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Russia Resolves to 'Carry On'

The fall of Stürmer, the Russian Premier, and the appointment of a man in sympathy with the Duma is the most important incident in Russian history since the Czar took the command of his armies after the great defeats that began at the Dunajec and ended at the Berezina. This act of the Czar put the prestige of the dynasty at stake and was a final answer to the German hope and the Russian fear that the Germanophile influences of the court and the bureaucracy had triumphed, and that Russia would make a separate peace.

When Stürmer succeeded to power and Sazonov went into retirement, the world was again filled with reports that the German influences had triumphed, and Berlin once more began to hint broadly at a separate peace. What has happened since that time has been hidden from the world. All that has come through has been the growing suggestion of unrest and even of revolt in the Duma.

Broadly speaking, the Duma represents the national and the popular emotion of Russia. It not only represents the domestic demand for liberty and progress, it represents the national demand for the prosecution of the national war against the German, who is for the mass of the Russians the true enemy. It is the German, associated in his mind with the agents and forces of reaction and absolutism, who has the whole-hearted hate of the Russian.

The real peril, so far as the Russian participation in the alliance against Germany is concerned, has always been that the court party would gain control, and there have been many moments when it seemed possible. Germans have never forgotten that a change in Czars saved Frederick the Great, and German hope of a change in Russian policy that would eliminate the great Slav foe has endured to the present hour.

Yet we have had many signs recently that the Germans were abandoning this hope. Recently it was pointed out here that the proclamation of an autonomous Poland was a recognition by Vienna and Berlin that there was no chance of a separate peace. Still more recently Count Apponyi, in discussing the question of peace, expressed the view that all differences between the Central Powers and their foes, save for Russia, could be accommodated, but that the Russian question would remain and Russia would continue an enemy, to be feared and fought.

At bottom, the present war is a war of liberation for the Russian people, and the Russian people are fighting it with the spirit that marked the French in their own wars to protect the revolution from monarchial Europe. Germany is the stronghold of reaction and absolutism in the world, and it is Germany that has been the friend of the Russian reaction and the Russian despotism.

But not merely has the German influence in Russia tended to strengthen the arm of the bureaucracy, it has also brought about a situation where Russia has been ruthlessly exploited by German industry. The German merchant and the German manufacturer have dominated Russia, and by virtue of a treaty wrong from Russia at the moment of the Japanese war Germany obtained a practical monopoly in Russian trade, to the very great injury of Russians.

When the war came it caught on in Russia instantly, not merely because of the racial and religious sympathies between Russia and Serbia, not merely because of the age-long ambition to possess Constantinople, but also because the German was hated, and the war to exclude the German from Russia was instantly popular among the masses of the Russian people. When German victories led to the invasion of old Russian soil, the Russian people responded as did the French in 1792.

In a very real sense the present is the first national war in Russia since the Napoleonic struggle, but now, in addition to the patriotic emotions roused then, there is the emotion stirred by the unmistakable desire of the Russian people to free itself from the old bureaucratic and absolute system under which it has lived so unhappily in recent decades.

one escape from liberalization in Russia was the victory of Germany. The defeat of Germany meant to them the collapse of the main bulwark of the old order, the ultimate triumph of Western ideas and Western democracy. Conversely, the fall of Stürmer will mean in Paris and in London, and doubtless in Vienna and Berlin, that the last hope of a new Holy Alliance between Hapsburg, Hohenzollern and Romanoff has gone, and that the present Romanoff has chosen to escape the fate of Louis XVI by marching with his people rather than by intriguing with his brother sovereigns.

'Peace Kites'

It ought to be recognized promptly and completely in London and Paris that the present agitation for peace and the correlated movement for American action in the direction of peace is to them the most serious and may easily be the most dangerous of all the various agitations of the sort that have so far been carried on in the United States.

There are three well defined forces at work over here to move President Wilson to intervene, even in the face of the most definite information coming from the other side that such a proffer of good offices would be distasteful and unwelcome. These three forces are the pro-Germans, the pacifists and German-American finance. It is the recent accession of German-American finance to the peace agitation which gives it new vitality and fresh strength.

It has long been recognized here in America by those who were well informed that the German agents and sympathizers were busily and eagerly at work trying to contribute to the end desired by their government, namely, a peace permitting Germany to harvest some portion of her present profit in the war and retain the power to complete the larger task hereafter.

This latest German propaganda is built on the constant assertion that the war is a draw and that Germany can never be defeated. It rests its case upon the map, upon the recent German success in Rumania and the relatively insignificant progress of the Allies at the Somme. The conviction that gained ground in this country among the less well informed during the summer that the Allies were winning has been destroyed by the Rumanian campaign, which is held to be a final proof of the invincibility of Germany.

The pro-German propaganda finds ready hearing all over the country among those who believe that to be a sin, the present war to be the most sinful of all wars, and all contestants to be fighting in defiance of humanity and intelligence and to be the victims of a collective madness such as President Wilson has charged them with. There are literally millions of such Americans, and they believe it would be a high, holy and peculiarly American service to mankind if America could compose the quarrel, as they regard the world war.

This very large element of the country would not forgive Mr. Wilson for declining to offer to mediate, even if he knew in advance that such an offer would be repulsed by the Allies. They believe that he should make the offer without regard to anything else, and he would materially strengthen himself with precisely the element in the country which are mainly responsible for his reelection. He might thus be moved to make the offer purely as a matter of domestic politics and without regard to the international consequences.

But it is the intervention of German-American finance, made unmistakable in recent days, which supplies the wholly new element. Since the early days of the war, since August, 1914, finance, like all else, has been national, not international, but every one knows the connection between Frankfurt, Paris and London up to the very last moment of the crisis which preceded the war.

Anglo-German finance endeavored to play the German game by keeping out England, and Englishmen know better than any one else exactly what happened in the very critical hours that surround a day still called "Black Sunday." To-day international finance, so far as it is represented in America, is profoundly interested in having peace.

The thing that Frenchmen and Britons must now recognize is the possibility of action by the President of the United States in obedience to forces and influences at home. It is more than likely that Mr. Wilson will be moved to make a peace proposal in the next few months. It is probable that he will be aided in such a move by some very definite, if wholly misleading, proffers and concessions made by Germany, and made with that show of generosity that could follow a successful German campaign in Rumania.

Unhappily, the American point of view has never been understood in Europe. It is not necessary that the British or the French public should accept it or the British and French statesmen endorse it, but the real failure lies in the fact that it has not been understood as the thing it is, and this has led to very grave errors on the part of Allied statesmen and newspapers alike. Despite a very widespread sympathy for

NO HUMBUB
A Hughes Sympathizer Who Refuses to Take Politics Too Seriously

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Anent Mr. Sedgwick's article in Tuesday's Tribune, the writer has never held political office and is an "independent voter," though not necessarily a "brute voter," as Mr. Sedgwick refers to Southern voters. He is just an average citizen seeking light.

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," Dr. Johnson observed some years ago. After all, do we not take our politics too seriously? During the late campaign many people in this section voted the Republican ticket, and one of their strongest arguments was "Damn peace with now belly selling for 20 cents a pound." It seems to care more for the practical politics of Roosevelt and Penrose than for the ideals of Washington. George Washington himself might have been a "practical" man in the year 1916. How do we know that Penrose, Crane et al. really care very much about human justice? Cannot a man be a patriot and at the same time be a firm believer in peace?

We rather sympathize with Mr. Hughes. He couldn't get worked up over all this humbug about human justice and our national moral weakness. He is too honest. Nearly every politician who has in this country wrapped an American flag around his hide and cries out for human justice, Mr. Sedgwick is right. The politicians are not to blame. Our people are sick and tired of all this waving of the bloody shirt and the American flag about election time. They are not "too proud to fight" for "no humbug" in American politics.

R. L. COOK. Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 23, 1916.

Cuba's Suit Against North Carolina

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: An editorial appeared in your issue of November 19, 1916, under the title, "A Curious Suit," which commented upon the application filed by the Republic of Cuba in the United States Supreme Court for leave to file suit against the State of North Carolina upon the special tax bonds issued and then repudiated by North Carolina. As the writer of this editorial undertook to criticize the Republic of Cuba for its action in the matter, it would seem pertinent to call attention to an inaccurate statement made in the course of the article in question.

It is not true that South Dakota withdrew her suit; on the contrary, she not only prosecuted the same, but actually recovered a judgment for the full value of her bonds and coupons, which was paid. (See South Dakota against North Carolina, 192 U.S. Reports, 286.) So powerful was the appeal made to North Carolina by this decision that she proceeded to compromise the claims of the issuer involved in that litigation at \$592 per bond. In that subsequently an attempt was made to procure similar action upon other bonds of North Carolina, which was unsuccessful; this failure, however, was due to the fact that the politicians had become busy in South Dakota and when the bondholders refused to be mulcted secured the repeal of the law under which the previous donation had been accepted.

So far as concerns the characterization of Cuba's action as "indecorous," it would seem that the republic has very good company, and her action is not without precedent in our own state. Indeed, in addition to the suit by South Dakota, both New York and New Hampshire placed acts upon their statute books which authorized suits to be brought in their names for the benefit of the holders of similar bonds. Actions were filed by both New York and New Hampshire and prosecuted by their respective Attorneys General, but they were thrown out solely on the ground of want of jurisdiction (see New York vs. Louisiana and New Hampshire vs. same, 108 U.S. 76). Because the plaintiffs were not the actual owners of the bonds.

One cannot but wonder what impression the editorial referred to would be likely to make upon some of our weaker sister republics of Central America. Perhaps they have not forgotten that the United States has never considered it "indecorous" or "below its dignity" to interfere to compel the payment of their obligations, to interfere not in the orderly method of judicial procedure, as Cuba is doing, but by means of the "Big Stick."

HENRY WOOD. New York, Nov. 23, 1916.

Teuton Propaganda

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: The United States is deluged with German propaganda—and peace talk. This peace talk comes only from Germans, for a Frenchman would strike you if you suggested such a thing; the Englishman says he has only just started to fight, and the Russian is just as determined as the Englishman. I have been in all these countries and I happen to know.

But Germany is seriously short of men, her lines are so thinly defended that a strong attack in any particular portion makes it field. It is in danger of giving way. Besides which, Austria is in a deplorable condition, hopelessly bankrupt, and all the Austrians I have talked to realize that Germany used Austria as a tool, and they can all see what is going to happen to Austria when Germany gets through with her.

From experience with the German mode of action, I quite expect some alleged Austrian to write to you repudiating this, but if he does he will be (the chances are a hundred to one) a Prussian and just trying to put another one over for Germany. Good-bye, and if you are a German, please stop over on us, and if you are a humbug, please send editorial statements in various papers now that we must protest again against the U-boat warfare. An American protest now sounds to Germany like "Polly want a cracker."

F. L. W. Jamaica, N. Y., Nov. 23, 1916.

Germany's Gains

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Eight months more and Kitchener's prophecy that the war would last at least three years will be fulfilled. We remember how the great man's foresight was ridiculed by Germany's military experts and professors. If Germany could start the war anew she certainly would not pass through Belgium to attack France. That colossal blunder of drawing England into the fray cost her the freedom of the seas and alienated from her the friendship and sympathy of the neutral world. In choosing the seemingly easiest and quickest route the unexpected happened, and all the German calculations went to naught.

The old saw, "France is a blind white," started by Bismarck and echoed by Hindenburg, is just a flimsy blind to hide Germany's growing anemia. The talk that Rumania's demise will bring the war's decision is also a fallacy, it is intended for home consumption, and to excite the national people to new efforts. Even if fully successful for the Germans, the Rumanian campaign can have only this result: By extending and thinning their lines the Central Powers' positions will be more vulnerable to the blows of the Allies, and sooner or later the Teutonic tide is bound to recede, even faster than it has advanced.

WHY GERMANY MUST BE BEATEN

She Wars for Absolutism and Against Government of the People—An Appeal from Germany Drunk to Germany Sober

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I read with much interest and approval your clear, grave, outspoken editorial, "The Mark of the Beast." I also read with mixed feelings, amusement predominating, the weak "answer" of your Brooklyn correspondent of German name and German mind, and approved your course in printing it without comment, allowing it to answer itself. However, several of your correspondents have answered it quite effectively.

Yet, as it concerns the one fundamental issue of this war, and as this morning we hear of another of those inexplicable outrages by which the Germans seem determined to lay up "wrath against the day of wrath" for themselves (it seems almost certain that the Britannic was sunk by a torpedo), it may not be amiss that the Brooklyn German's query, "Who are the 'we' for whom The Tribune speaks?" should be answered categorically. "We" are all clear-thinking men and women in all lands who believe in the principle of the Declaration of Independence, that government should rest upon the consent of the governed—that it should be, in Lincoln's immortal words, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." This principle is accepted, and in fair measure practised, by the United States, Great Britain, France and many smaller nations; it is repudiated and attacked by Germany and her allies, who subordinate everything to a dream-entity called "the state," which in practice the divine right ruler and the autocratic group surrounding him. Sweeping aside all confusing details, this is the issue—between absolutism and freedom. The Entente allies, no matter what they have done in the past, are fighting for what this nation was founded for and has always stood for—the liberty of the individual under law, the right of peoples to be governed as they desire.

Accordingly, the Germans, standing for an obsolete principle, have adopted obsolete methods. Abandoning that group of rules known as international law, which growing

THE MENACE OF LARGE FAMILIES

Future Citizens Need a Minimum of Care and Nutrition

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: One of your correspondents grows rather vehement in his denunciation of the propaganda of Mrs. Sanger. In calling Mrs. Sanger a misguided woman I think he is unjust, and when he considers birth control a fearful peril I think he is substituting something else for thought. I wonder how many of your readers ever ask themselves what is the necessity for this action and then use their honest efforts to find out.

Even superficial searching will be rewarded by enough plain facts to change opposed opinions. The poor in this and other large cities have such large families as to menace their own chances. Even in times of prosperity we find them in squalor, congested in reeking homes, shy of food and clothing. Of course, these conditions, with the ignorance that goes with them, seem to some no barrier to increased offspring. Give the state plenty of children, as Mr. Roosevelt says, and even if they are improperly brought up they are here and we have them to work with. But that is a rash statement, in which is overlooked a certain minimum of care and of nutrition that must not be sacrificed. In trying to work with future citizens our state cannot take too great a risk nor go to an exorbitant expense. Our schools, that are trying to mould these youths, expect to deal with a fairly sound mind and body. In some quarters the schools are being presented with children in whom these qualities are literally perishing.

For humane reasons we should ameliorate these conditions. The birth rate among the poverty-stricken native and the immigrant, who possesses little more than his "heart of gold," is too heavy a strain for them. In these days when "individual liberty" is being doted out in haphazard fashion the matter receives more weight. The sentiment of the time is against spurious citizenship. Your correspondent should not flag this movement, which is a prescription to right a great wrong, unless he can offer some remedy of serious relief. The subject should have the serious and speedy attention of the medical profession. The women's point of view is particularly desirable.

Who pretends to use such a sacred thing as a child-birth as a check upon immorality? Forced goodness is not goodness at all. If the proper way to control morality is to make sin impossible or painful, then where is the virtue in self-control, in self-restraint and in an honor system? I always thought Christian people were taught to give to the science, to be sensitive to public opinion and in that way overcome their egotistic impulses.

THEODORE MICHEL. Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 22, 1916.

A Plea for a Syrian Hospital

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: These who represent philanthropies and charities established before the great war began cannot but hesitate to bring forward the stated support of these enterprises in the face of the multiplicity of appeals for special and urgent need under circumstances far more spectacular than those surrounding the preexisting institutions. Nevertheless, these institutions were and are supplying pressing and constant need. Such an institution is the Hospital for the Insane, known as Asfurieh Hospital, above Beirut, Syria, the only hospital of its character in that region of the world, and presenting so markedly an unselfish philanthropy, without any possible ulterior purpose, that even the Turkish government has given it its sanction, its occasional help, and during the days of the war has permitted it to be unmoored; and its work has been extended so as to include even those suffering from bodily diseases as well as mental derangement. During the past year 145 patients were in residence, all but the most necessitous cases having been refused from lack of funds to care for them. Support of this work, heretofore largely from European sources, has fallen entirely on American givers.

There is terrible distress throughout Syria. Prices are enormously increased. The ability of any of the patients to contribute to their own keep has been destroyed. Thousands are dying of starvation and disease, and Asfurieh, maintained by our support, is one of the few proofs of God's love and care left outstanding in the midst of all the desolation. But the ordinary subscriptions are not sufficient to supply the funds urgently needed. If any are moved by these facts to inquire for further information, such information can be secured through the general American treasurer, Ana S. Wing, 409 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, or the New York treasurer, Mr. Henry W. Jessup, 55 Liberty Street, New York City. HENRY W. JESSUP. New York, Nov. 17, 1916.

Air Defence for Philadelphia

From The Philadelphia Press. The announcement that the first national aerial defence base will be established at Philadelphia is, of course, a source of great satisfaction to the community. The greatest shipping industry in the world is located here on the Delaware. Eighty per cent of the munitions and arms plants of the nation are here in close proximity. Coal, steel, iron, machinery and innumerable other things vital to a nation at war are produced within a narrow radius from Philadelphia. An enemy wishing to strike a blow at the nation's industrial resources could scarcely find more vital targets for his bomb-droppers than Philadelphia and the territory surrounding it.

The aerial defence base comes here apparently unsolicited. The Army Department of its own accord decided upon Philadelphia, and wants to acquire the aviation grounds at Essington for its seaplanes and a thousand acres below Fort Mifflin for its airplanes. These, with anti-aircraft guns and searchlights mounted at strategic points, will comprise at once an aerial base for the army and a permanent training school for the Aviation Corps.

THE REAL ARMAGEDDON

Is the Jew Destined to Emerge Triumphant Over All the World?

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: In one of the Manhattan papers Professor Gotthel had something to say about Professor Münsterberg's intimations regarding Teutonic alliances of the future. Since then many others have entered this field of speculation. While the alliances suggested by Professor Münsterberg—Germany, England and the United States—may, at first sight, appear to be unthinkable, yet it must be remembered that there is not one of the nations now fighting shoulder to shoulder with its ally who at one time or another has not been in deadly grips with this very ally.

In the present war Russia, about whom there have been, from time to time, so many suspicions and humors, and Japan, about whom there have been still more, are marching along the lines of least resistance. Their immediate aspirations are furthered by their present alliances with the Western powers. After the peace the union of Russia and Japan may be expected to be more closely cemented in order to work out their own world problems. They are bidding their time. In the meantime Russia is getting wonderfully helped in her projects, and may be assured that Japan is not losing any time.

In solving any problem of the future must be remembered that Russia is much more semi-Oriental. The witty epigram attributed to Napoleon is too true in regard to her Tartar affinities. Her rapprochement with Japan is most natural. Henceforth we may expect to see them working together in harmony. It is the logical inference, as well as the most natural thing in the world, that the two combined will dominate China and control her inexhaustible wealth of minerals, and who can say they are not? One does not have to be a prophet to see that, in the coming truce, the Pope will enjoy greatly enhanced influence on account of the great services which he will have rendered to humanity in bringing about the cessation of hostilities. He and President Wilson are the only two who can play this role, and the Pope has the start. The possibility of the latter cooperating with the former in this important work has been mentioned once before in this column. His great influence and perhaps increased temporal power will play no unimportant part in determining the cleavage of the nations. The suppression of the West, with his consistory of cardinals, and the Eastern Patriarch, with his holy synods, by the very mandate of their respective offices, cannot compromise on the rulership of the world. The image of Latin saints can never consort with the icons of Russia. The claims of the two are mutually exclusive and destructive, one of the other. The power and the influence of the Pope will, therefore, be thrown on the side of the Western powers. Directly or indirectly, of course, will side with the Russian. But what of Germany and the United States? The policy which the United States will most likely follow can be foretold by its present sympathies and unconcealed predilections and its almost as unconcealed antipathies.

THE INDESCRIBABLE "L"

No Matter When You Start You Are Sure To Be Late

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: As one of the long suffering public who are compelled to use the Third Avenue "L," allow me to suggest that the title "I. R. T." possibly stands for "Indescribably Rotten Transit." Since the installation of the new and "improved" express service the running time has been constantly increased, so that no matter how much earlier you leave you are sure to be late. The trouble, it seems to me, is that the number of trains usually operated has been cut down noticeably, resulting in the trains becoming overcrowded at the upper stations and decreasing their running time the further they go.

Going home at night it is the same story; wait from three to five minutes for a train—no seat—slow running time. The "gorillas" who place their knees in the small of your back, until you cry out loud, and shout in your ear, "Step right into the centre of the car"—there is lots of room in the centre of the car!—accepting each word with an additional shove to make you think they mean what they say, are a fine collection of brutes. They must have retained them as the pick of the strike-breakers hired recently, and believe me they are an ignorant, abusive bunch well fitted for that work.

Any one on the 42d Street express station in the morning will observe male passengers riding on the outside of the gates. They are not to blame, for after three or four trains have passed they have to resort to this dangerous manner of reaching business or perhaps lose their jobs.

Allow me to suggest that all you sufferers who have found conditions the same as I have described above send a protest against them to the Public Service Commission at 120 Broadway, New York City. Perhaps some action will be taken. M. J. SILVERSTEIN. The Bronx, Nov. 22, 1916.

The Dangers of an Embargo

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Some of our legislators and others are talking of an embargo upon exports of wheat, i. e., prohibiting its sale to the nations which need it and are willing to pay us our own price for it. Suppose such a law were passed and at the end of the war those nations should say to us: "You refused to sell us your wheat when we needed it, now we will place an embargo upon all receipts of wheat from America and will take our supplies from Canada, the Argentine, Australia and India—the countries which supplied us when we were in need."

This would be fully justified in doing. Then what would we do with our bumper crops and what would our wheat be worth in this country? Perhaps 25 cents a bushel. New York, Nov. 23, 1916. C. E. E.

Salary Raise Not Justified

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Upon what ground can the present Board of Estimate, pledged to efficiency and economy, justify raising the salary of the President of the Board of Aldermen 50 per cent—from \$5,000 to \$7,500 a year? This office is not an exacting one; it does not require all of the time of the incumbent. If the raise of \$2,500 is due to the unusual demands upon the present President of the Board of Aldermen by reason of the number and duration of the absences of Mayor Mitchell from his post of duty, then justice to the taxpayers would suggest that the Mayor's salary be correspondingly reduced. New York, Nov. 23, 1916. TAXPAYER.

Luxury on Rice at 40 Cents a Day

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I read with interest this morning your editorial on "Life on 40 Cents a Day," and I set me thinking of how many of our poor families waste money on potatoes at these high prices when they could live on a better food—rice—at so much less cost. I raised ten children, all of whom are alive and well to-day, who were fed on five more than potatoes, with plenty of milk and fruit, and the cost was a few cents a day, though we kept a cow and man to take care of her all those years. For 40 cents a day I could live in luxury. A. C. WORTH. New York, Nov. 23, 1916.

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Germany, beaten and humiliated, will surely throw herself where her worldly proficiency in science and war and organization will be the most needed and the most appreciated. With Japan and Russia, it will know that German holds in the highest esteem German thoroughness and German organization and superb generalship. Germany, therefore, will be of incalculable value to Russia and Japan in their preparations for the coming war, and at the same time she will have an opportunity to smite vengeance on England, her irreconcilable foe. Here, then, will most probably be the combination: Russia, Japan and Germany against Western and Southern Europe a league with the United States and the other peoples of America. Then we shall see the Eastern question with vengeance. Directly or indirectly, of course, will side with the Russian. But what of Germany and the United States? The policy which the United States will most likely follow can be foretold by its present sympathies and unconcealed predilections and its almost as unconcealed antipathies.

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