schindler, *Isonzo: The Forgotten Sacrifice of the Great War* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001), p. 139.
2. Conrad quoted in Holger Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914–1918* (London: Edward Arnold, 1997), p. 209.
3. Conrad quoted in ibid., p. 211.
4. Brusilov quoted in Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917* (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 257.
5. Alexei Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1930; 1971), p. 243.
6. Ibid., p. 257.
7. Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) pp. 142–143.
8. Herwig, *The First World War,* p. 215.
9. William Philpott, "Why the British Were Really on the Somme: A Reply to Elizabeth Greenhalgh," *War in History* 9 (2002): pp. 446–471, quotation at p. 447.
10. Philip Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme* (New York: George H. Doran, 1917), p. 43.

11. Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis,* vol. 3 (New York: Scribner's, 1931), p. 171.
12. Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme,* p. xi.
13. Foch quoted in Jean Autin, *Foch* (Paris: Perrin, 1987), p. 179.
14. Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme,* p. 30.
15. One of the footballs somehow survived and can be seen today in the National Army Museum in Chelsea Barracks, London.
16. Gary Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory: The First World War, Myths and Realities* (London: Headline, 2001), p. 137.
17. See Albert Palazzo, *Seeking Victory on the Western Front: The British Army and Chemical Warfare in World War I* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), p. 93.
18. Gary Sheffield, *The Somme* (London: Cassell, 2003), p. 40.
19. Ibid., p. 65.
20. Ministère de la Guerre, *Les Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre,* series 4, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1933), p. 233.
21. Sheffield, *The Somme,* p. 101.
22. Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme,* p. 148.
23. Haig to Joffre, August 16, 1916, Ministère de la Guerre, *Les Armées Françaises,* series 4, vol. 2, appendix 2942.
24. Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme,* p. 253. "Boche" was a standard French and British term of derision for Germans.
25. Dennis Showalter, "Mastering the Western Front: German, British, and French Approaches," paper presented at the Second European Conference in First World War Studies, University of Oxford, England, June 23, 2003.
26. Falkenhayn quoted in Herwig, *The First World War,* p. 202.
27. C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 271.
28. Gibbs, *The Battles of the Somme,* p. 287.
29. Ibid., p. 297.
30. Ibid., p. 55.

8. Driving Out the Devil

The epigraph is from a quotation in W. Bruce Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon: The Russians in War and Revolution, 1914–1918* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), p. 410.

1. Alekseev quoted in C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War, 1914–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 295.
2. Gary Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory: The First World War, Myths and Realities* (London: Headline, 2001), pp. 50–60.
3. Colin Nicolson, *The Longman Companion to the First World War, Europe 1914–1918* (London: Longman, 2001), p. 211.
4. Brusilov quoted in Francis Halsey, *The Literary Digest History of the World War,* vol. 7 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1919), p. 247.
5. Richard Stites, "Days and Nights in Wartime Russia: Cultural Life, 1914–1917," in Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, eds., *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 8–31, quotation at pp. 28–29.
6. Quoted in W. Bruce Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon: The Russians in War and Revolution, 1914–1918* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), p. 315.
7. Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917* (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 291.
8. Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon,* p. 404.
9. Holger Herwig, *The First World War: Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914–1918* (London: Edward Arnold, 1997), p. 334.
10. Alexei Brusilov, *A Soldier's Notebook, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1930; 1971), pp. 304–305.
11. Brusilov quoted in Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon,* p. 408.
12. Herwig, *The First World War,* pp. 334–335.
13. Bruce Gudmundsson, *Stormtroop Tactics: Innovation in the German Army, 1914–1918* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1989), pp. 84–87.
14. Ibid., pp. 114–125.
15. Kornilov quoted in Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon,* p. 417.
16. Trotsky quoted in Lincoln, *Passage through Armageddon,* p. 433.
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controversial. Travers's estimates seem the most reasonable of the three.

21. Herwig, *The First World War,* p. 386.

9. Salvation and Sacrifice

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