

New York Tribune

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements

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Politics Be Damned

Since Monday we have been hearing that The Tribune is out for Roosevelt in 1920.

One of our most disappointed friends upbraids us for making an exhibition of "amateur journalism," because, he says, "it commits The Tribune to an individual and precludes all strategy and authority." Then he adds: "Had you consulted Theodore he would have begged you to refrain."

Our critic's political shrewdness enables him to deduce an interesting truth, namely, that Theodore was not consulted. The rest he misunderstands. He is thinking in terms of political strategy. We were not thinking in those terms at all. We were thinking only of the fine and imperative Americanism delineated in Colonel Roosevelt's Portland speech.

The caption of our unpolitical editorial was "The Leader of Americanism." That referred to Roosevelt. We said that he would be the Republican candidate for President in 1920 because he was the only man who could restore the party's prestige and make it again an instrument of militant Americanism.

We made that statement impulsively, under the spell of our enthusiasm for the Portland speech. Our only emotion on reviewing it is to regret that the necessity for making it exists.

We wish it were untrue.

We wish we could find one hundred reasons for withdrawing it and that each reason were a man capable of restoring the Republican party as an instrument of militant Americanism.

But where are such reasons?

If they are present among us they are silent. This is no time for silence.

It may be that they are silent for political reasons. But this is no time for politics.

The Tribune is not out for Roosevelt politically. It is for his Americanism unreservedly. He is making the right sound. We hear no other sound like it in the Republican party.

The trouble with the Republican party is that it is a political party. It hopes to be restored to power and prestige by the exercise of its inherited political sagacity in some situation that shall be opportunely created. But a party that has fallen by politics may not be lifted up again by politics alone. A party to be reborn needs a message and a prophet. A party that is afraid cannot be reborn at all.

What is the Republican party's message and where is its prophet?

Its seeming condition of either Roosevelt or nothing is the price the Republican party pays for its great sin.

In 1916 it played safe politics with a divine opportunity.

It was afraid to embrace a righteous, inevitable war.

It was cautious.

It chose a safe course.

It was so safe that the pro-German vote adhered to its candidates whether they wished it or not.

If Mr. Hughes alone had had the reckless courage to seize that opportunity by the horns he might have won; but if nevertheless he had lost it would have been the kind of failure in which victory waits, and the position of his party today would be very different.

So far as we can see, the Republican party is still cautious, political and impotent.

The Democratic National Committee has issued a statement on the Wisconsin election saying that Lenroot won by "courting the La Follette and pro-German vote within the Republican ranks."

We think this is unfair to Lenroot and that it will tend unfortunately to make partisanship an issue in the name of "loyalty," and yet, our indignation is

cooled by the thought that the Republican party is itself to blame.

It has not scoured itself clean of the "La Follette and pro-German vote" within its ranks.

Mr. Lenroot, we believe, is all right, but we wish Wisconsin had elected a man who had not been wrong in the McLemore resolution, who had not advocated an embargo on the shipment of arms to the Allies and who had not accepted the support of the La Follette and pro-German element. We wish Wisconsin had elected a man who stood for La Follette's expulsion from the United States Senate. That would be our idea of militant Americanism, and as between one who represented that and one who didn't, we should be for the one who did without caring in the least whether he was Democrat or Republican.

Mr. Lenroot says it is not fair to apply the President's "acid test" to him, because some Democrats also were wrong both on the McLemore resolution and the proposition to lay an embargo on the export of arms. That has nothing to do with it.

No Republican should have been wrong on those issues.

Likewise, it will be said that the Democratic National Committee is unfair to refer to the La Follette and pro-German vote within the Republican ranks, because there are La Follettes by other names and plenty of pro-Germanism in the Democratic ranks. But neither has that anything to do with it.

There ought to be no pro-Germanism in the Republican ranks.

It ought not to have been necessary for The Tribune only a few weeks ago to start a fight within the Republican National Committee to keep a man from being elected chairman whose opinions before our getting into the war were pro-German. To our intense humiliation as a Republican paper we say it.

Finally, it ought not to seem necessary for The Tribune to say, as it has said, that Colonel Roosevelt, by the strength of his Americanism, is the only man in sight who could restore the Republican party to its great heritage.

The Wilson administration apparently intends to apply to all Republican candidates the same "acid test" that failed to prevent Mr. Lenroot's election in Wisconsin. The motive may be partisan. We leave that to the Democratic conscience.

What we say for ourselves is that The Tribune will not defend any Republican candidate with the argument that the Democrats themselves could not stand the "acid test."

We insist that the Republican party shall apply the "acid test" to itself. Then it will cease to be a party of re-tort and become the party of militant Americanism.

Either Will Do

The House of Representatives should act quickly on the bill before it changing the basis on which state draft quotas are allotted.

The provost marshal general wants to have the quotas apportioned according to the number of men in Class 1. Many Representatives want to have the apportionment made on the basis of military population.

Either of these methods is much better than the one now in use. Quotas have heretofore been based on the entire population of draft age, including enemy aliens, neutral aliens and subjects and citizens of countries which are our allies. It is fairer to all concerned to use military population as a measure of each state's obligation. Then we follow a clear, general rule. Some states may pad Class 1 and thus introduce favoritism and inequality.

But it is necessary to go ahead with the second draft. Differences of opinion on technical points like these ought not to be allowed to hold up the work of conscription.

Empty Inflation; Decreased Product

Very striking to the attentive eye are some of the items in the report of the United States Steel Corporation, just issued. The expansion of "business," by which is meant gross sales, was something colossal, rising from about a billion and a quarter to nearly \$1,700,000,000.

This was nearly three times the normal volume, and seems an incredible sum. These are the transactions of a single corporation in one basic industry.

But this monstrous total did not represent an increase in production. On the contrary, almost every item—coal mined, coke made, limestone quarried, pig iron made, steel made—shows a decrease, up to as high as 11 per cent in the principal item of pig iron. Very striking, too, is the statement that exports of finished products fell off 12 per cent and of pig iron 40 per cent.

This is not the kind of report which at this time it is good to read. We need the steel. We do not need, and there was no special need for, a tremendous increase in steel prices.

Not that there was anything very striking or unusual in steel prices, as compared with all other prices. Practically, steel prices are fixed by the government. Other prices not fixed by the government have gone a great deal higher.

Cotton, for example, which, like steel,

is used very heavily in the war.

We do not know of a more instructive example of the emptiness of inflation, for this is all that the huge totals of the steel business mean. The terrific rise in all prices merely increases the cost of living, the cost of construction, the cost of the war.

It does not produce more steel. Or other things. And it is more steel and other things that we vitally need.

For an American Propaganda

In his fine speech on Wednesday, before the Americanization Conference at Washington, Secretary Franklin K. Lane drew special attention to two facts:

"The first is that we have a great body of our own people, five and a half millions of them, who cannot read or write the language of this country. And these are not all of foreign birth. A million and a half are native born."

"The second is that we are drafting into our army men who cannot understand the orders that are given them to read."

The conference was called, under the sponsorship of Secretary Lane, to consider a Federal legislative programme for the Americanization of our alien population and to counteract the anti-American propaganda among them. Some interesting figures were adduced by Dr. Wheaton as revealing the extent of German influence in our public schools. Three cities were specifically cited:

"In Fort Wayne, Ind., last year, \$14,672 was spent for teaching German language and literature, as against \$108 for teaching English and citizenship to immigrants."

"In Columbus, Ohio, \$16,000 was spent on German language and literature—nothing for teaching English and citizenship to immigrants."

"In Philadelphia, \$70,000 was spent on teaching German, as against \$11,000 on English and citizenship."

The public school system of the country now numbers over 600,000 teachers. Their value for spreading a vigorous and healthy American spirit has not been fully utilized or realized.

Patriotic Teaching at Columbia

The authorities at Columbia University have invited Dr. Philander P. Claxton as a speaker before the Teachers College series of meetings. The American Defence Society has protested against this selection.

The matter is of some importance. The particular opinions of Dr. Claxton might be of small consequence were it not for these considerations:

He is, as United States Commissioner of Education, practically at the head of the whole school system of the country.

He is the especial proponent for maintaining the teaching of German in our public schools and colleges throughout the war.

He has specifically laid claim to representing views of the Administration at Washington.

Substantiation of this claim is derived from the fact that a remarkable letter written by Dr. Claxton to the president of the University of South Dakota, a month ago, was published in "The Official Bulletin" of the government. Some of the statements contained in this letter were these:

"The fact that we are now at war with Germany should not, I believe, affect in any way our policies in regard to the teaching of the German language in our schools."

"The President has tried to make it plain to all the people that we are not at war with the people of Germany as a people—that we have in our hearts no hatred or bitterness toward them."

"After the war is over intercourse with the German people will be re-established, probably not immediately and fully, but our relations with them will no doubt be more important as the years go by."

"The cultural value of the German language and literature and the writings of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller and a host of other poets and of novelists, historians and essayists remain the same as they were before the war."

"We cannot as a people afford to put ourselves in the attitude of regarding as evil everything about any people with whom we may happen to be at war."

"I sincerely hope that school officers and teachers everywhere will take the broad and sane view of this subject."

"I have reason to believe that the views and sentiment expressed in this letter are fully in harmony with those of the Administration at Washington."

So far as we are aware, there has been no repudiation of Dr. Claxton's claim to represent the views of the Administration. We think they are not the views of the American people nor the sentiments of a patriotic citizen.

It is, as a rule, not very difficult to trace the provenance of such sentiments. In Dr. Claxton's case they are as follows:

His educational training was completed in Germany.

He was afterward a professor of pedagogy and German.

He is vice-president of the American School Peace League, the particular pet organization of Dr. David Starr Jordan.

His antagonism to the war was shown in an address at the Morris High School, in this city, last December, when he expressed such sentiments as these:

"Two good scientists in the laboratory discovering things are better than ten thousand men at the front."

"I urge upon college men to remain at their studies instead of enlisting."

Surely this is not the brand of patriotism which Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and the authorities at Columbia wish to have taught to the students at Teachers College.

It will be interesting to know how much longer a man holding such views is to be retained as United States Commissioner of Education.

"He Is Right and You Are Right"

(From The Philadelphia Inquirer)

Said Senator John Sharp Williams, in debate on the floor of the Senate chamber, "Senator La Follette ought to be expelled from this body."

Also said Senator Williams, "Victor Berger, Socialist candidate for Senator in Wisconsin, ought to be interned."

Again, Right!

Surplus or Much?

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In your issue of March 29 you editorially criticized a statement in my recent public announcement as a candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator for New Jersey, to the effect that I was in favor of paying for the war by taxes upon surplus wealth instead of by issuing bonds. The ground of your criticism is that all wealth is actively employed in the production of other wealth, and that therefore there is no surplus wealth to take by taxation.

This is a complete misstatement of my position. The context of my article shows that by surplus wealth I meant not wealth lying idle for which there was no use or need, but wealth over and above a fair allowance for living expenses of the owner, and over and above the fair amount which any owner of a fortune ought to be in justice allowed to possess.

This amount, of course, differs according to each individual's conception of what is just under the circumstances.

My own view is that no man, particularly in these war times, should be allowed to expend more than \$25,000 for the support of himself and his family in any year, and that the bulk of all incomes above that amount and the greater part of all fortunes over \$500,000, and at least 80 per cent of excess war profits realized by business concerns, should be taken by income, inheritance and excess war profits taxes, and that if this is not sufficient to pay for the war a direct additional tax levy should be allowed upon all fortunes in excess of, say, \$500,000.

I think it is impossible to misunderstand that statement. It is true, as you say, that nearly all wealth is devoted to some purpose, useful or otherwise, but that fact is not an argument against raising money by direct taxation, instead of by loans. The billions that we have raised by the sale of bonds have been paid by money taken from other employment or withheld from employment to which it would otherwise have been devoted.

Take as an example one of the subscriptions of John D. Rockefeller to the last Liberty Loan bond issue, which was said to be \$20,000,000. Mr. Rockefeller either had this money in the bank, or he sold securities to raise the money, or he borrowed the money from the banks upon collateral.

In any event this money is withdrawn from active use by the banks from which it is taken or from Mr. Rockefeller's business. The government takes Mr. Rockefeller's \$20,000,000 and hands him a bond bearing 4 per cent interest. The money is at once expended by the government, not for any additional production of permanent wealth which would serve as an asset against the bonds, but for things that must inevitably in a few months disappear, leaving the government in debt to Mr. Rockefeller to the extent of \$20,000,000. In order to pay the principal and interest of this \$20,000,000 the government must raise this money by taxation extending over a generation, and such taxes will be raised in proportion to their consumption of goods, and by income taxes, which fall disproportionately upon men of small incomes, and therefore an unfair share of this burden devolves upon the poor and those of moderate means.

Under the bond plan, the soldiers who survive the war will on their return be compelled for a generation to give up a substantial part of their scanty earnings to pay back to Mr. Rockefeller the money he has loaned the government out of his enormous wealth.

My proposition is that, as we are conscripting the young men from their businesses and sending them abroad at the risk of their lives to defend the country, including the very large part of the country owned by Rockefeller, it is simple justice that we should conscript this \$20,000,000 from Mr. Rockefeller in direct taxes and give him no bonds in return. If this principle was carried out, it is my contention that it would inflict upon the rich no real sacrifice, because it would still leave them more than they ought to have, and it would, by relieving us from the necessity of issuing bonds, save the inflation of our currency which is sure to follow these big bond issues. This inflation, all experience shows, causes a rapid rise in the cost of the necessities of life, which bears heavily upon those who work for wages and salaries and retards all productive industry.

Your answer to this argument, as thus stated, would, I am sure, interest and instruct your readers.

GEORGE L. RECORD,
Jersey City, N. J., April 2, 1918.

Foch's Army 7,000,000

(From The Philadelphia Telegraph)

General Foch will command the largest single army under one man in all history.

The French have under arms nearly 4,000,000 men. The English army in France is at least half that. America will very shortly have 1,000,000 men on the battlefield.

There will be 7,000,000 soldiers under General Foch on one front and moving in the same direction.

Hindenburg does not have that many on any one front or in any one army.

Napoleon's largest army was 600,000, and he never had over 1,000,000 soldiers in uniform in his empire.

Grant had 1,050,000 under his command during the last year of the Civil War.

Wellington's largest army was under 100,000.

Von Moltke did not have in any one army in the Franco-Prussian War a quarter of the troops now obeying the commands of Hindenburg.

The Death Struggle

(From The St. Louis Republic)

It is painful to contend when the sacrifice of life that must result when the two great armies are locked in the death struggle. But as the war must be fought out in order to obtain a just and lasting peace, and as the point of decision is on the West front, we can only hope and pray that the German legions may throw themselves in vain upon the forces of Haig, Petain and Pershing.

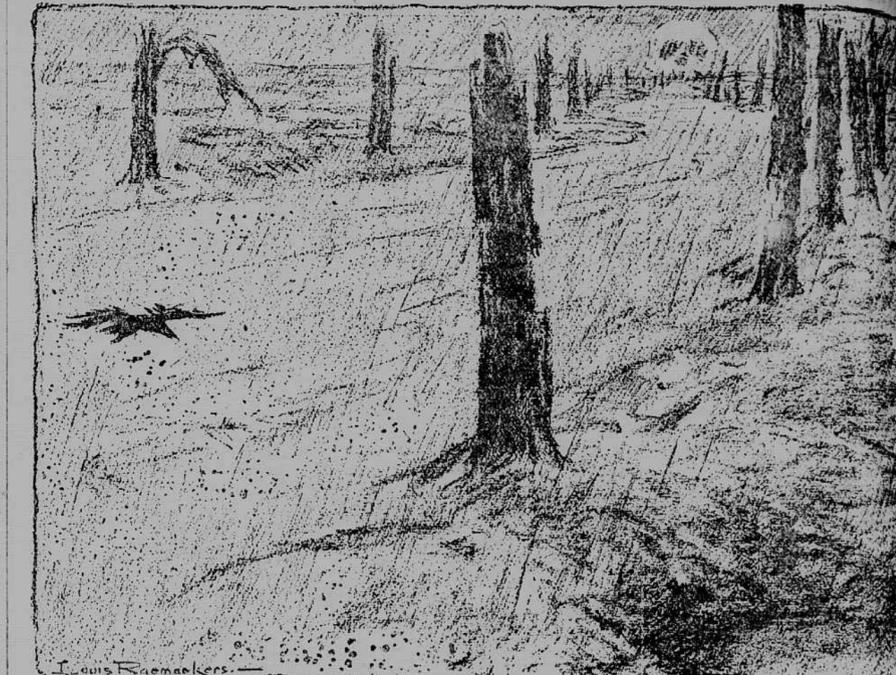
The more deadly and desperate the fighting, the quicker the war will end. In fact, if the German high command is sincere in its expressed intention to put the issue to the final test in this battle, we believe the war will end right there, no matter if the battle lasts all summer. And if there is any clean-up work to be done, the giving of the final thrust that will send the Hun squealing back to Berlin, we hope this honor will fall to our American boys.

Air Routes and Other Kinds

(From The Mason Telegraph)

Postmaster General Burleson, says "The Minneapolis Tribune" is quite enthusiastic about delivering mail by airplanes. Suit a himself up into his perspiration about delivering it in the ordinary way.

THE PATH OF KULTUR



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There Sits Justice

By Ralph Block

WASHINGTON, April 3.—Most of the casualties among visitors to Washington are caused by a too hasty transition from the heat and dusty conflict of the legislative chambers to the cool solitude of the Supreme Court. In the Senate and the House every one tries to talk at once. In the Supreme Court only one person talks at a time, and there appears to be a total lack of any tendency toward repartee. The effect of this sudden contrast upon the visitor is not always a happy one, although it is true that many of them upon recovering seek the Supreme Court again and in time become accustomed to its calm, and even grow to like it.

There is no doubt that the Supreme Court, in its manner, its atmosphere, its etiquette and its procedure, is unlike anything else in Washington. Assuredly it is the best staged governmental activity at the Capitol, best because it is the most simple, and most restrained, and because it is able to obtain a rich effect of dignity by an economy of means that would teach even a decorator like Gordon Craig a new lesson or two.

But the Supreme Court has an aid to impression outside of its own dignity. It must have taken a good deal of deep thought on the part of the people who planned the decorations for the Capitol and the Congressional Library to pave the way so successfully for the unbroken calm of the highest court. Certainly after exposure to the frozen gentlemen in frock coats who adorn the Capitol lobbies and the variegated art that is splattered around on every wall and ceiling of the Capitol and the Library, entrance into the Supreme Court chamber is like breathing pure mountain air after city dust.

Like a Stage

The chamber is semi-circular, with entry for the audience at the middle of the curve which forms the back of the room. To complete this harmony of line the ceiling curves upward from the rear and the sides. The front of the room, a straight line, may be likened to the stage, for this is where the chief actors in this slow spoken drama of the nation have their place. Indeed, it is more nearly a stage than the figure of one and bears a great resemblance to the stage of any Greek stadium except that it has on it a large desk, with room for eight men, the justices of the Supreme Court. Clear across the stage background run green onyx pillars, rectangular in shape and appearing against the wall only in relief, surmounted by simple Ionic capitals. In the centre is a door with crimson hangings, a bright golden eagle perched above. There is a recess above this setting, giving in perhaps a dozen feet to the wall, where two small windows set far apart are likewise splashed with red. Concealed electric behind frosted glass in the ceiling shed a faint golden glow upon the bench where the justices sit and upon the curved rows of seats for the cheerful and the mourners alike who seek their fate at this Delphic place.

The room fills up rapidly. The audience is in part made up of curious visitors and of persons who are interested in the judgments to be pronounced. It is true, however, that cases that have sufficient stamina to last through the entire journey, up the various cascades of justice until they reach the high court of the land, represent interests so broad that they find it more advantageous to be represented by an attorney at the judgment rather than to appear in person.

Curtain Rises

A small ivory-faced clock above the eagle points to 12. It is the signal for the curtain to rise.

A door opens to the right of the bench and the eight justices of the Supreme Court, headed by the Chief Justice of the United States, all in their silken black gowns, le slowly and with some evidences of self-consciousness to their places at the bench. The audience, hesitantly and with an evident fear of doing the wrong thing, rises to its feet. The justices remain standing. A voice is heard.

"Oyez, oyez, oyez," it begins, giving the intonation a full three counts, and then continues: "All ye who are summoned to appear," ending with, "The Supreme Court of the United States is now sitting."

With which the court seats itself. The audience does likewise, and the session is on. Regularity ends at this point. It is not Chief Justice White, who sits in the centre, with the justices on both sides of him, who begins. Indeed, he bends over the bench in front of him, with a glow light reflected in his face, studying a manuscript in front of him. It is Justice Brandeis who speaks: "I am directed to announce the decree of the court," with the number of the case following, the names of the parties thereto and the decision, with the various stages of the road followed in arriving at a conclusion clearly outlined.

Men Show Through

Doubtless this is the most interesting part of the procedure, regardless of the character of the cases involved. It is curious to

discover how greatly voices, habits of delivery, constructions of thought and phraseology will weigh against the uniformity of black gowns and cold judicial form.

Justice Brandeis speaks in a full voice that has something of a twang, an accent of the West rather than of Boston. His voice rises as he continues. He leans forward over the bench to accent his points. His thought is well ordered, definite, clear, cool, generous enough to go outside of the law pertaining immediately to the point at issue into paths that lead into the structure of society of to-day. His face is composed, his hair thick and dark. Next to Justice Brandeis is Justice Pitney, a vigorous appearing man with gray-white hair and a face that intimates broad sympathies and understanding. Justice Day is next, in point of service one of the oldest members of the court. His head is the most prominent part of his appearance. It is broad and high; below it a small, thin face, the face of a student. Justice McKenna is a white-haired man who looks like a Civil War veteran.

On the other side of the Chief Justice sit Justice Holmes, Justice Van Devanter, Justice McReynolds and Justice Clarke. The former Attorney General is one of the youngest appearing men in the court, perhaps because his hair is not gray. The son of Oliver Wendell Holmes looks like an English gentleman. His face is long and somewhat austere. Doubtless his military military mustache contributes to this effect.

Chief Justice

But the Chief Justice is, after all, the most interesting member of this imposing group. He appears somewhat worried for fear the programme will not proceed as it should. Several times he arises to whisper to other members of the court, who later deliver additional opinions on cases which also receive his delivered judgment. He is a large man, with a long, large face, a man whose natural expression is much more benign and kindly than the severity of his portraits will allow.

When the Chief Justice speaks his voice is clear and round. He allows himself a greater emphasis than other members of the court, and pleases his speech runs on into eloquence. It is a welcome warmth that runs through the color of his voice, reminiscent of the Supreme Court that lingers in tradition, the court of Story and Marshall and Fuller.

At 2 o'clock the court takes a recess. The audience rises, while the black-robed justices slowly walk out the way they entered. After that there is confusion. There always is when the curtain goes down.

Chemin du Roi

(A map shows beyond the Chemin-des-Dames a road marked Chemin du Roi.)

BEFORE us and behind us
In the dim mists of things,
Beyond the hills of fable
Where storied romance clings,
It stretches on unbroken,
The road of vanished kings.

At times in sparkling sunlight
Beneath unclouded skies,
At times in shadowed silence,
Unregarded of human eyes,
Across a world of sorrow
The royal roadway lies.

And many men have travelled
That road by hill and plain,
And many armies marked it
With sentinels of slain,
And burning hearts have made it
An avenue of pain.

A-down it knights and ladies
Have ridden in good cheer;
The king in all his splendor
Would with them oft appear,
With lustrous silks and jewels
And gleam of sword and spear.

Before us and behind us
The land is bright with spring,
And thronged with men of battle
Who own no lord nor king;
To them that road of sorrow
Has grown a hateful thing.