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Germany's Aggression and the National Sentiment Behind It.

The Russian "Orange Book," a compilation of the Russian government's diplomatic correspondence in the crisis preceding the war, confirms strongly the impression made by the corresponding summaries already issued by the British and German Foreign Offices. It is not difficult to fix responsibility for the diplomatic deadlock which made war inevitable. It was not accident that put Germany in the position of starting a world-wide conflict by declaring war on Russia. Germany was the aggressor throughout, in fact as well as in form, and there is nothing in the diplomatic correspondence published so far—her own "White Book" included—to show that she was willing to make any concessions whatever for the sake of preserving the world's peace.

German diplomacy was sadly at fault in thinking that Europe could be browbeaten into countenancing Austria-Hungary's "punitive expedition" into Serbia, just as it had submitted to Austria-Hungary's appropriation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in defiance of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. So confident of their ability to bluff Russia were Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg and Herr von Jagow that they never took the trouble to inform themselves of the attitude of Italy, the third partner in the Triple Alliance. They gave Count von Berchtold in Vienna a free hand in dealing with Serbia, and when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia Germany encouraged her to say to the Triple Entente powers, asking a suspension of action, that mobilization was under way and could not be countermanded.

In order to be in a position to argue on equal terms with Austria-Hungary Russia began a partial mobilization. The immediate effect of that move was to make the Vienna government more conciliatory. Germany, however, refused to counsel Austria-Hungary to submit the issue with Serbia to a conference of the European powers, suggesting, instead, that Russia and the Dual Monarchy try to reach a settlement by direct negotiation. Yet while encouraging this renewal of ordinary diplomatic activities Germany began to take umbrage at Russia's mobilization, and without waiting for Vienna and St. Petersburg to reach an agreement by peaceful means, issued on July 31 an ultimatum demanding that Russia's preparations should cease. The next day the Kaiser declared war.

Here are Russia's two offers to Francis Joseph's government, as given in the "Orange Book": (On July 30) If Austria, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian question has assumed the character of a European question, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum the points aimed at the sovereign rights of Serbia, Russia agrees to cease her military preparations.

(On July 31) If Austria consents to stop the march of her armies upon Serbian territory and if, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian conflict has assumed the character of a question of European interest, she admits that the great powers shall examine the satisfaction which Serbia should accord to the Austro-Hungarian government without threatening her rights as a sovereign and independent state, Russia engages to preserve her attitude.

Under the circumstances these were liberal suggestions of compromise. But Austria-Hungary never had a chance to consider them seriously. After the Kaiser's ultimatum was issued, on July 31, they became mere scraps of paper, interesting only for historical purposes.

Germany plunged into war without regret and even without counting the cost, because her people—a considerable leaven among the Social Democrats excepted—had yielded to the insidious gospel of militaristic aggrandizement. Events since the war have shown what any one really acquainted with conditions in Germany must have anticipated—the solidarity of all classes but one in support of the government's aggressive policy. Those who expected a protest against militarism from the professional and bourgeois classes—from the universities and the centres of commerce—did not appreciate the change which had come over German society since the days when political liberalism of the old sort was in fashion. The old Liberal party, which fought absolutism and the rule of the sword, was recruited from the ranks of the bourgeoisie and the learned professions. It was a middle class party arrayed against the pretensions of aristocracy.

But that once powerful bulwark against militarism and autocracy has been levelled in recent years by pressure from the top but more from the bottom. Modern ideas of progress and democracy in politics have been monopolized more and more by the proletariat organized into the Social Democratic party, association with which now subjects a member of the middle class to social ostracism. As the Social Democracy has become strong the professional classes, the merchants and the well-to-do of all sorts have been driven into an alliance against it with the bureaucracy, the military caste and the aristocracy. Social pressure has been the big factor back of militarism, and the apparent unanimity of Germany in backing up a policy of aggression has been due to the inability of the Social Democrats following under the restrictions

of a state of war to exert any appreciable influence on the programme of the ruling classes.

It has been represented that the Social Democratic Deputies in the Reichstag were a unit in approving the big war credits. But Dr. Carl Liebknecht, the Social Democratic leader, is now quoted in the "Bürger Zeitung," of Bremen, as denying that statement. He is reported as saying:

In order to prevent the dissemination of an inadmissible legend I feel it to be my duty to put on record the fact that the issues involved gave rise to diametrically opposite views within our parliamentary party, and these opposing views found expression with a violence hitherto unknown in our deliberations. It is also entirely untrue to say that assent to the war credits was given unanimously.

It would have been surprising if the Social Democratic element had acquiesced without a protest in a war which, if successful, would glorify militarism and make its exactions still more excessive. There is still in Germany a rallying point for the opponents of the "blood and iron" and "kanonen-futter" theories of the Kaiser and the military party. If the German armies are defeated and German aggressiveness is tamed, there may be a strong popular reaction toward more liberal and democratic methods of government. But it would be idle to expect what is popularly known as "German culture" to lead in that reaction. Germany would owe its modernization rather to the liberal proletariat, which, unlike its "culture," has never fallen a prey to the great militaristic delusion.

Supplement Prayer with Works.

Miss Mabel Choate makes the suggestion that on Sunday, October 4, the day designated by President Wilson as a day of prayer for peace, all the churches in the land take up collections for the Red Cross. It is an excellent suggestion, which should be adopted everywhere.

The Red Cross work is unsectarian. It makes no distinction of race. It is a broad labor of helpfulness for suffering humanity. The need for aid is great—perhaps not in this generation has there been such need, and as this dread war continues want and misery and disease will increase and the lists of wounded grow longer daily. Out of its abundance this country, fortunately spared war's horrors, should contribute bountifully to aid stricken Europe, and there could not be a better method or occasion than the church collections on the day of prayer for peace.

Wiping Out the Stripes.

Miss Davis, Correction Commissioner, has begun to substitute a uniform of plain blue for the black-and-white striped uniforms at present in use in the institutions under her charge. Within a week the stripes will be abolished.

The new uniforms cost only 69 cents each. But there is a greater advantage than that in doing away with the stigma—the unnecessary degradation—of the "stripes." This step has been taken in all modern penal institutions, with noticeable improvement in the spirits and behavior of the inmates. It is another item in the good work of Miss Davis here.

The Crisis for Railroads and Their Regulation.

The announcement that the Interstate Commerce Commission has reopened the railroad rate case is welcome. But why a month before hearings? And why hearings at all, except as a mere formality in compliance with the law? We surely hope that no such inquiry as that which recently concluded is to precede the commission's decision in the present case. The commission has the subject in its own hands. It may restrict objections to the railroads' request within reasonable limits. It may readily avoid the false advisers whose counsel it accepted in the recent inquiry. It need not be led upon false trails. The question before it is perfectly plain: Are the railroads face to face with a crisis as a result of the war? That question may be answered quickly, and there should be no more delay about answering it than observance of the due formalities requires.

This is not only a crisis for the railroads. This is a crisis for public regulation. If the commission is not able to deal quickly with the issues before it public regulation is a failure. Emergencies will arise, and it is necessary that they be met at once. If the public control of rates prevents them from being met at once, if long debate is always necessary at which all sorts of visionaries must be heard respectfully, then the public control of rates will have to give way as impracticable.

Poor Old Peace.

Peace has been a pleasant sounding word in its day. We Americans have looked upon it as one of our most cherished possessions. In its name we have lived and flourished. For it we have been quick ready to fight, if necessary.

What, then, has peace done to deserve the obloquy into which it has fallen? Mr. Bryan did much to make the word grate upon the ear. But with the horrors of war before us we were quite ready to forget and forgive. Now arrives Mr. William Randolph Hearst upon the scene, shouting bitterly over the wounds of Europe and crying aloud for "Peace." Peace he will have if he has to write a thousand editorials and sell a million newspapers. The Vice-President is graciously permitted to help, but there is no mistaking the situation. Peace is now Mr. Hearst's middle name, and let no Bryan or Wilson think to steal his snuff!

Poor peace! What a good old bird she was before the Nobel prize clipped her wings and Bryan taught her Chautauqua tricks and Willie Hearst captured her for an office pet!

Open Investigation of the Facts.

The public investigation of the Municipal Civil Service Commission announced by the State Civil Service Commission is to be welcomed. It is a great improvement on the star chamber proceedings which the state commission has been conducting in the accompaniment of interviews which amount to charges against the local commission. In the formal public investigation it may be expected that the state body, which must act in a judicial capacity, will at least pretend to maintain a judicial reserve and not obviously decide the case in advance of the evidence.

Up to date the public has no reason to feel anything but confidence in Messrs. Moskowitz, James and Kough. They are well known and respected here. They have reorganized the commission, ousted as secretary Mr. Spenser, known among Tammany's elect as one "willing at any time to go the limit for us," and making other internal improvements. If they have violated the law or exercised their discretion in approving appointments un-

wisely, the facts should be known and judged in connection with the known good work of the commission. But this commission must not be assailed by secret charges or investigated behind closed doors by a state body itself under formal charges of lawbreaking. That is a violation of decency and fair play which not even Tammany can get away with.

AFTER READING THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH AT THE GUILDHALL.

There, with great phrase, outspoke the heroic core of Britain's heart. There, at the right mark aimed, Sped the right arrow. There the true fire flamed, With tense and governed ardor, even as o'er The clang of tempest on a granite shore Flashed the still pharos. When—in lands ashamed Of that most false evangel e'er proclaimed— The gospel of blood and iron is no more, These words shall echo afar, a Pibroch blown in Freedom's highlands, with free-soaring sound, On no rude pipes, nor for her alone, Pealing for England, nor for her alone, But mightier Powers, more anciently renowned: Invincible Justice, and imperial Man.

WILLIAM WATSON. From the London Westminster Gazette.

CREATING THE YELLOW PERIL.

When We Have Opened Up China With Our Western Ideas of Greed Anything May Happen.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Still another explanation of the Kaiser's efforts for peace is Mr. Vezin's idea that German militarism stands between us and the Yellow Peril—and the Slavs, who with all their faults, used to be considered white!

No one grumbles at the Emperor's building up a defence against the Yellow Peril, it is the practice work on his own people and their neighbors that we object to, and the avowed desire on the part of every German to own the earth.

The policy of the white races will surely bring upon them the disasters they fear. The idea that even the most pacific of the human race will forever tolerate other nations overrunning their country, trampling on their customs, instituting trade and religions which they consider doubtful blessings, judging from our results, and still remain entirely separate from ourselves, is a grim and foolish joke. China has never exhibited any desire for European colonies. Realizing an essential difference between themselves and the races they consider comparatively uncivilized, they wished to remain isolated. We have sold them engines of destruction against their will, taught them how to use them, pointed out that in adopting Occidental methods lay their only possible salvation, and then, long before there is any indication of a real change of heart, we scream "Yellow Peril!" all together. If there be any peril, whose fault is it?

Sooner or later if we insist on "opening up China," Chinese men will marry our women, our men will marry Chinese girls, and in time we shall be unable to ignore them. If they are still opposed, exasperation may force them to use our guns to "open up Europe" a little, and we know and fear it. They will thoroughly, and can do it. They will try every other method first, but if they once begin, God help us with our paltry international contempt of one another.

We have seen what one yellow nation can do in fifty years with Western methods. The Japanese are hating us with their own petard. Their dealings with us and with their own people are regulated by different standards. Shall we ever attain to the honor in business methods which distinguishes the Chinaman? Can we rival their skill and industry any more than the philosophy of Lao Tzu or Confucius? Wherein lies out superlative superiority which leads us to demand from all the colored peoples what we think we want without paying the natural price? New York, Sept. 18, 1914. STEPHEN HAWELS.

A KIND WORD FOR BRUTE FORCE

Too Much Neutrality in Our President for Mr. Erving Winslow.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: If the people of neutral nations ever have or could have moral or ethical international duty, ought they to jeopardize its fulfillment, whatever the government may do, by awaiting a time for expression of opinion when even the partial triumph of Germany would make all but hopeless the destruction of militarism, the increase and sanctification of neutrality, the development of the weaker peoples and the amelioration of tariff wars, to which all good men are looking with passionate aspiration? Ought they not to assist in every possible way, short of actual participation, "the brute force" required in larger measure, as Dr. Eliot says, to overcome the "brute force of barbarism?" Like the Italians, we might at least accompany the announcement of neutrality with an expression of "the deepest sympathy," in our case for the cause of neutralization, to the doctrine and practice of which the Democratic party is thoroughly committed. Could not the poor, straitened President, in view of the fact acknowledged by all parties to the war, the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, rather than only to vouchsafe his promise to "consider the claims to the impartial sympathy" of mankind of a nation which has been said to each other, like the sailor in the play, "Is it a man? Is it a fish?"

Even a neutral cannot be forbidden to accept the fact of the respective declarations made by the parties to the war. On the one side is the declared principle of permanent militarism, illustrated by the use of it in initiating aggression. On the other, a declaration by its spokesman, the impartial sympathy of the mother tongue, which we must listen, that success would be the destruction of militarism.

The hope of the world may lie in our determination and influence to hold to the fulfillment of this slogan. Boston, Sept. 18, 1914. ERVING WINSLOW.

BLAME FOR GREAT BRITAIN

A Worker for Peace Finds Sympathy for Germany in London.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: As one student of public opinion here, the unutterable pathos becomes more apparent of the terrible situation, due to different national psychologies and misunderstandings. Many English men and women are bravely trying to be fair and to distinguish between the enemy's government and its people. There is doubtless much more impartial judgment to be found in England than elsewhere. I know a score of persons like Hirst, of "The Economist"; Norman Angell and John A. Hobson, the eminent writer on politics and economics, who are as fair minded about this war as human beings can be. They fully realize that while Prussian militarism is the most menacing of all militarisms, Great Britain's policy in past years does not exempt her from criticism.

Some of them say in private: "For the last eight years Sir Edward Grey has deceived us, or, as a brilliant Cambridge graduate once wrote to me, 'I was astounded to be told to-day by a Canadian resident here, a university man: "I believe if any nation has a clear case now it is Germany. If you want the history of this war you must go back forty years. More than any politician here or in Germany he condemned the Harmsworth papers, which have so persistently poisoned the public mind and filled England with suspicion and hatred of Germany. David Starr Jordan said to me: "At the last England had no choice between virtue and unrighteousness; she had to choose between two degrees of unrighteousness." Many here are studying General Bernhardi's devilish doctrine of force, assuming wildly that it is the doctrine of Germany, and as a writer on politics, of course, counts Bernhardi's writings utterly extreme, though when war comes in any country the militarists instantly dominate and public opinion becomes consolidated behind them. One can imagine German war in the United States, when emperors putatively Christian forget the literal meaning and moral significance of their titles and indulge in common parochial emulation the world should

London, Sept. 9, 1914.



THE PEOPLE'S COLUMN An Open Forum for Public Debate.

A PLEA TO AMERICA

We Are Asked to Help the Allies with Our Fleet and Army.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Does not the American nation realize that this war, planned by Germany, is not a war against France or England or Russia, but against humanity itself? Its success would mean the mastery of Europe and Asia, but ultimately of the world. If the Allies win—as we are sure they will, though after enormous loss and sacrifice will not be at all certain—America, which has not taken her part in consummating and hastening the end? If 60,000 volunteers have been offered by Canada, what must be the effect, moral and material?

R. BROOK, Vicar, Criggon Vicarage, Shrewsbury, England, Sept. 9, 1914.

AGAINST AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

Our Intervention to Enforce Hague Provisions is Urged.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I am glad to see that at last some one has spoken out as to American neutrality in face of the German methods of warfare. I refer to Richard Harding Davis's communication to you as recalled to "The Daily Telegraph" to-day. I called myself to the State Department three days ago, in the same sense, urging action. In view of the present criminal proceedings of the German nation on the battlefield, any continued inaction and neutrality of the United States appears disastrous.

History will stand against us if America does not speak with clear voice, and if her voice be disregarded, take immediate action. I cannot conceive a nobler cause for her to support than the present European war. I do not believe that Mr. Harrington meant the heathen religion, but the Roman Catholic faith. If he did, however, mean the heathen faith, I myself do not think it would be a bad substitute for the degenerate forms that our so-called Christianity has fallen into. It is just this that has made an agnostic out of me. For years I have watched the Christian Church, for years I have listened to Christian sermons, in all branches of that Church. And in none of them can I find the true living spirit of the Christ as I have read of Him and His works. In the one I can find nothing but the Church itself talked off; in the other I can find nothing but narrow-minded dogmas expounded, that take the heart out of me whenever I hear them.

But, with all this in practical experience with the church itself, I heartily endorse our great President's command for a Day of Prayer for Peace.

EDW. E. FUCHS. New York, Sept. 14, 1914.

CHRISTIANITY AND WARFARE

The Faith Has No Reason to Bow Its Head in Shame.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Aside from the professional unbelievers who occasionally divert the multitude in public places there are many respectable non-Christians inclined to quote the present European conflict as a demonstrative apology for their position. This argument is specious and calculated to produce an impression on people who content their spiritual appetites by dwelling only on the superficial phenomena of religion. Yet Christianity, while regretting the common tragedy of mankind enacted in Europe, has no reason to bow its head and be ashamed. History has always been written in blood as well as brains, for jealousy and conflict are connotations of rivalry, whether it be religious, commercial or merely racial. Much as we may deplore the fact, it remains that brute force is the fundamental of all political fabrication, although it sometimes takes a French Revolution and a Holy War to convince some philosophers of the truth of this doctrine. Therefore, when emperors putatively Christian forget the literal meaning and moral significance of their titles and indulge in common parochial emulation the world should

I really have been quite interested,

THE ANTONIOMISM TO GERMAN

Why American Sentiment is Strongly Against the Kaiser.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In the first place, Americans, whether fractionally profane or wholly pious, are a good deal indifferently by what might be termed "I and God" partnership of the Fatherland. Whether slicing up Denmark, pillaging from Austria, robbing France or playing the cutthroat or the course in Belgium, it is the same story: "I'll relieve you of your war while I pray for myself." Peace and Bill Sikes in the same bush. This may be fun for Germany, but it's hard on God.

2. We in America are fond of our women—ignorantly so, no doubt. Germany, the self-appointed schoolmistress of the universe, is about to do us right; therefore, as a first corrective and as a reminder of our barbaric attitude in this regard, she drops a few bombs on the ladies of Antwerp. Very knightly! Besides the deed of chivalry our achievements, anemic virtues, our crude conception of a continent divide to a point.

3. And now for art. A tasteless poetry and to music amid the smoldering embers of fair Louvain, for they not love art, those people who mean their own, of course!

4. What about modesty in the States of our blockade? "Deutschland über Alles!" "Glorie in Belgium!" Give us Holland! Give us States! England! Ireland! Scotland!

That's it! "Onward Christian soldiers! We and God! Give us the earth, and let us pray." Fussy generation! Mere sagabondage of forty years or more Germany, through her military autocracy, has built an army whose bloated pompousness and hollow egotism could waste the States of our blockade the people, and the bomb there has issued to the press of that country a mass of provocative literature; how to England; how to steal her own, and how to stay there; and, lastly, perhaps of some slight interest to Americans, how to raid the ports of the States of our blockade the people, and the bomb there has issued to the press of that country a mass of provocative literature; how to England; how to steal her own, and how to stay there; and, lastly, perhaps of some slight interest to Americans, how to raid the ports of the States of our blockade the people, and the bomb there has issued to the press of that country a mass of provocative literature; how to England; how to steal her own, and how to stay there; and, lastly, perhaps of some slight interest to Americans, how to raid the ports of the States of our blockade the people, and the bomb there has issued to the press of that country a mass of provocative literature; 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