Chicago, Ill., May 6, 1917.

President Harry Pratt Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

In the last two weeks, we student and faculty members of the University of Chicago have had the opportunity of hearing a series of six lectures on the relationship of the United States with the war. We have heard, each in his turn, the lawyer, the historian, the political scientist, the theologian and the philosopher discuss the forces, the antagonism of interests and ideals which have steadily and persistently drawn us into the world conflict.

Because of the clear delineation of interests and forces at work, because of the broad, thoughtful and unprejudiced viewpoints that have been taken in these discussions, we, the undersigned, make the request that the discussions be printed and bound together into a book or a pamphlet which shall be available to the American public.
The advantages which would accrue from such a procedure would be:

I. The American people would have set before them the plans of world domination by the German government. If the tremendous scope and threat of these plans the American public is best made aware.

II. The irreconcilable nature of American and German ideals, of democracy and autocracy, would be brought before the public, and the impossibility of reconciling the two in the same world would be shown.

III. These lectures would set before that large minority of the American people who are against our entrance into the world war, the reasons why it was necessary for the United States to enter the conflict. We venture to say that much of this minority would disappear if such reasons were shown to them.

It is not our purpose, in making this suggestion, to obtain the sentiment of the university group concerning it. It is our purpose in signing this letter, merely to make the suggestion of publication, trusting that the need and value of adopting the suggestion will appeal to yourself, as it has to us.

Respectfully yours,

[Signature]

Kimball Young
Ernest Pyz.
J. Leslie Dobinger.
Donald J. Bradt, 1924.
Chicago, May 12, 1917

Dear Mr. Landt:

On my return to the office I find your letter of May 6 to President Judson suggesting the publication of the recent war lectures. You will be interested to know that on the announcement of the series I secured from President Judson his permission to issue a supplement to the University Record containing some or all of the lectures. As soon as the several lecturers have finished using these addresses orally at the City Club and elsewhere, I hope to print them for wide distribution.

Yours very truly,

D.A.R.-V.        Secretary to the President

Mr. Gustave E. Landt
7531 Normal Avenue
Chicago
Chicago, May 11, 1917

Dear Mr. Landt:

The note of the 6th inst. signed by yourself and some others is received. I appreciate your suggestion, and will lay the matter before those who took part in the course in question.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Gustave E. Landt
7531 Normal Avenue, Chicago
Oct. 22d, 17.
5525 So. Kimbark av.
Chicago, Ill.

Professor Harry Pratt Judson, President.
University of Chicago.

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:—

The writer is a former student of the University of which you are President, and it is chiefly because of this that he takes the liberty to address to you this somewhat personal communication and hopes that you will give it your consideration.

To be very brief, I am an American citizen of Jewish parentage, born in Russia and raised in this country. In this trying time of humanity's stress and national need I want to be of some service to the country of my adoption and to humanity at large, and I wish to ask you assistance—"if of course, after investigation you should find it worth while in finding a place where my services would be needed.

The following few paragraphs will give you, in as brief a form as possible, all necessary information about myself, my abilities, my education, ideas, trend of mind, and sympathies. If after reading you will find that my services may be of any worth, and should you care to help me in this, I will be more than glad to meet you personally and to give you all additional information which you may want to have.

I am 32 years old. I received my elementary education in a Russian Public School. Having graduated from that school 16 years ago, I left the country for America as so many other Russian-Jewish youths because of lack of educational
opportunities. I came to Chicago; here I attended high school, The Lewis Institute, and later the University of Chicago for a number of years. My work at the University was done chiefly in the departments of Philosophy and Literature. The professors Ames and Lovett are more than others acquainted with my work, and would recommend me, I suppose, as a serious, if not systematic student. I never classified, as I saw no special need for my diploma. I worked for the love of the work only with no practical purpose in view.

So far for my education. As for my occupation, I am a newspaper man. I have been on the staff of the Jewish Daily Forward, an important foreign language newspaper in this country, for ten years. I was doing work as a reporter, later as a correspondent and special article writer, and still later as the general representative of that newspaper in Chicago.

I made good at my work, and now, at the end of ten years service, I applied and was granted a leave of absence for a year. This period, or a longer one, I would like to utilize to best advantage to myself and to others. In a time like this when the country and the world are straining every bit of their strength in one supreme effort, I can find no more fitter place for my activity than in this, the world's work.

This is the chief reason for my request, but there is also another; namely, my love and gratitude to the country of my adoption; the country which gave me the opportunities which were denied to me in my native land. I love the United States with a love somewhat different in nature than the ordinary patriotism, but surely as intense and sincere.

As for the war itself I must, in order to be per-
fectly true to myself, state that I have no enthusiasm for it. I am not against the war now that we are in it. Nor can I say that I honestly believe that the United States ought not to have entered this war; that our former neutrality in the midst of a war ridden, bleeding humanity was more preferable than our participation in the struggle. But still I cannot work up an enthusiasm for the war, being by training, character and education against all wars in general. I acknowledge this war as a necessary evil; I wish to do my part in the necessary work, but I cannot forget the evil. I am a socialist, and although not fully in sympathy with everything the party stands for, still I am sufficiently permeated with the general ideas and principles of that movement to be a member of that part.

If the services of a man of my ideas and abilities would be acceptable to the Government of the United States or to any Public or Educational institution which is doing work in this crisis, I would be glad to offer all of my self unreservedly and sincerely. Should you, Mr. President, help me in this I would feel very grateful to you.

It remains for me only to state what I believe that I can do and what I should like best to work at. As I stated before, I am a good reporter, a correspondent of experience, a publicity man; I have also had about 5 years training in business management. I have some executive ability and system. I believe that I would make a good clerk or secretary. I know Russian, not only the language and the literature which I followed closely, but also the psychology of the people; I understand the trend of mind of the Russian and can size up a Russian situation. I also know Yiddish, this being my mother
tongue. I know the people who speak this tongue, their tastes and their life. Due to my connection with a labor paper I am also acquainted with the labor movement of this country, especially with the Jewish part of this movement. I can translate freely from the languages which I mentioned into English, and I can also operate a typewriting machine. The rest I am willing to learn.

I would best like, and I believe that I can render greatest service in any work pertaining Russia. I would indeed consider it a great privilege if I were afforded an opportunity to do some work for the country of my birth through the country of my adoption. I would most gladly go to Russia if needed, but I am willing to do any other work in any other place available.

The remunerative part of the work is of little consideration. I have a well paying position now; I am giving it up not because of any finitile opportunities. I would be satisfied with the mere expense of living.

From the above description do you think that you could be of any assistance to me in my quest? I assure you, Sir, that anything you might do in this case will be highly appreciated.

Sincerely Yours,

[Signature]

W. Zuberman
The University of Chicago
The Faculties of Arts, Literature, and Science

October 25, 1917.

My dear Chief:

This is in comment upon the letter of Mr. Zukerman returned herewith.

The only thing that I can suggest is that Mr. Zukerman be advised to file substantially the statement he has made to you with the different departments at Washington, together with such statement as can be made about him by use of the testimony which Mr. Robertson has indicated in the margin. Of course, it is always possible that there will be a use for a man of his sort even if the particular employment for him is not open at once.

It is also conceivable that the Y.M.C.A. might have a use for such a man in some of its foreign work, although I understand that it is contrary to the policy of the Y.M.C.A. to employ Jews even in the present emergency.

Sincerely,

AWS/C

Dean.
Chicago, October 26, 1917

Dear Mr. Zukerman:

Your favor of the 22d inst. is received. I appreciate very much your desire to be of service in this great emergency, and especially to be of service to your adopted country. I am sure that as you think more about it and get into it you will realize that the war on our part is a very necessary thing. I too am opposed to wars, but here is a case where I believe that we must throw all our scruples to the winds, and if the world is to be safe for the normal development of society we must sacrifice enormously in order to crush this very dangerous pro-German plan for mastering the world in the interest of a military autocracy. I have no immediate suggestion which I can make as to what you could do. On the other hand,
I think it is not impossible that you might be of use to the Bureau of Publicity, of which I believe Mr. Creel at Washington is in charge, and it will be entirely proper for you to write to him, stating the case with perfect frankness, and referring him to the authorities of the University for information.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. - L.

Mr. William Zukerman
5525 S. Kimbark Ave., Chicago
A final note: the above-mentioned study revealed that the majority of students preferred learning through visual aids and interactive sessions. It is crucial to incorporate these methods in the curriculum to enhance student engagement and comprehension. Additionally, feedback from the students indicated a keen interest in hands-on projects and group discussions, which could be effectively integrated into future educational programs.
WAR

ARMY Y. M. C.A.

Fort Sheridan, Ill.
October 2, 1917

Pres. Harry Pratt Judson
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Sir:

The Young Men's Christian Association at the Fort Sheridan Training Camp is planning as part of its program a rather extended study of the question "Why we are in the war". The plan is to have on successive Tuesday evenings beginning the latter part of October rather informal discussions by different groups of men in the camp. For example, one night attorneys, another night ministers, third night business men, in each case men who are students in the camp, and should like very much to begin this series of discussions with a lecture by yourself. Mr. Martin informs me that you very ably discussed the question at the preceding camp, and I trust you will find it possible to arrange for a date for this body of men.

Appreciating your cooperation, and with best wishes

I am

Very sincerely yours,

Harry S. Williams

HTW/B
Chicago, October 4, 1917

Dear Mr. Williams:

Your favor of the 2d inst. is received.

I shall be very glad to give the address to which you refer, but am a little puzzled as to the time. The latter part of October and perhaps the first week in November I shall be out of the city. Probably it will be safe to arrange it about the middle of November.

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. - L.

Mr. Harry T. Williams
Army Y. M. C. A.
Fort Sheridan, Illinois
October 9, 1971

Dear Mr. Williamson,

I am pleased to extend my sincere appreciation to you for the

suggestion for a little business trip to New York. The

matter was a matter of importance and I am grateful for your

cooperation in the same.

I am very anxious to visit the city on May 2nd and

would be very much obliged if you could arrange the

appointment.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1917.

Dear Dr. Judson:

I am delighted at your response to my appeal for a war article. What I had especially in mind to get from you was something from 15 hundred to three thousand words in length suitable for use in the feature sections of the Sunday newspapers. I could very well use more than one article from you, and I hope it will be practicable for you to send me some material very soon.

With much appreciation,

Yours sincerely,

L. Ames Brown

Harry Pratt Judson, LL. D.,
President, The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.
Chicago, October 16, 1917

Dear Mr. Brown:

In further reference to your favor of the 25th of September, I am sending enclosed copy of an article on a certain phase of the great war. This is a phase which seems to me to need the thoughtful attention of our people. There are I think approximately 3,000 words in the article, and I hope it will be suitable for your use and not excessive in quantity.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. L. Ames Brown
Committee on Public Information
Washington, D. C.
Dear Doctor Judson:

The Committee on Public Information, through pamphlets, special articles and other outgivings, is conducting what I may presume to call an American war propaganda. We are striving to imbed in the public mind the conviction that this is a people’s war, a war of defense and a righteous war. To this end, we have called into service some fifty of the most distinguished writers of the country. Their work, we are supplementing by presenting, in pamphlets and widely circulated articles, the sound counsel of other leaders of the thought of the nation.

May I not hope that this is an enterprise that will commend itself to you, and that you will give it your active support?

The immediate need is for articles dealing with three phases of the effort to pervert the opinion of America.

1. The lie that this is "not an American war." It has been conveyed to many minds that we are really fighting in behalf of the Entente Allies to save them from destruction, that we are spending our resources to reclaim lost provinces for Italy and France without having any great stake to gain for ourselves. Of course, you realize that, as the President has pointed out in his note to Russia, it was the status quo ante that precipitated the present war. The public must be awakened to a clearer realization of the fact that America’s great stake is to procure an assurance against future wars, which could never be based upon a return to the status quo ante.

2. The belief that our troops and warships ought to be mobilized and concentrated upon our own shores and in our own coastal waters, and our resources preserved for the protection of ourselves. This is but the converse of the former proposition. It must be dissipated entirely before the public will be wholly willing to see our troops and our resources sent to European battlefields. The truth must be driven home that this is just as much a war of self-defense as though German soldiers were on American soil. Either we fight in France, with comrades in arms to aid us, or we fight in the United States with backs against the doors of our own homes.

3. The treacherous German peace propaganda. This is promoted by German interests to impair the willingness of Americans to make the required sacrifices of time, energy, resources, and of actual military service. The German agents astutely realize that a nation
which can be induced to center its thoughts upon visions of peace will meet less willingly and less cheerfully the exactions of war. They realize too that hypocritical and insincere moves to bring about peace may cause misguided persons in this country to question the justice of our continuance in the war and to entertain a false sympathy for the Central Nations as ones against whom a war of extermination is being waged.

It would be especially helpful at this time if you should see fit to prepare an article for us on the war—on any phase of the war argument that suggests itself to you. The foregoing is not offered as in any sense an outline for the work we hope you will undertake but merely to give you the atmosphere in which the Committee itself is working. Indeed, it is the purpose of this letter to inquire if you have not already in mind some set of ideas which you are ready to formulate. The need is for useful articles and the campaign will be the more effective for the original suggestions given by men who are prevailed upon to participate in it.

With appreciation,

Yours sincerely,

[signature]

Harry Pratt Judson, LL. D.
President University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.
Chicago, September 10, 1917

Dear Mr. Brown:

Your favor of the 7th inst. is received. I have discussed in public addresses all phases of this work, and have in hand a rather comprehensive discussion of the matter which I have thought of publishing. I care nothing of course about publishing the whole thing as a unit, and am quite willing to give you an article or articles on any of these phases to which you refer. Please tell me when you would like the matter, and in what form you would like it to be, and about how much material you would regard as advisable.

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. - L.

Director L. Ames Brown
Committee on Public Information
Washington, D. C.
Chicago, September 10, 1917

Dear Mr. Brown:

Your favor of the 7th inst. is received.

I have discussed in public addresses all phases of this work, and have in hand a rather comprehensive discussion of the matter which I have thought of publishing. I care nothing of course about publishing the whole thing as a unit, and am quite willing to give you an article or articles on any of these phases to which you refer. Please tell me when you would like the matter, and in what form you would like it to be, and about how much material you would regard as advisable.

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. - L.

Director L. Ames Brown
Committee on Public Information
Washington, D. C.
President's Office.

November 5th, 1917

President P. E. Jewson,
University of Chicago.

My dear President Jewson:

Mr. Norman Somervilles, President of the Empire Club, has asked me to write to you on behalf of the Club to ascertain whether it would be possible for you to come and deliver an address to them at some time in the not distant future.

The Empire Club has a membership of over twelve hundred business and professional men, and is attended by representative people of the city. It therefore gives the opportunity to any speaker of addressing one of the most influential audiences in the Dominion. Every year there are men of prominence on their programme. Last week, for instance, Dr. Graham Bell delivered the address. The luncheons are usually held on Thursday, but the day could be changed to any other day of the week except Monday if this would suit your convenience better.

One of the strong reasons why they are anxious to have you speak to them, in addition to your own standing in the United States, is that at present our people are greatly interested to know the work of the United States in connection with this war. They realise that you are undertaking your part on a very comprehensive scale, and to hear of your doings will be an
... inspiration to the members of the Club. I hope that you will find it possible to accept the invitation.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

President.
Chicago, November 10, 1917

Dear President Falconer:

Your favor of the 5th inst. is received. I appreciate the courtesy of the invitation, and should be glad of course if I could have the privilege of addressing the Empire Club. It is a question of adjusting my engagements. Would the 29th inst. be suitable? I am going east about that time, and could probably arrange matters for that date. Perhaps you will kindly telegraph me, so that I can make plans accordingly.

With best wishes, I am,

Very truly yours,

R.P.J. - L.

President Robert A. Falconer
University of Toronto
Toronto, Canada.
The Empire Club of Canada
IN AFFILIATION WITH THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, LONDON, ENGLAND.

TORONTO, November 10th 1917.

Harry Pratt Judson, Esq.,
President Chicago University,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir,—

On behalf of the President and Executive of the Empire Club of Canada I am writing to ask whether you could kindly favor us with an address to our Members at our Thursday weekly Noon-Luncheons on an early date.

I understand that Sir Robert Falconer, President of the Toronto University, has already written you making this request for us.

I may say that our Club is largely made up of prominent Professional and Business men of Toronto.

Our weekly Meeting is usually an half-hour Luncheon followed by an half hour Address.

I need hardly say that any subject of your own choosing would be most acceptable to the Club and form a valuable contribution to our published volume.

Soliciting your kind consideration and thanking you in anticipation of a favorable reply, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

Sec.-Treas.
Chicago, November 12, 1917

Dear Mr. Dow:

Your favor of the 10th inst. is received. I have already heard from Sir Robert Falconer, and have written him suggesting the possibility of my accepting your kind invitation for the 29th inst. I should be glad to know whether that would be a satisfactory date. Appreciating your courtesy, I am,

Very truly yours,

H. P. J. - L.

Mr. W. J. Dow
Empire Club of Canada
24 King St. West
Toronto, Canada
Toronto, November 15th, 1917

Harry Pratt Judson, Esq.,
President, Chicago University,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir,-

On behalf of the President and Executive of the Empire Club of Canada, I beg to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of 13th inst., addressed to Mr. Somerville, reading:—"Telegram received. Announce subject "Spirit of the States in the Great War."

We accordingly take great pleasure in announcing to our members that you will address our weekly noon-Luncheon in Toronto on Thursday 29th inst.

Our Thursday Luncheons are held at the Cafe Royal, 14 King Street East, at 12:45 P. M.

I should esteem it a favor if you will kindly give me the names of two personal Toronto or other friends to whom we would be pleased to issue complimentary invitations to hear your address at our Luncheon.

Again thanking you on behalf of the Club for your kind undertaking, and heartily anticipating the pleasure of welcoming you Thursday the 29th.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]

Secy.-Treas.
Dear Mr. Dow:

Your favor of the 15th inst. is received. I note the arrangements, and shall be very glad to be with you in Toronto at the time agreed on. I shall arrive Thursday morning, and will go directly to the King Edward Hotel. I shall plan to leave that evening for New York. I have no suggestions as to any complimentary invitations.

With sincere regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Mr. W. J. Dow
24 King Street West
Toronto, Canada
Chicago, December 13, 1917

Dear Sirs:

In a paper on the war which I am about printing I wish to quote various matter published in your book, "Out of Their Own Mouths." The matter in question of course consists of citations from various books, for instance, Tannenberg, P. 79, etc. Of course I shall give credit to the book itself, to which I shall call attention in my bibliography. I shall appreciate the courtesy.

Very truly yours,

M.P.J. - L.

Messrs. Appleton & Company
New York City
Received at

Hyde Park I. C. Station, Chicago,
33 CH AM 211 PAID BLUE HF
BUFFALO NY FEB 4
W. P. JUDSON

PRES. UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

I AM PRESIDING AT A MEETING AT ONE OF THE LARGEST THEATRES IN BUFFALO TO BE HELD ON SUNDAY NIGHT AT WHICH FOUR DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS WILL ADDRESS US FROM FOUR DIFFERENT ANGLES ON THE SUBJECT OF WHY THE NATIONS ARE AT WAR. FREDERIC COUDERT TO TELL US WHAT FRANCE IS FIGHTING FOR, FREDERICK WHITRIDGE FOR ENGLAND, EDMUND VONMACH FOR GERMANY AND TOYOKICHI IYENAGE FOR JAPAN. I HAVE INVITED ELIOT OF HARVARD, BUTLER OF COLUMBIA, SCHURMAN OF CORNELL, DAY OF SYRACUSE AND RHUES OF ROCHESTER ALL TO BE OUR GUESTS FROM THE TIME OF LEAVING THEIR HOMES UNTIL THEIR RETURN AND TO STAY AT MY HOUSE OR SOME OTHER PRIVATE HOUSE WHILE THEY ARE HERE ON SUNDAY MORNING I SHALL TAKE A PARTY IN A PRIVATE TROLLEY CAR TO NIAGARA TO SEE THE FALLS IN THEIR WINTER DRESS. THIS ALSO MIGHT INTEREST YOU WE HAVE A VERY LARGE GERMAN POPULATION IN BUFFALO THE NEWSPAPERS ARE ALL GIVING THE WIDEST PUBLICITY TO THE MEETING AND IT IS ATTRACTING GREAT ATTENTION IT IS A UNIQUE OCCASION AND WE PARTICULARLY HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE PRESENT. THE PROCEEDS OF SALE OF TICKETS WILL BE DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO THE UNEMPLOYED POOR OF BUFFALO THE INNOCENT AND INDIRECT VICTIMS OF THE GREAT WAR KINDLY REPLY BY WIRE.

FRANCIS V. GREENE.

143PM
Academic Press, University of Chicago
Mr. Judge

I am preparing a meeting at one of the largest theaters in Buffalo to be held on Sunday night at which four distinguished speakers will address us from four different angles on the subject of war. The theme of the meeting is to be President Wilson's proposal for a great council to settle our differences in peace. I have invited Elbert H. Hubbard of the Appeal to Reason to take a part in the program. I shall take a private train to Buffalo on Sunday morning and arrive there in time to leave the theater house at the time the program begins.

Private train will come to ready to leave at 8:30 P.M. and will return to New York at 10:00 A.M. The meeting will begin at 8:00 P.M. and will last until 11:00 P.M. It will be attended by a large audience of students.

I hope you will be able to attend the meeting and show your support for President Wilson's proposal. Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Reply by wire.

F. W. D.
To men and women engaged in patriotic education:

There is no work, aside from military service and direct war work, which exceeds in importance the creation and mobilization of the public opinion which shall back up the Government in the prosecution of the war. The issue of this struggle depends to a large extent on the way public opinion in the United States is stimulated and directed. It is indeed only through the united efforts of enlightened and enthusiastic Americans that the full strength of the Nation can be exerted, that victory can come to our righteous cause, and that America can accomplish those things for which she entered this conflict. Upon the leaders of our public opinion, therefore, rests a responsibility heavier than perhaps ever rested upon any group of people in our entire history. It is a task which can be performed only by men and women who themselves are well informed and who cooperate with all patriotic organizations, governmental and private, which are unifying public opinion in support of the national purpose.

The inclosed Speakers' Bulletin No. 1 will give you information about the organization and work of this Division. It has been our purpose to seek cooperation among all patriotic agencies by agreement; to offer a national clearing house for speaking campaigns by surveys and consultation; to avoid duplication and overlapping of effort; to concentrate attention during special periods on different national needs; and to foster in all speakers a sense of the unity of the national purpose.

Since the organization of our work there has been no demand more insistent or widespread than that the Speaking Division should issue in convenient form instructions and hints for speaking campaigns. Some people have felt that our Division ought to assume supervision over and responsibility for all addresses delivered throughout the country. Such control would be exceedingly difficult to secure, but needed uniformity can be secured if all speakers receive the same material at the same time, with suggestions as to how it should be used for speaking purposes. This avoids all the difficulties which might come from a Government propaganda, since material is given in the form of suggestion rather than instruction.

Bulletin No. 2 indicates the nature of this service in connection with the publications of the Committee on Public Information. It is our hope to make these bulletins the point of contact of the Government with the speakers of the Nation, to indicate how official publications can be used in speaking campaigns, and to aid patriotic men and women everywhere in their educational undertakings. If you care to receive this service, please indicate that fact by returning the enclosed post card at once. May we urge also that you keep a file of these bulletins and of all publications of the Committee so that we may call your attention from time to time to publications already in your hands?

Cordially yours,

Arthur E. Bestor

Director Speaking Division.

WASHINGTON : GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1918
February 5, 1918

Mr. Harry Pratt Judson,
President, The University of Chicago.

My dear President Judson:

Re. War Paper #1, supplementary to my report February 2.

The sales of Friday, Saturday, Monday, and this morning made it impossible to fill all the requests for free copies which were on hand January 31 -- 644 (see statement accompanying my letter February 2), and I would say further have exhausted the stock as it stood this morning. The total sales have been 812, and up to 1:30 today we had unfilled requests for 397 copies and one paid order which cannot be filled. I shall submit the revised statement covering all transactions relating to the first impression in a few days, and in the meantime the question will have to be settled as to whether additional copies will be made available.

Aside from the 398 copies referred to above, we have a request from the City Librarian of Springfield, Mass., for 500 copies. See letter herewith. What treatment do you think should be given this? I should doubt the wisdom of sending as many as 500, but perhaps it might be well to give them, say, 50 copies.

The cost of another impression from type now standing will be as follows: For 1000 copies, $23.00, and for additional thousands, $11.75. This means that an impression of 2500 would cost $51.87, and 5000, $70.00. The quantity should, of course, be dependent upon funds which will be available with which to supply free copies. I feel quite confident that the demand in the way of requests for free copies will continue, but I cannot speak at all definitely about the possibility of sales. We have already sold many more than I anticipated we would, and I should not be at all surprised if we succeeded in disposing of another thousand or two through trade channels. The cost of free distribution is about two cents per copy. This includes addressing, wrapping, and postage.

I think we should be perfectly safe in printing 5000 copies provided you can set aside a maximum of $100.00 for distribution. In order to get the matter before you, I enclose requisition providing for 5000. If you feel that the impression should be cut, the investment can be reduced on the basis of the figures given above.

Very truly yours,

NM: CF

[Signature]
Chicago, February 7, 1918

Dear Mr. Miller:

Herewith I am returning requisition and the other material you sent me. You will note that whenever I endorse on a requisition "Charge to the President's Fund" it does not require action by the Committee on Expenditures.

I am interested in the report, and think that the distribution has gone very well. It seems to me that we could hardly send gratuitously 500 to one place. You might send 50 copies gratuitously, and any further for which they might send the small compensation required. It seems quite safe I think to print the 5,000 new copies. I hope in this case you will make the correction to which I called your attention on page 15, appendix A. The first name of Haeckel is Ernst, not Ernest.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Newman Miller
The University of Chicago Press
Dear Mr. Miller:

Recently I was seeking redaction
and the offer material you sent me. You will note
that whenever I mention a redaction "quote" to the
President’s Fund it goes not relative cost of the
Committee on Experimentation,
I am interested in the report, and think that the
appropriation has come very well. It seems to me that
we can get a good substantiality and can take her
with some 20 or more resources, and can act upon her
without any right says the small compensation needed.

It seems quite clear. I think I think to bring the 500 new
coaches. I hope if this case you will make the connection.

To explain I call your attention to these 17,000,000.
The little one of necessity is that I, nor the school.
Very truly yours,

E. T. L.

Mr. Newman Miller

The University of Chicago Press
From this point in central Switzerland one can look across the borders into the land of war in Italy.

All campaigns in the Alps are winter campaigns.
An encampment of German troops before Ham. Four years of warfare have worn the tinsel from the service of the Kaiser, and the once immaculate troops now hirsute and dress with the unkempt carelessness of a band of gypsies.

This picture, taken in April, shows a body of German troops waiting in the devastated streets of St. Quentin, for the order which is to send them forward to fill up the gaps made by the slaughter of their comrades. And, when these, too, had gone, another line was formed in the streets of St. Quentin, awaiting its turn to be hurled against the Allied defences, until the town became like a huge reception room of some grim doctor from whose treatment but few were destined to emerge alive.
SO THIS IS THE PIAVE!

At the Austrian High Command will try to, the river has been swollen by recent rains to many times its size. This fact, together with the Italian army, was the cause of the Austrians undignified withdrawal.

An Austrian quartermaster's convey, hit by an Italian shell, with its cargo of official documents scattered over the road. More work for the Riga clerk.

If it takes four armed German soldiers to remove a cartload of official French presents from Montdidier, how many will it take to remove the French, British and American armies from the path to Paris?
THE FIELD OF HONOR

AMERICANS WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN THE GREAT WAR


Lieutenant Ralph M. Seibert, U.S.A.C., Glenshore, Ill. Died in German Red Cross hospital.


Captain Rufus S. Mangold, Missouri Train Service, Kansas City, Mo. Killed in German raid.


Private Perugia, Papa, Millford, N.J. Died in France.


Private John H. Greaves, M. O. C., Myristown, N.J. Died on sick leaves.


Captain Henry Muehe, 28th Inf. Falmeter, N.Y. Killed in action.


Private William C. Branch, M.D., M. A. M. on the Lake Mauze.


Private Leonard W. Shears, Ambulance Co. No. 11, Hartford, Pa. Killed when bomb was dropped on ambulance.


Editorial Correspondence

By CHESTER H. ROWELL

WE HALTED BECAUSE OF BAD WEATHER

By J. H. Cassel

The Fresno Morning Republican, Friday, April 12, 1918.
YOU ARE EITHER ALL AMERICAN OR ALL TRAITOR, THERE IS NO MIDDLE OF ROAD—PROF. CLARK

Chicagoan Speaking With Authority of Government Says There Is No Place in Nation for Those Who Do Not Help Win War

"We must take up the fight, and we must take it to the enemy," said Prof. Clark, at a recent meeting in Chicago, when speaking of the present critical period of the war. "We must fight for the very life of our country, and we must not be afraid to fight. We must stand firm, and we must not yield an inch of ground to our enemies." His words were received with great enthusiasm by the audience, and they left no doubt of the determination of the people to carry on the war to a successful conclusion.

LOAN TOTALS YESTERDAY

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<tr>
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MILLION MARK IS PASSED IN CITY LOAN DRIVE

McKasie Has Out Hope of Reducing Quota

Then France Will Go After Helen Star

French President Doriot has announced that France will go after Helen Star, the American actress who has been soliciting funds for the French war effort. The French government has expressed a desire to see Miss Star return to France, and to assist in the war effort.

W.S.S. Main Floor

Cashier

Extra Special Today!

60 Fine Silk Dresses at $12.95

A Special Underprice Purchase With Values Up to $25 Included From Our Regular Stock

There are dresses of surprise quality and style at a very low price. The assortment includes smart even styles in plus, and other tailored and even quite a number of pretty attires are new. The larger part come in a great variety of colors from our regular stock, dresses that were 14.95, 17.95, 22.95, 29.95, 34.95, and more.

Exceedingly Smart

New Beaded Bags

Of Moire Silk Fitted With Large Mirror & Purse

A new line of beaded bags, of moire silk, fitted with large mirrors and purses, has been added to our line of accessories. They are made of the finest quality material, and are designed to meet the season with attrail inspiration.

The bags are made in two sizes and are priced at a mirror of some size and color.

To people, men and ladies.

New Today Fibre Silk Sweaters

Sport Coat Effect

The large sport effect and the exact imitation of the latest trends are an added attraction to these fibre silk sweaters. They are made in a variety of colors and styles, and are priced at an attractive price.

U.S. GETS NAVAL BASE ON AZORES

Ready to Start Work on Building of Fortifications

WASHINGTON, D.C. — For the first time, it has been announced that the United States government is considering the construction of a naval base on the Azores. The base will be used for the protection of the interests of the United States in the region, and will also be used as a stopping point for ships on the way to and from Europe.

Buckhecht Army Shoe

This shoe is in good size and made to last a long time. We have sold more than 10,000 pairs of this shoe in the past month. The price is $7.00.
CRUSHING THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

BY A. MITCHELL PALMER

Attorney General of the United States (formerly Alien Property Custodian)

The original Trading with the Enemy Act was a rather innocuous piece of legislation. Although passed six months after we entered the war, when preparations to strike the enemy wherever he raised his head were being prosecuted in this country, with a vigor never before known, it lacked every fighting quality. It was framed for the purpose of preventing commerce of every sort between the United States and persons living or doing business in enemy territory, and yet it was couched in such conservative, not to say benevolent, terms, that when the Alien Property Custodian got fairly into the work which the law laid upon him, he wondered whether its real effect might not be to lend aid and comfort to the enemy. It made of the Alien Property Custodian a mere conservator of enemy property; a sort of guardian to take charge of, administer and account for the property in the United States owned by persons, who, by reason of their enemy character or residence in enemy territory, were disabled from caring for it themselves.

Every department of the government upon which duties were laid under the Act almost immediately recognized its weakness, and sought to have it amended by the usual legislative processes. The War Trade Board, the Treasury Department, and the Alien Property Custodian presented to the legislative committees of the Congress comprehensive amendments to the law, which, perhaps on account of their far-reaching character, suffered the necessary fate of most general legislation during war times, and remained buried in committees. It was difficult to divert the attention of the Congress from its many pressing war problems to what appeared to many to be a subordinate function of the general war-machine. The attempt to make the act as effective as experience proved it ought to be, finally resulted in three amendments to the law offered by the Alien Property Custodian, and adopted by resort to the time-honored device of having them carried as riders on appropriation bills. Little difficulty was encountered in impressing the committees of the Congress with the importance of these simple, but far-reaching, changes in the law.

By these amendments the Trading with the Enemy Act was converted into a real fighting force in the war, and thereafter the Alien Property Custodian, instead of being looked upon in Germany as an amiable protector of German interests in the United States, found himself denounced in the Berliner Tageblatt as "the official pickpocket," while the Imperial German Government felt impelled to submit through diplomatic channels its official protest against his conduct as "consciously designed to destroy the German economic existence on the American continent."

Under the original act, the Alien Property Custodian was given the powers of a common-law trustee; his right to sell enemy property being restricted to cases where it was necessary to prevent waste or protect the property. This amounted to a virtual denial of the right to sell enemy property. The first amendment wiped out these restrictions, and gave him the power to manage and dispose of the property as if it were his own, except that all sales should be made by public auction to the highest bidder, and to American citizens only. The Department of Justice had, in the meantime, rendered an official opinion to the Federal Trade Commission to the effect that a patent could not be seized as enemy property, and the Alien Property Custodian, therefore, found
himself unable to seize or dispose of thousands of German-owned patents issued by the American Government. These patents were, in many cases, being used by American corporations whose stock was wholly German-owned, the owners of the stock being also the owners of the patents. The German owner got his return for the use of the patent, not in the shape of royalty, but by way of dividends upon his stock in the American corporation. The plan was generally adopted of permitting the use of these patents by the American corporation without any license or written agreement, because of the common ownership by the German in the patent and corporation. When we came to sell the stock of such corporations to American citizens, we found, therefore, that although their chief and most valuable asset was the right to enjoy these patents, there was no way for us to convey the patent rights. The original Act had been quite careful to protect German patents in this country, doubtless on the theory that many American patents in Germany were valuable, and would be protected by way of reciprocity. This was a fallacy, however, because under the German law a patent lapses unless certain license fees are periodically paid to the government. The war effectively stopped the payment of such license fees despite the President’s proclamation that trading with the enemy would be permitted to that extent, and American patentees lost their rights in Germany while the law was carefully protecting the German patents here.

The second amendment to the Act put patents in the category of property which can be seized by the Alien Property Custodian, and made it possible effectually to destroy the German monopoly in many lines of industry based upon these patents.

The third amendment cured the defect in the original Act which had rendered it difficult, if not impossible, for the Alien Property Custodian to acquire the enemy interest in American corporations where he was unable to produce the stockholder’s certificate of shares. Many of the German-owned shares in American corporations were in the hands of agents or representatives in this country, who were required to report them to the Alien Property Custodian, and it became an easy matter in such cases to substitute the Custodian for the German owner as a stockholder in the company. In many other cases, however, the certificate was locked up in the strong-box of the owner in Germany, and, while the interest of the enemy stockholder in the corporation was demanded by the Custodian, it was impossible to make him a stockholder of record, with all the rights and powers of such a stockholder. Congress by this amendment required the corporation to issue a new certificate in place of an enemy-owned certificate which was in enemy territory, and the Alien Property Custodian thus became empowered to exercise all the rights of a stockholder, both in the management, operation, and sale or liquidation of the great industries in which the enemy had substantial investments.

These three amendments put teeth into the law, and even before we had sufficient men on the western front to start the counter-offensive which finally drove the German Empire to surrender, we had in thoroughgoing operation on what might be called the American front, a commercial offensive of wide scope and far-reaching character, which was rapidly breaking up the great industrial and commercial army which Germany had deliberately planted upon American soil.

My experience convinced me that the industrial invasion of America by the German interests, for a generation before the world war, was begun with hostile intent. It was designed to capture the trade and business of this continent when the day should come that Germany felt strong enough to pit her armed force against the civilized world. When she struck on that fateful July day in 1914, she was convinced that her industrial and commercial outposts in America had secured so strong a foothold that their influence and power would make for her a great allied force on American soil sufficient to keep America out of the war, or to cripple us at home if we should go in.

Her method of upbuilding industry in this country was not the method of ordinary investors of capital, but the method of distributors of propaganda. Many of the German-owned industrial
concerns in the United States were mere spy centres before we entered the war, and would have been centres of sedition if we had not promptly taken them into our possession. It was earnestly urged upon me in the early days of my administration as Alien Property Custodian, by many persons of prominence whom I afterward came to suspect of some ulterior motive in the suggestion, that the law intended the Alien Property Custodian only to take the enemy-owned stock in corporations into his possession, without exercising any rights as a stockholder by the election of directors, the installation of managers, or the actual operation of the business. I should have been very unhappy if I could not have made myself believe the law intended something more than this, and by acting upon my belief was able, I think, to rid the country of some very virulent pest spots, with which we otherwise have been compelled to contend through all the days of the war.

When we took over the Bayer Company, a well-known corporation with offices and warehouses in New York City and up-State, all of whose stock was owned by great German chemical interests, if I had been satisfied simply to take the stock and allow the old managers to operate the property, I would have failed to discover the attempt which was made by some persons connected with the company secretly to conceal its assets. A new corporation had been formed by the Bayer managers for the purpose of starting, under a camouflage of American ownership, a new business of the same character, to continue the German invasion of the American markets when peace should come. As it was, however, that attempt was still-born; the purloined assets of the company were returned to it; the business which its managers had sought to start was made a mere subsidiary of a real American corporation, sold by the Alien Property Custodian to real American citizens, who are now operating it as such.

Our representatives in the Bayer Company inquisitively turned their attention to every nook and corner of the company’s business. We turned up more than a million dollars of concealed government taxes, and paid them out of the company’s treasury; thus, in one stroke, defraying the entire cost of sixteen months of my administration of the office of Alien Property Custodian. One simple illustration is fairly indicative of the general character of these corporations which were entirely German-owned. Agents of the government found in the cellar of the Bayer Company’s warehouse twenty-three trunks, which were said by trusted German employees to contain cast-off clothing of certain officials connected with the company, but which upon examination proved to contain letters and documents from private files of Bernstorff, Dernberg, and other leaders of the German spy system in America. They had abused the American hospitality which permitted the German money to be invested in the American corporation by making that corporation’s property a veritable repository for the information collected by individuals, who were likewise abusing our hospitality.

The Orenstein-Arthur Koppel Company, a German corporation, owned a large plant at Koppel, near Pittsburgh, where it had built up a very efficient industrial organization with a half dozen corporations engaged in various lines of business, all acting under and through two German subjects who were attorneys-in-fact for the original German investors. The chief business of the company was the manufacture and installation of what is known as “inside transportation”; that is, narrow-gauge railways, dump-cars, travelling cranes and machinery of a similar sort used in large industrial plants. It was the American branch of a great German business which has branches in all the great countries of the world. It was never naturalized by becoming an American corporation, and its managers never showed any desire to become American citizens. For nearly twenty years it had been operating under a system which required its managers to submit to the home office the plans and specifications of every industrial plant on which it made bids for materials to be furnished. Its product has gone into most of the great industrial plants of the United States, and specifications, floor plans, and elevations of these plants have likewise gone to the home office of the
Orenstein-Arthur Actiengesellschaft, at Berlin. Similarly, the eighteen branches of German insurance companies in this country collected for their own use detailed plans and drawings of all the property insured by them, with especial reference to the hazard of the insured buildings from fire, explosion, or other causes. Whether these interesting circumstances had any connection with the fact which afterward became apparent, that whoever was planning the explosions which occurred in munition plants, seemed to know the vulnerable points in which to cause the explosions, has been one of the unsolved riddles of the war.

After the world war started, the Orenstein-Arthur Koppel Company took a contract to furnish certain railway supplies to Russia, and the German agents who were operating the plant became suddenly possessed of the fear that in doing so they had violated the penal code of the Fatherland in agreeing to furnish supplies to an enemy of Germany. Inquiry by them at the German Embassy in Washington developed the fact that it was a violation, but the German agents at Koppel expressed the hope that this violation of the German law might well be condoned in view of the fact that they were in position to render a great service to the Fatherland by taking the contract with Russia and failing to deliver the goods. This was fighting the war in Pennsylvania in the days when we were trying in good faith to be neutral.

The Bosch Magneto Company, by secret ownership of the stock of competitors, had reached a point where it controlled more than half of the business in this country in magnetos and battery ignition systems. It secretly owned the major part of another magneto company, and through stock ownership controlled the largest producer of moulded insulation, a product which was essential to the magneto industry. It had acquired for about a million dollars another competitor, whose plant was promptly shut down and dismantled. In addition to these investments, the Bosch Magneto Company owned and operated a well-equipped factory at Springfield, Massachusetts, with branches at Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco, and, when the war opened, its products had obtained first place in the minds of the American purchasing public. It was ostensibly American-owned. It had only twenty-five thousand dollars of capital stock, though it was afterward sold to American purchasers for four million one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and of this stock all but a few shares stood in the name of American citizens, who at first steadfastly insisted that there was no enemy interest in the company. Despite this alleged American ownership during the period of our neutrality, the company was openly pro-German in its sympathies and activities. Though it manufactured a product highly important in war, it refused to sell anything to either the allied governments or to any purchasers suspected of being interested for the allied governments. It did this under an alleged impartial business policy of refusing to supply materials for any belligerent, but it was, of course, playing Germany's game. When the United States went into the war the company still held back, and it was not until after a most searching investigation, followed by a confession by the men who had concealed the enemy ownership, that the Alien Property Custodian was able to take over the business. When he did take it over, he made the Government of the United States its preferred customer, and at the time of the armistice was furnishing eighty-five per cent of the product of the Bosch Magneto Company to this government for war purposes.

The Bosch Magneto Company presents an interesting example of the German method of invading our market. Bosch had taken out a large number of American patents. The Bosch Magneto Company was permitted to use these patents, but when that company was taken over as enemy property, it was learned that it had no title whatever to the patents, either by assignment, license, or otherwise. Bosch had simply been permitting his own company to use them without paying royalty or license fee, relying for his compensation upon the enormous profits which the company could earn in the manufacture of the product for his benefit. It was this circumstance that first carried conviction to the minds of our investigators that the
The Military situation
(on the 2nd of December 1917).

The progress of the Austro-Germans in Italy has been stopped; British troops have won a great victory near Cambrai; other British troops are near Jerusalem.

The Russian maximalists are arranging an armistice between that part of the Russian army that has gone over to them, and the Austro-Germans.

The troops liberated by this Russian desertion help to furnish men for the German attacks on the French front. Meanwhile the Allied war Council has met in Versailles, whilst the Great Council of all the Allies holds its meetings in Paris.

Western front. — The British have attacked the Hindenburg line in the sector in front of Cambrai; it was a surprise attack, made without previous artillery preparation, tanks opening up breaches by making through the enemy's barbed wire.

They made an advance of 10 kilometers depth, taking nearly 10,000 prisoners. The Germans resisted in the Bourlon woods, where terrific fighting is going on, and that, up to now, the British did not succeed in capturing. With the reinforcements rushed up, they attacked the right
flank of the British army, left exposed on account of the advance made, capturing part of the British defence works; but their success was short lived, and they were finally repulsed with heavy losses. The English have maintained the essential part of their gains.

The French succeeded in two small operations, each of which brought in a few hundred prisoners, one in the Aisne, the other before Verdun. A German counter attack before Verdun, failed.

In Italy, the Austro-Germans did not succeed in passing the Piave line; they fought great fights so as to outflank this line, but were held up by the Italian troops, before they could reach the plains. The retreat caused by the desertion of a few brigades, corrupted through an intense pacifist propaganda, is thus stayed, and the Italian army, that is fiercely fighting to defend its country, has pulled itself together again.

**Eastern front.** — Parts of the Russian army have still gone on fighting.

The Balkanic front shows increased activity. In Palestine, after having occupied the port of Joppe, the British troops have continued to advance; they are only a few miles from Jerusalem. They have captured a great many prisoners, and guns. The Turks are resisting.

**In Africa.** — As a result of the taking of Mahenge, one of the last of the German colonies of South Africa, under the command of a colonel, has been obliged to surrender.

**In Sea.** — Submarine war-fare has shown increased activity. But in spite of that, the English succeeded in destroying five boats in one day. The American and Greek navies each claim to have sunk a sub-marine.

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**The transport of American troops**

The American special papers, more particularly the *Army and Navy Gazette*, give an account of the means employed for the transport of American troops to France. The transport is effected by means of the German ships seized in the United States, attended by a few requisitioned ships of the American merchant service.
GERMAN INCONSISTENCY

Have been commandeered: 16 ships for a period of 3 months; 14 for a period of 6 months; 10 for a period of 9 months; 6 for a period of 12 months. The price paid for these ships is 82,000 dollars per month, per ship; the owners have been insured against war-risks, and Congress has been asked to vote a sum of 22 million 490,000 dollars for this purpose.

The German ships seized have been given new names, except those already bearing American names. We give the list below, showing the tonnage and number of men they can carry:

Leviathan (ex-Vaterland), 54,282 tons, 8,800 men; Georges-Washington, 23,570 tons, 4,880 men; America (ex-America), 22,622 tons, 5,500 men; Mount-Vernon (ex-Konprinzessin-Cecilie) 19,503 tons, 2,800 men; Agamemnon (ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II) 19,361 tons, 3,830 men; President-Lincoln, 18,168 tons, 5,200 men; President-Grant, 18,072 tons, 5,200 men; Corintion (ex-Cincinnati) 16,361 tons, 4,000 men; Acolus (ex-Grosser-Kurfurst), 13,102 tons, 3,175 men; Mercury (ex-Barbarossa) 10,994 tons, 2,620 men; Pocahontas (ex-Prinzen-Irene) 19,883 tons, 2,940 men; Huron (ex-Friedrich-der-Grosse) 18,771 tons, 2,450 men; Powhatan (ex-Hamburg) 18,931 tons, 2,000 men; Susquehanna (ex-Rhein) 10,058 tons, 2,000 men; Antigone (ex-Nekar), 9,835 tons, 2,000 men; Madarcasha (ex-Koenig-Wilhelm II) 9,410 tons, 2,200 men.

In future all ships used for transport will be placed at the disposal of the Navy department which has made arrangements for the transport of 2,033,345 men and 55,041 officers.

German inconsistency in dealing with the question of Alsace-Lorraine.

A great deal of trouble has been taken, on the other side of the Rhine, to prove — it must be owned, without much success — that the treaty of Francfort had consecrated the return of Alsace and Lorraine to their real mother-country.

All branches of intellectual activity had been set in motion: ethnologists have made learned mensurations, the results of which however are open to question, linguists have discoursed about the affinities existing between alsatian and germanic dialects, historians have published weighty dissertations on the consequences of the treaty of Verdun (843) and the dividing of the Charlemagne
empire, forgetting perhaps a little too easily that the whole of the land on the left bank of the Rhine was Gallic. But be that as it may: for every self respecting German no doubt is admissible: The Alsatians and Lorrainians are "newly-found brothers":

So what is not our surprise, on reading a recent number of the Freie Zeitung, to find a document showing how these newly-found brothers are treated in the 34th Infantry Regiment:

Regimental Order. 34th Infantry Reserve Regiment, on the Western Front, the 26th 1st 17.

Since during the last few days, three Alsatians have gone over to the enemy, all the Alsatians and Lorrainians of the Regiment are declared suspect.

They will be withdrawn from the front to night, billeted apart, and employed as navies. Hours of work: daily from 7 in the morning to 4 at night. Cleaning up hours under supervision from 6 to 7.

It is strictly forbidden to smoke whilst working, and to converse with civilians and other comrades of the Regiment.

The men of Alsace and Lorraine are to be deprived of all privileges.

Any allusion made in letters, etc., to the measures herein taken will be looked upon as a breach of the law of service secrets, and be very severely punished.

Von Bibra,
Colonel and Head of the Regiment.

It is rather surprising that brothers should be subjected to such hard treatment. There is not mistaking the fact that they are made to feel how much they are lacking in family feelings! Now, curiously enough, the older and younger people, those who have remained behind at home, are none the more docile, if one may judge by the sentences of death and others that have overwhelmed Alsace and Lorraine since the beginning of hostilities.

In the space of two years, courts martial have given 3,000 years of imprisonment for francophile demonstrations, the number of condemned people being sometimes so great that the prisons are always full and that you have to wait your turn before going to spend a few weeks, months, or years, in what is jokingly called — Alsatian sense of humour never losing its right — the Hôtel of France.

In short, it would seem that these measures and many others besides, are only the daily application of that doctrine expressed in the proclamation addressed, in August
1914, to the Bavarian troops crossing the Rhine: "You are entering an enemy country (that is Alsace) and you must treat the inhabitants accordingly".

Between theory and practice there is thus divergency, and it may be concluded that practice condemns theory. The Germans themselves realize, as shown in their treatment of the annexed countries, that the ties of blood have never been manifest, and that the Alsatians and Lorrainians, who theoretically speaking are their brethren, have never shown any fraternal feeling towards them. Thus neither historians nor ethnologists are right, but rather those bishops of Strasburg and Metz, both of them German, who conscientiously refused to admit that those belonging to their diocese wished at all costs to remain subjects of the Empire.

The Flemish Question

We have often shown our readers the efforts Germany has made to sow discord in Belgium. An important book (1) recently published, furnishes us with an opportunity to return to the subject.

Belgium is a remarkable illustration of the fact, that common historical memories, the respect of reciprocal rights, the will to live the same life, all that makes up a nation, in spite of the diversity of the languages. From the xv\(^{th}\) century, the Belgian provinces, breaking one after the other the ties that had bound them, now to Germany, now to France, acquired the consciousness of forming a distinct nationality. Time has only served to strengthen that sentiment. Long dependant on distant dynasties, it cannot however be said that Belgium was ever subjected to foreign rule, except accidentally, so true is it that her individuality, her autonomy, have generally been respected.

When, after 1830, Europe recognized the new kingdom, she did not commit a mistake in so doing; or resort to an expedient, or try an artificial political creation, doomed to disappear.

She took note of a deliberate determination, and acknow-

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ledged an accomplished fact; she followed the most manifest lessons of history. And up to the day when it pleased Germany to throw herself upon Belgium, "this perfect specimen of a little modern State, pacific, liberal, progressive and prosperous", was considered even by the Germans themselves, to justify to the highest degree the hopes Europe had placed on it (1).

The language question was no doubt a difficult one, in a State composed of more than 4 millions of Flemish and 3 millions of Wallons. Each in turn, the two parties have had reasons to accuse the other of "Linguistic oppression". Napoleonic rule had given French the preference; under the short-lived union with Holland, Flemish was encouraged; following upon 1830, it was endeavoured, by a reaction easily understood, and in view of another Dutch attack, to strengthen national unity by linguistic unity. Heated discussions took place between those in favour of Flemish and those against. But three things must be borne in mind:

Firstly: From 1873 to 1914, a series of laws gradually gave satisfaction to the Flemish demands; it may be asserted that on the eve of the war there remained only one question to be settled, that of the Ghent University; and it was on the point of being peaceably settled.

Secondly: just as in the Middle Ages and nearly up to modern times, the wars, often very terrible, that had cut asunder the Netherlands never bore the character of racial struggles (a fact worthy of note is that none of the traditional, political or religious, provinces of Belgium concords with the linguistic frontiers) so the Flemish and Wallon movements bear nothing of the character of separation, or "irredentism" whatsoever. The Flemish people think that "experience and wisdom show that a nation's education cannot yield its maximum, unless taught in the mother-tongue", they are not influenced by any ill-feeling against French culture; still less by sympathy for German culture. Nothing could be more opposed than the spirit of municipal independance, and individual freedom, that has inspired Flanders throughout her glorious history, and the pan-germanist leaning towards centralization, or Prussian militarism.

Thirdly: How little discussions about languages had weakened Belgian patriotism, how little Flemish agitation

(1) Consult Hillebrand's important study: Zeiten, Völker, und Menschen, chapter: Das Belgische Experiment.
had prepared the way for Germany, was clearly seen by the unanimity with which all at once faced the invader, and by the very large proportion (67 %) of Flemish soldiers in the Belgian Army (1).

* * *

It will nevertheless be readily understood that the Germans, who pride themselves on their psychological powers, would endeavour to turn to account differences, the character of which they misunderstood, and whose gravity they exaggerated. In fact, from the year 1914, their publicists began to discuss the necessary measures to take, and to prepare public opinion (2).

Before discussing these measures, is it necessary to show that Germany had no right to take them? Perhaps not; we don't hope to convert Germany to respect right, nor do we deem it necessary to show others that she despises it. Let us bear in mind, however, that the Germans are only de facto occupants, obliged, in virtue of article 43 of the regulations added to the IV Convention of the Hague, "to respect, unless absolutely unable so to do, the laws in vigour in the country". Now they have unmistakably violated them, both by making the Ghent University Flemish, and by the administrative division which they have introduced.

We will now give our readers news of the "Flemishization" of Ghent, about which we have already spoken. The chief result is still the deportation into Germany of Messrs. Fredericq and Pirenne. There are only seven members of the old professorial staff on the new, only five being Belgian. To complete the staff, professors were chosen from the secondary schools, from amongst members of the liberal professions, and from those of the Dutch scholars who cared to leave Holland.

Professor von Dyck of Munich, the German founder of the new University, went to a great deal of trouble explaining the "hyperneutralité" sentiment that led many of the most celebrated Dutch scholars to scornfully reject his offers. He could not understand any one

(1) A proportion which is due to divers special reasons, and in no way detracts from the patriotism of the Wallons.
(2) There is nothing more curious, nothing that better reveals, an old and overexcited cupidity, and perhaps also the word passed round, than the enormity of German literature dealing with the Flemish question. M. Passelecq has given, page 129, a remarkable statistic of the newspaper articles, and in an appendix, a bibliography of the books and pamphlets.
feeling a natural aversion to taking the slightest part in the German invasion of Belgium. On the whole, the professorial staff is of great mediocrity, far too numerous, moreover, for the number of students. For in spite of all that could be thought of to attract them (the founding of scholarships, the liberation of Flemish prisoners, should they consent to enter, promises and advantages of all kinds) there were not 120 students at the beginning of 1917.

But there was still less excuse for the administrative division. The Flemish University had at least been the wish of the Flemings even before the war, although they scarcely wished to get it at the hands of Germany. But separate government had never figured on their programme.

Germany however determined to impose it. In 1916 she began preparing for it in several ways; for instance on the 25th of October, by separating the different Boards of Directors and the budget for educational purposes. Then she managed to get up an artificial agitation. She found some two hundred and fifty Flemish partisans, traitors to their country, and amongst whom not a single celebrated name was to be found, willing to hold a meeting in Brussels, on the 4th of February 1917, to vote for the creation of a "Council of Flanders", and who issued a manifesto in which they clamoured for administrative separation, and an independent representation of Flanders at the future Peace Conference. A delegation carried these wishes to Berlin; they were not ashamed of accepting to be feasted by Belgium's oppressors; a reception at the Chancellor's, a banquet, a "beer-evening". The Chancellor in the name of the Empire, hastened to promise to guarantee during peace negotiations and at the conclusion of peace, the free expansion of the Flemish race. As a result of which, on March 21st, an order of General Bissing established two administrative regions in Belgium: the one (provinces of Anvers, Limbourg, Western and Eastern Flanders, districts of Brussels and Louvain) governed from Brussels, the other (the provinces of Hainaut, Liége, Luxembourg and Namur, the district of Nivelles) governed from Namur.

As the Semaine Littéraire of Geneva strongly put it (24th March): "The Germans are untiring in their efforts. First of all they invaded Belgium; then plundered it; then slandered it, now tear it to pieces."

But previously, as early as March 10th, seventy-seven
notables, speaking Flemish or French, had presented Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg with an energetic protest wherein they recalled and declared among other things:

Firstly: That out of the 113 representatives and the 57 senators (170 in all) sent to the Parliament by the Flemish provinces, two only had joined the movement known as the “Activist movement”;

Secondly: That scarcely a hundred University degree men (many of whom had already withdrawn or regretted having given their signature) had been in favour of the “Flamandisation” of the Ghent University;

Thirdly: That none of the great Flemish associations of the literary, political or professional spheres (such as the Willemsfonds, the Davidsfonds, the Nederlandse Bond, the Liberale Vlaamse Bond, the Liberale Volksbond, the working-men’s associations, the Flemish Medical and Naturalist Congress, the Flemish Jurists association) had adhered to the anti-patriotic policy of the “Activists”;

Fourthly: That the Flemish independant Press was unanimous in its condemnation;

Fifthly: That the Flemish party had, before the war, strongly opposed the idea of separate government, proposed by a very small numbers of Wallones.

Sixthly: That the Flemings were not helots, “a race forced by compulsion to belong to some large country, but free associates of a free democracy”. They had alone, and without waiting for Germany’s help, won a great many of their linguistic claims.

“Your Excellency, audaciously continued the protest, is better placed than anyone to know whether in the same short lapse of time, the people living in Germany not speaking the German tongue have obtained such far-reaching reforms.”

As for Germany’s promise to guarantee the free expansion of the Flemish race, “Never, was the reply of the true representatives of this independent and proud race, never will we accept a peace, that would allow your government or any other foreign State to interfere with our home affairs”.

Nor did they stop at words. On account of the new situation created, those in office belonging to the central government all withdrew the temporary oath of allegiance that they had sworn to keep towards German authority, with the tacit consent of their government.

They were then deported to Germany.

We now have to show Germany’s real designs, already
silence of the Austrian telegraphic agencies is scarcely to
be wondered at.

One after the other the deputies, Petruszewicz in the
name of the Ukrainians, Stanek, in the name of the
Czechs, Korosec in the name of the Jougo-Slavs, pro-
tested against the decisions taken in Berlin, especially the
annexation of Galicia to the Polish Kingdom, which more
particularly concerns Austria and the Slavs.

Having thus attempted to solve alone these important
questions, the Central Powers have done away with all
hopes of peace one might have been led to entertain.
Moreover it is impossible to solve the Polish question, if
the Ukrainian, the Czech and Jougo-Slav questions are
not solved at the same time.

Such is the truth asserted by all the Slav speakers, Aus-
tria is too decayed an edifice for it to be possible to content-
one self with just patching it up.

If Galicia is detached from it, the Slavs will be placed
in the minority in the Austrian government to the great
advantage of the German elements. "Bureaucracy, mili-
tarism, germanization methodically carried out, with
pitiless energy, such would be our lot in the future ", cried
the Deputy Korosec, amid the applause of his Slavonian
colleagues. And it is because the Poles have common
interests to safeguard that the Czech Stanek urged the
Poles themselves not to separate their cause from that of
their brethren and to take into account the legitimate
aspirations of the Ukrainians. He cannot be said to have
obtained much satisfaction on this last point from the
Polish leaders, who maintained an attitude of great reserve
throughout the discussion.

Inspired by slavonic solidarity the speakers spoke in ve-
he ment language of the condition of the Slovacs of Hun-
gary and denounced the Magyar reign: " As she stands
at present, and from the way in which she treats her
subjects Hungary is the second of the chief obstacles to
making peace. There is no peace possible as long as
in Vienna and Budapest "dualism prevents any reasonable
regrouping of the populations belonging to five nationa-
lities, small or medium sized; so long as prosperous na-
tional states shall not have sprung up on the ruin of dualism." Thus spoke M. Stanek, who accused "the gang of Magyar"
noblemen of oppressing, in every way, the national mi-
norities, and of preparing a plan of electoral reform, where-
in non-Magyar subjects would have still less place. The
deputy Korosec wished to abolish this "dualism", which
perpetuates the supremacy of the two races. Down with
dualism. Such was the cry that greeted the end of his
speech. M. Seitz, speaking on behalf of the German
socialists, re-echoed that wish, from very different mo-
tives however. "We have seen", he explains, the
results of the dualism system on our commercial trans-
actions: do you imagine we shall allow those difficulties
to be augmented? "On reading all this abuse, it is easy
to understand the anger of the Pester Lloyd, when it
announces that "Hungary is made an outlaw in the
Austrian Parliament."
It is easy to understand the violent protests of the leaders of the Magyar parties.
They cannot tolerate the idea of again bringing into ques-
tion the work of 1867 and the dual system, and as any
solution of the Polish question threatens to imperil the
very foundation of the twin State, we may be very sure,
in spite of Count Andrássy's declarations to the contrary,
that the Magyar will oppose it.

On the other hand, it would appear that no one has dared either in Vienna nor in Budapest, to draw attention
to the other occurrence; it was doubtless considered too
grave a matter.
The Czech Stanek recalled, as has been shown, that as
far back as 1870, Bohemia had proclaimed the rights of
nations to govern themselves, and he quoted the protest
made at the Diet of Bohemia against the annexation of
Alsace-Lorraine. The reports do not mention what sort
of a reception greeted this homage paid to the integrality
of France.

Don't touch the Austrian edifice, it is crumbling away.
Such are the conclusions drawn by Messrs. Seidler and Czernin,
leaders of the present Government, from the sitting of
November 9th. The victories won in Italy do not change
this fact. The causes of dissociation existing yesterday,
exist to-day. The battles won thanks to German collabora-
tion have had no other effect, on the internal workings
of the State, than to make the German yoke press
still more heavily on the Slav nations. Austria stands as
much in need of peace to-day as yesterday. If in the
atmosphere of Berlin Count Czernin somewhat forgot
that, his return to Vienna will impress that fact upon him.
Thus it is easy to explain the Fremdenblatt's reception of
the maximalists initiative; thus it is not difficult to account
for the conciliatory words, that the Austrian agents are
spreading about in neutral countries, for all willing ears to
listen to.
who are above all courtiers, even admitting then, just for a moment, in spite of evidence to the contrary, that Germany has taken a first step, visible only to a microscope, towards democracy: are Europe and America to be suddenly filled with admiration? Are they to accord immediate credit to Germanys' democracy of to-morrow or of much later date and to soften at once towards this future Benjamin of the Society of Nations? If the German Press counted on that, it will once again be disappointed. However, the democratic faith of the nations of the Entente, they will never forget that democracy is not an end in itself, that political or social institutions are not ends in themselves; they are the means towards realizing higher aims. Democratic government to-day enlists the sympathies of three quarters of the world, because it seems the best fitted to realize the maximum amount of justice between citizens of each States, and consequently to ensure the reign of equity between nations. Is Germany, supposed to be on the road to democratic conversion, ready to collaborate towards a reign of equity and right? Is she ready, as justice demands, to recognize the full independance of Belgium, to restore to France Alsace and Lorraine that have never ceased to wish to be French, to give back Poland, the whole of Poland to the Poles, to help to rescue all the races oppressed by her vassals: Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, the Italians, Serbians, Rumanians, Greeks, Armenians and Syrians? Is she ready to compensate all the damage caused by her unjust violence? Is she ready to guarantee that an aggression such as that she organized and committed in 1914, shall not be renewed? The world knows that she is not! And yet it is only when Germany shall be resigned, whether by force or by choice, to fulfil all these just demands of right, that she will be allowed to think of returning to the common law of Nations, for which, the "chosen people" seem to-day to have vague longings.

P.S. — Count von Hertling's speech at the Reichstag has just reached us. Mr. von Hertling has announced that Germany ought not to copy other nations' institutions, and he menaces France, England and Italy with renewed German wrath. The false Parliamentarism, the would-be Democracy, the pretended longings for reconciliation with other nations, has already come to an end. Through her new Chancellor "l'Eternelle Allemagne" has once again shown herself in her true colours.
THE ROLE OF THE BANK OF FRANCE

As the French Parliament is now debating on a bill for the renewal of the privilege of emission to be granted to the Bank of France for another twenty-five years (January 1st, 1911, to December 31st, 1935), it is right to call attention to the valuable services this great institution has constantly rendered the country, both prior to, and since the beginning of the war.

I. The Bank of France before the War (1897-1914). — Since 1897, when the last prolongation of its rights of emission was granted, the Bank has, with wise foresight, steadily endeavored to increase its metallic reserve, not only with the object of assuring a substantial guarantee for future emissions, but also with a view to moderating and steadying its rate of discount. So it was that in 1913, the total amount of its reserves (in gold and silver) rose from 3 to 4 milliards and included 81% per cent of gold instead of 60 per cent as in 1897. In regard to fixing its rate of discount the following table, comparing the latter with the rates of other great powers, throws light on the results achieved in this direction by the Bank, which was moreover favored by an abundance of capital, and shows that before the war trade in no other large country benefited by easier terms than those obtainable in France.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>France per cent</th>
<th>Great Britain per cent</th>
<th>Germany per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.84</td>
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<td>3.00</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>3.50</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>3.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>3.76</td>
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<td>1909</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>4.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>4.93</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>5.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The circulation of bank-notes, covered during the same period by a metallic reserve varying from 70 to 90 per cent, rose from 3655 million (1898) to 5665 million (1913). While respecting in the main the rules of discount for bills not exceeding 3 months, and bearing
three signatures, — a condition necessary for keeping bills and acceptances clear and for the security of the guarantee for fiduciary currency, — the Bank, in 1897 and 1911, took a series of measures with the object of enabling as large a number as possible of manufacturers, tradesmen and farmers, to get immediate access to its offices. The chief of these measures were: the admission, for discounting, of Agricultural Syndicates, the lowering of discountable bills to a minimum of 5 francs in value, the acceptance of bills stipulated free of charge for discounting, of bills payable, in French colonies or abroad, of agricultural warrants, of bills payable, when due at any time, in those towns having connection with the Bank (their number has now been increased to 288); and, making accounts for a twofold purpose, allowing the same deposit of securities to serve both for discount and credit transactions. Besides these changes other extra facilities have been given to clients, allowing, in certain special cases, of an easy interpretation of the clause in the statutes on bills at 90 days and reducing the number of signatures required to two, and sometimes even to one. In this way the number of discount accounts in sixteen years (1897-1913) rose from 3,387 to 21,426, and discounted bills from 14 millions to 30 millions, representing a total value of 10 to 20 milliards, in which the figure for bills below 100 francs went from 33 up to 50 per cent.

The increase in every-day cash transactions, most of which are free of charge, was very great. Between 1897 and 1913, the Treasury's current account rose from 6 to 13 milliards, the number of banking accounts from 27,504 to 147,800, the amounts for clearing transactions from 86 to 310 milliards. Credits transferred, in connection with accounts opened at two different branches, increased from 2,833 million (1899) to 73,345 million (1913), owing to the usual charges for commission being done away with. The use of crossed checks was permitted, even before legally sanctioned, and they were cashed free of charge. The general circulation in cash through paymets made out of, or received into the Bank, rose from 124 milliards (1897) to 381 milliards (1913). During the same period the number of deposited securities rose from 3 millions 1/2 to 13 millions; and 324 new establishments (branch-banks, auxiliary offices, and towns having connection with the Bank) were founded, or organized. These figures enable one to fully estimate the immense amount of work done by the Bank of France during the years preceding the war.

II. The Bank of France during the War (1914-1917). — From the very beginning of the conflict in the Balkans, the financial policy of Germany, as well as her diplomatic and military, became more and more threatening. Already in 1913, a whole series of measures instituted by the Reichabank attracted the attention of the Bank of France, which took counter-measures by raising its gold reserve from 3104 million (1913) to 4141 million (1914), and by sending throughout the country a considerable stock of small notes ready to be put into circulation and eventually take the place of metal currency, also by arranging the steps to be taken by all its personnel in case of war.

During the financial crisis which reignied in all the belligerent countries during the last week of July 1914, the Bank was able to rise to the occasion and meet, unhesitatingly, all the demands that the country made upon it. By degrees, as the withdrawal of deposits from the banks increased, the amount of commercial bills presented for discount rose from 1,583 million francs (25th July) to 3,430 million (3rd August). In spite of the coming into force of various moratorium decrees, and notwithstanding the demands created by a paper currency notably on the increase, it continued to discount commercial bills, and so enabled banks and private individuals to gradually meet their liabilities. It made the Treasury, for the first expenses of the war, an advance of 2,900 millions, to which were added 100 millions advanced by the Bank of Algeria. Owing to the prolongation of the war and the heavy expenditure of all kinds resulting from it, and in spite of the success of the National Defence emissions, the total sum of the advances made by the Bank to the State increased little by little, until it exceeded 16 milliards (April 1917) not including 3 milliards 500 millions in Treasury Bills discounted by the Bank as Loans to our Allies. This increase, which necessitated a corresponding augmentation in the emission of fiduciary currency to the amount of 30 milliards, has given rise to the making of special reserve funds, which will immediately after the cessation of hostilities facilitate the redeeming of the debt incurred by the State.

As it is incumbent on the Bank to safeguard the credit of its paper currency, considering the heavy responsibilities laid upon it, it has been obliged to develop all the resources of its war budgets; and has agreed to discount Bills, Bonds and War Loan securities on terms that will make liberation extremely easy. It insured investments by active propaganda and so it was that the subscriptions realized 1,481,768,429 francs stock for the first Loan; 107,428,301 for the second, and 232,472,330 for the third, making a total of 1,974 million francs, nominal capital; besides which the amount of bills and bonds invested in, or renewed, owing to the care taken by the Bank, now realizes 16 milliards, 682 millions. Valuable help has been given too in the revival of the economic life of the country. By advancing 250 millions, in September 1916, the Bank facilitated settlement at the Bourse, which had been postponed since July 1914. Moreover, all the gold it has sent abroad, since 1915, has been put to the State's account, enabling it to obtain a credit of almost 9 milliards. Lastly the Bank has gratuitously assured assistance by accepting foreign securities lent to the State, and has given guarantees for opening private commercial credit accounts in Great Britain, the United States, and in several neutral countries. Whatever expenditure may be found, after four years of war, to lie heavily on the balance-sheets of the Bank of France, we must keep in mind that these liabilities have their counterpart in available unencumbered resources 3,464 millions
in gold, 256 millions in silver, 637 millions in disponibilités on foreign spot, 1,123 millions in commercial bills and acceptances, and 1,200 in advance payments on securities, or bullion). The other twenty milliards of assets, corresponding to the increase in the Bank’s liabilities since the beginning of the war, consists of resources longer in realization, but thoroughly reliable, and guaranteed by the State. They are therefore an unquestionable guarantee for the convertibility of paper-money in the future.

III. Its Renewal of privilege and the future prospects of the Bank of France. — The terms of the renewal of privilege afford further advantages to Public Credit, the State and Treasury. The Sociétés de Caution mutuelle founded by small manufacturers and tradesmen will henceforth be admitted for affairs of discount. New banking centres will be instituted, and the transfer of credits, and payments by cheque made easier. As the profit made by the Bank since 1914 have not, on an average, exceeded those of previous years, it has been granted special terms, in regard to the law on war profits, which will serve to redeem the State’s debit in respect to it. And lastly, the stipulated dues to the Treasury, out of the sum-total of the proceeds from discounting and productive currency, have been modified to the advantage of the State, from a tariff varying from 5 to 12 1/2 per cent, without prejudice to a superposed tax of a previous reduction of 5 to 20 per cent, to be levied on gross profits. If, according to official figures, we consider that the sum-total of receipts and payments made free of charge by the Bank for the Treasury, between 1914 and 1917, exceeded 421 milliards, and that out of the profits for 1917 the State’s share amounted to 58 millions, against 24 millions only for shareholders — amongst whom average and small clients made the majority — we shall form an accurate idea of the disinterested nature of the assistance the Bank of France has continually given the country. As an independent private institution possessing its own capital, governed by a “conseil de légènçe” seconded by a “conseil d’escompte” consisting of representatives of the financial, manufacturing and commercial world, and managed with liberal foresight and discretion, thus assuring the soundness of its credit, the Bank of France was fully equal to its task in time of peace and has carried itself successfully through the ordeal of war. Besides this its strength of endurance in days of stress and the beneficial influence it exercised in the different branches of industry, have won for it the well-deserved gratitude of the public at large. In concluding this brief statement we cannot do better than quote what an important German paper, The Frankfort Gazette, wrote on January 1st, 1918: “The French minister of Finance has laid before the Chamber of Deputies a bill for the renewal of the privilege of the Bank of France. The words of Thiers, uttered in 1871: “The Bank has covered itself with glory”, have been surpassed during this world-war. That Bank has now become the corner-stone of the credit of the French State.”

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Imprimerie Lahure, Paris.
The University of Chicago War Papers

No. 1

THE THREAT OF GERMAN WORLD-POLITICS

By

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THE THREAT OF GERMAN WORLD-POLITICS
THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WAR ON THE PART
OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States has been driven into war with Germany by the entry of that power into a policy of piracy on the high seas. Within the area of the Atlantic Ocean, some fifteen hundred miles long and six hundred miles wide, and within nearly all of the Mediterranean Sea notification has been duly given that vessels will be sunk by German submarines without regard to nationality and without regard to the purpose of their voyage.

The joint resolution adopted by Congress in April, 1917, declared a state of war to exist with Germany. Eighteen American ships had already been sunk by German attacks, and two hundred thirty-seven Americans had been killed. The attacks were not only on vessels of the United States. Piratical raids were uniformly aimed at everybody. One-third of the Norwegian commercial marine had been destroyed. In May, 1915, the "Lusitania," a passenger ship, was sunk without warning, without giving any chance for the safety of those on board. More than one thousand persons were drowned. Over one hundred of these were Americans, many of them women and little children.

In these German attacks on neutral rights and safety there was no remote resemblance to the acts of the British navy. While it is true that American commerce with Germany was hindered and in a large measure prevented by the British naval blockade, at the same time not one American life had been lost, not one American ship had been destroyed. It was wholly a matter of property. Each claim on the British government resulting from the blockade could be settled by courts of law, and damages could be paid in money. The only immediate effect on American prosperity was perhaps that the profits of American business might be double rather than treecfold what they had been before the war. Further, the question as to the unlawfulness of the British blockade at best was in doubt. Very likely a suit before a court of arbitration on that ground would have gone against the United States.

A government which does not protect the rights of its citizens on the high seas will presently have no rights left. If we permit Germany to
forbid navigation within twenty miles of the coast of Spain, presently we may expect to have that navigation forbidden twenty miles from the coast of the United States.

In short, a government which peaceably submits to such outrages will have and will deserve to have the contempt of the world.

The lawless acts of the German navy under the specific orders of the German imperial government constituted war upon the United States. The joint resolution of Congress in April did not begin war, but recognized a state of war as already existing by the act of Germany.¹

THE DEEPER CAUSES OF THE WORLD-WAR

We now realize clearly that the world-war, however, has much deeper causes than the mere attempt to blockade the Entente Allies by a submarine campaign. This deeper cause in its essence is a world-wide piratical attack by Germany on nations which have what Germany wants. The word “piracy” is here used in a larger sense than its technical application in international and criminal law. In this larger sense it means seizing by force what belongs to another nation, whether by land or sea. We have learned that there is a scheme, the result of decades of careful and elaborate planning, for subjecting the entire world, sooner or later, to the domination of the German Empire. There is a scheme for seizing coveted lands and coveted dominion in every quarter of the globe. It is in this conflict for the liberty of the world that our country is now deeply concerned. Should the submarine policy itself be withdrawn, it would be idle for us to put a stop to hostilities. We must stay in the fight until these deeper causes of the Great War are destroyed, and until there are adequate securities against their early recurrence.

In reality, then, this war on the part of the United States is, in the first place, a war of self-defense and, in the second place, a war for the defense of all the other democracies of the world.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE AN ENEMY OF THE WORLD

The German Empire as now organized and as now administered is an enemy of the world by reason, first, of its controlling forces; by reason, secondly, of the far-reaching, piratical aims of those forces; by reason, thirdly, of the methods by which the imperial government of Germany seeks to attain these ends.

¹ “War Information Series”: How the War Came to America, pp. 22-23.

The Threat of German World-Politics

I. THE CONTROLLING FORCES IN GERMANY

The controlling forces in question are perhaps five:

1. The first is the virtually autocratic government of the empire. The constitution of the German Empire is such that the will of the king of Prussia finds easy expression and is only with great difficulty to be resisted. While nominally a constitutional monarch, virtually he is an autocrat.

In these days monarchy is by no means always equivalent to autocracy. In the British monarchy, for instance, it is true that the king succeeds by heredity in the limits of a certain family. However, this succession was determined by act of Parliament, and act of Parliament may set aside the royal family altogether, or any king within the royal family. The British ministers and the Cabinet in England are responsible, not to the king, but to the elective House of Commons. In other words, Parliament through a freely elected House of Commons actually governs the country. The king reigns, but he does not rule. The House of Commons is chosen by what we may call universal suffrage, and in itself has the power under certain customary conditions, not merely to enact new legislation, but even to change the fundamental laws of the country. In short, the British monarchy is a real representative democracy. It is a monarchy only in name.

In Prussia the monarchy is quite different. Here the king also succeeds by heredity and in a certain family, but that succession is independent of parliament or constitution. It is claimed by the king that he succeeds by divine right and not by the will of the people. The Prussian constitution was not made by the Prussian people. It is a grant from the king, who may at any time revoke it. The Prussian ministry is responsible, not to the Prussian parliament, but to the king, who appoints and removes his ministers without regard to parliament or to the popular will. The upper house of the Prussian legislature consists of members who succeed by heredity, and of others appointed by the king. The lower house of the Prussian parliament is, to be sure, elective, but elective by the people on the three-class system. The electorate is divided into three classes according to the amount of taxes paid. The first class, electing one-third of the members, contains approximately 4 per cent of the population. The second class, electing another third of the members, contains about 14 per cent of the population. The third class, also electing one-third of the members, contains about 82 per cent of the population.
In other words, in the Prussian government the king, the hereditary nobility, and the possessors of wealth govern the country. The masses are very nearly helpless.

In the German Empire the king of Prussia, by virtue of being king of Prussia, is German emperor. The ministers are responsible to the emperor, not to the parliament, the chancellor and other members of the ministry being appointed and removed without regard to the desire of parliament or to the popular will excepting in so far as the emperor sees fit. The upper house of the parliament, the Council of the Empire, consists of the delegates appointed by the governments of the 25 states in the federal empire. In this body of 61 delegates there are 17 Prussians; that is, they are virtually appointed by the king of Prussia; and 3 others whom the German emperor, that is, the king of Prussia, controls. These delegates must vote as directed by those who appoint them. Further, no change in the fundamental law of the empire can be made against the votes of 14 members of the Council. Thus the king of Prussia, or in other words the emperor, can prevent any constitutional amendment.

The lower house of parliament—the Reichstag—is elected by universal suffrage, the electors being not less than twenty-five years of age. However, the original apportionment was made in 1871 and there has been no change since. A deputy from Berlin represents on an average about 125,000 voters, while a deputy from the districts of East Prussia, which contain the Prussian landed aristocracy, represents only about 24,000 voters. Legislation is virtually determined by the Council of the Empire, and the Council of the Empire is controlled by the emperor and by the other hereditary princes.

The German Empire is far from being a democracy, whether direct or representative. The power to declare war is in the emperor with the consent of the Council, but when the emperor sees fit to consider the war a defensive one he may declare war without the consent of the Council. That is just what happened in 1914, when the Emperor declared war—and thus is wholly responsible for bringing on the great world-war in which we are now engaged.

2. Another of the controlling forces is the Prussian military caste, arrogant, exclusive, and determined on domination.

The Prussian nobility, at least by custom, has so managed affairs that it has a practical monopoly of appointments to office in the army. In the reserve, sons of great commercial magnates are allowed minor positions, but the control of the army is for the nobles. Their power in politics, especially in eastern Prussia, owing to semi-feudal conditions and to archaic election laws, is very great. Thus a mediaeval noble class, military and political in power, depending on the emperor for its prestige and in turn supporting the emperor as a God-given monarch, is one of the controlling forces in the German Empire, and a force sinister and baleful in the extreme. The members of this class believe implicitly in the divine right of the noble to flout the common man and of Prussianized Germany to flout the world. Arrogant, insolent, domineering, they go far to make and to keep Germany a bitter enemy to free democratic institutions through all the world.

3. Still another of the controlling forces is found in those who direct the manufacturing and commercial life of the German Empire. They are determined to spread their enterprises throughout the world, not merely by ordinary competition, but by force wherever competition in itself is not sufficient. Years ago it was said repeatedly to a thoughtful American at that time visiting in Germany that Germany must shortly have a war with the United States, the reason being that the United States had begun to attempt to secure a share in the world-markets. This attempt, it was said, must be met with cannon, because those markets belonged to Germany.

4. The fourth great controlling force is the Pan-German organizations. These organizations have been actively at work in definite form since about 1894. Their aims cover the world, and have been expressed in a series of pamphlets, articles, and books with which Germany in the last two or three decades has been flooded. While ostensibly private organizations, it is very clear that their aims are essentially the aims of the other controlling forces in the Empire, and must be reckoned with by the rest of the world, therefore, not as the mere vaporings of irresponsible individuals, but as the deliberate plan which Germany as a whole is determined on carrying out. 1

5. Another of the ruling influences in Germany is a strange philosophy of the state which seems generally accepted. There is no law of right but that of power, if the state is a party. In short, ethics, as commonly understood in the rest of the world, in Germany apparently applies, if at all, only as between individuals. The state is not bound by any standard but its own advantage. Laws, treaties, solemn governmental engagements, cease to be binding as soon as they cease to be advantageous. Chivalry, courtesy, humanity, are of no account at all if the state otherwise orders. To be sure, this is a code of ethics which is appropriate for pirates; but it is a code which is unquestionably

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1 Chéradame, chap. i.
German today. It differs from the ethical code of the German barbarians who overran Roman civilization fifteen centuries ago only that in our times it is explicitly stated as a system of thought and conduct. Such a philosophical formulation of principles was quite beyond the Goths, or the Vandals, or Attila’s Huns. Their descendants have learned phrases, but not ethical action.

II. THE PREDATORY AIM OF GERMANY

As has been said, the essential aim of the controlling forces in Germany is to dominate the entire world, both politically and commercially, by force of arms wherever necessary, by intrigue everywhere else. This is essentially, in its larger sense, piratical. It merely means that other nations have things which Germany wants, and Germany means to get those things without regard to the method.

PRUSSIAN ROBBERY FROM HER NEIGHBORS

Prussia has been a predatory nation from the first. In 1864 the Prussian government succeeded in getting Austria to combine with it to attack Denmark and to take from it the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. Whatever might be said of the German population of Holstein and of south Schleswig, there is no doubt that a large part of the province of Schleswig was Danish, and that the population of that province is Danish to this day. It was taken from Denmark merely because Prussia wanted it and had the power to get it. In 1866 Prussia succeeded in forcing on Austria a war over the disposition of the plunder of the War of 1864, and by means of this short war Prussia annexed by force of arms other independent German domains and drove Austria totally out of the organization of Germany as a whole. In 1870 Prussia succeeded in forcing on France a war which, while ostensibly declared by France, was in fact, as we now know by the admission of Bismarck, the result of a trick of his own, he and the military authorities dominant in Prussia being determined to bring the war about. As a result of this the provinces of Alsace and eastern Lorraine, thoroughly French in feeling and by nearly two centuries of life, were torn away from France merely because Prussia wanted them and had the power to get them. At the same time Prussia imposed on France an indemnity of one thousand million dollars. This again was an extortion purely piratical in character, and was made the basis of the future military organization and ambitions of the new German Empire.

As to the economic significance of Alsace-Lorraine, the following is a clear statement of the case:

When Molotov in 1870 insisted upon, and Bismarck against his better judgment assented to, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the main thought in their minds was that of securing a strategic frontier. They secured, though they did not know it at the time, something far more valuable than that, something that has proved the base on which Germany has built up her towering fabric of prosperity and power, something without which Germany could not have begun this war or could not have waged it for six months. They secured the largest deposit of iron ore in Europe and the second largest in the world, surpassed in value and extent only by the Lake Superior deposits in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The soil of the lost provinces has made Germany’s fortunes. She has derived from it her metallurgical ascendency, the motive power for her industries, her wealth, and as a consequence her naval, military, and political power.

The area covered by this deposit embraces the Longwy and Brey districts in France, now occupied by the German armies, and portions of German Lorraine, of Luxembourg, and of Belgium, also for the moment in German possession. If Germany could secure a peace based on her present military position the whole of this wealth of iron ore, estimated at some 5,000,000,000 tons, would pass under her control. As it is, rather more than half the deposit is supposed to lie on the French side of the border and rather less than half in German Lorraine and Luxembourg. That being so, it may be asked why Germany, when she had the chance in 1870, did not annex the entire ore-yielding area instead of allowing it to be divided between France and herself. The answer is that she would undoubtedly have done so had she realized the value of her treasure-trove. But forty-seven years ago metallurgists generally regarded phosphoric ores, which formed the greater part of the Lorraine strata, as worthless and unworkable. The Germans seized everything that in the then state of science was known to be profitable and relinquished the rest to the French. But less than five years later the mining industry was revolutionized by the discovery of a process for depHosphorizing ores. Instantly the value of the ferruginous districts annexed by the Germans was indefinitely multiplied. But at the same time the portions of the basin they had contemptuously allowed to remain in the possession of the French were redeemed at a stroke from comparative worthlessness to a rich productivity.

There are reckoned to be 2,500 million tons of iron ore in all Germany. Of these Lorraine alone is responsible for some 2,000 millions or five-sevenths of the Empire’s total supply. When Germany hypothecated the Lorraine beds they were yielding about 500,000 tons of ore a year. In 1875 they still yielded less than three-quarters of a million. Then came Thomas’s discovery of the depHosphorizing process and the figures shot up like a rocket until in the year before the war the Germans were extracting from Lorraine over 21,000,000 tons of ore, more than three-fifths of which was produced by the Thomas method. Up to 1903 Germany had no need to import from abroad a single ton of ore. Lorraine alone enabled her to maintain for thirty years an unprecedented industrial expansion. But whether the pace abnormally quickened some ten years before the war, or whether she had commenced to prepare for its outbreak, or whether the Lorraine ores began to deteriorate, Germany between 1903 and 1913 was buying ore abroad in increasing quantities. About one-third of her total consumption was imported from foreign countries in the year preceding the war. That
supply has, of course, for the most part been cut off, and for the past three years Germany has depended almost entirely on the Lorraine mines for the iron and steel which are the basis of all modern warfare. She has got some from the occupied districts of France and Belgium and Luxemburg, but from three-fifths to four-fifths of her output during the war has come from Lorraine. Without the production of the provinces she snatched from France forty-seven years ago Germany would long since have exhausted her capacity for turning out the material of war. Liberate those provinces from her clutch—with their 21,000,000 tons of iron ore a year, their 19,000,000 tons of iron smeltings, their 19,000,000 tons of steel smeltings, and the useful coal fields of the Sarre valley—and a long step has been taken towards bending her down to peace.

The general outline of the issue that the war is shaping and will determine thus becomes clear. Suppose Germany were to win and were to annex the greater half of the ferruginous basin that lies on French soil. Territorially, it would be a very small acquisition. Economically, its value would be inestimable. It would mean that after the war Germany would be able to raise some 46,000,000 tons of iron ore a year while the French output would be reduced to a bare 4,000,000 tons. Suppose, on the other hand, that the Allied victory is as complete as we all intend it shall be and that Alsace-Lorraine is restored to France. The situation in that case would be almost precisely reversed. France would be in a position to extract about 43,000,000 tons of ore a year, and Germany would have to remain satisfied with a maximum yield of some 8,000,000 tons. No blow could more effectually cripple German Industrialism, and with it Germany’s capacity to organize another war, than the loss of the Lorraine ore bed; and nothing could so certainly and so speedily re-establish the economic equilibrium of France as to regain possession of them. In the fate of Alsace-Lorraine there is involved nothing less than the industrial primacy of Europe.

GERMAN CENTRAL EUROPE

The aims of the Pan-German policy are based on the control of a great Central-European dominion by Germany itself. This Central-European dominion comprises in the first place the Germanization of Austria-Hungary, first by a customs union and then by such close bonds as in the case of the North-German Zollverein, forming an intermediate step to actual Prussian political domination.

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy is a curious aggregation of territories and races united under the Hapsburg emperor. The history of this empire in the main consists of the gradual accession of the House of Hapsburg to the sovereignty over one after the other of the various elements, as duke, count, king, or what not. The union, therefore, is essentially personal in the emperor. The title of the emperor of Austria as such dates only from 1867, when the mediæval Roman Empire was dissolved, and the head of the House of Hapsburg assumed the new title of “Emperor of Austria.” Since 1867 the monarchy has been dual in character, and the head of the House of Hapsburg reigns as emperor of Austria and king of Hungary. Each of these two portions of the joint monarchy has its own parliament and its own ministry, and there is a common ministry for war, finance, and foreign affairs. The democratic basis of the two parliaments is not substantial, and the emperor and king is able to rule without parliament or in spite of parliament whenever it seems best.

The race elements in the dual monarchy are numerous. In Austria there is a total population of approximately 28 millions; 10 millions of these are Germans, the remaining 18 millions being Slavs and Italians. In Hungary the population is approximately 20 millions. Perhaps 10 millions are Magyars, 2 millions Germans, and 8 millions Slavs and Latins. And further, in the dual monarchy the imperial provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina have a population of almost 2 millions, nearly all Serbian-Slavs.

Thus it will be seen that both in Austria and in Hungary the ruling class is a minority which imposes its will on the majority by force and by legal subtleties. Of the total population in the dual monarchy of about 50 millions there are approximately 12 millions of Germans and 10 millions of Magyars, or 22 millions of the ruling classes. The remaining 28 millions include Slavs and Latins. The Slavs comprise the Céko-Slovaks in Bohemia, Moravia, and eastern Silesia, the Poles in central and western Galicia, and the South-Slavs, including Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes. The Latins include Italians in the South Tyrol and in Trieste and vicinity and Roumanians in Transylvania and Bukowina. The Céks, or Bohemians, are a highly cultivated people, with a history rich in literature, the arts, and free government. The freedom of the Bohemian kingdom historically is as old as that of Hungary, and the desire of the Céks has long been that the emperor of Austria should be crowned as “King of Bohemia,” the ancient kingdom thus forming a third element in the monarchy, on a par with Austria and Hungary. The Galician Poles are a fragment of the ancient Polish kingdom, and represent a part of the plunder of that kingdom taken by the House of Hapsburg late in the eighteenth century.

Roumanians and the South-Slavs are a remnant forced across the Austrian line from the old independent Serbian and Roumanian kingdoms, which were destroyed by the Turks in the late Middle Ages.

**GERMAN AIDS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA AND IN TURKEY**

The next element in this Central-European dominion to be controlled by Germany lies in the Balkan Peninsula. It is quite essential that through Austria-Hungary Germany should be dominant from Austria to the Aegean Sea. This involves control of Serbia and such alliances with the other Balkan states as might easily be effected through the German princlings on their thrones, or by German internmarriage, as in the case of Greece.

The next step involves the Germanization of Turkey. In the guise of an alliance there would be a real political and economic control of that empire, which might then be exploited by German capital. Thus Germany, if this plan for a Central-European state should be carried out, would be dominant from the Baltic Sea to the Persian Gulf.¹

**GERMAN AIDS OUTSIDE CENTRAL EUROPE**

Central Europe as thus organized is the essential basis of the Pan-German plan for the domination of the rest of Europe. It was believed by the Pan-Germanists that it would be easy for Germany to crush Russia, annex Poland and the Baltic provinces, and very likely the large wheat section of the southeast, thus greatly extending German economic influence and putting an end for all time to the power of Russia in Europe. Again, in the west, if there should be objection to the German domination in Central Europe, Germany could easily crush France, annex the valuable mining and industrial region of the north, annex the Channel ports, seize Belgium, and ultimately intimidate Holland into absorption in the German Empire. This would secure for Germany the valuable ports of the North Sea, which could be made the base of her future naval supremacy, and at the same time would annex to the German Empire the large colonies of Holland and of Belgium, great areas in Africa and Asia and the Asiatic islands which Germany has long coveted. It is obvious that if this plan is carried out the next step will be the destruction of the British Empire. A base of operations in the Channel ports would make it not very difficult a few years later to throw a great army into the Island, and either seize it outright or reduce it to impotence by the exaction of an enormous indemnity.²

¹ Chéradame, chap. v. ² See Appendix A.
commerical dealings between a neutral power and a belligerent in all matters of commerce, including contraband. And yet in violation of that treaty Germany proposes to destroy that commerce without warning and without regard to the innocent persons on the ship to be sunk. The lawless bombardment of crowded cities which are not besieged, whereby civilians, men, women, and children, lose their lives, is another method which is contrary to all the aims and hopes of the nations parties to the Hague Conventions.

Moreover, we find the world covered by a network of German intrigue. When immigrants come to the United States, make their homes here, and become naturalized citizens, we expect them to give their absolute and unquestioned loyalty to the country of their choice. They take an oath of allegiance distinctly forsaking allegiance to the country of origin. This principle of a transfer of allegiance has been recognized, not merely in the legislation of the United States, but in treaties between the United States and other countries, with the NorthGerman Union, the predecessor of the German Empire, for instance, in 1868. In 1913 the German parliament, however, passed an act providing that Germans who become naturalized in another country need not lose their German national character.

They may file their desire to retain that national character with the proper German officers, and with the consent of the German consul they may be regarded as still remaining in all respects Germans. After that they may then go through the process of naturalization, and in so doing distinctly perjure themselves. It was believed that by that method there would be in other countries a body of Germans ostensibly of those countries who yet would be primarily loyal to the country of origin, and could be counted on to influence the country of their home politically in favor of Germany, and in case of war could be counted on actually to join the German armies. Indeed, it was believed confidently that in case of war between Germany and the United States there would be a German insurrection in the central western states. These beliefs I think are entirely erroneous. Very few naturalized Germans in my opinion are not primarily loyal to the country to which they have sworn allegiance. Germany totally misunderstands the psychology of almost every other nation. But in this act of 1913, which was to take effect January 1, 1914, we can see plainly the intent, not of the Pan-German Union alone, but of the German government, to implant a source of treachery in other countries.

* See Appendix D.  
* See Appendix F.

\[\text{The Threat of German World-Politics}\]

I need not dwell on the elaborate conspiracies carried on in this country under the direction of the imperial ambassadors both from Austria and from Germany in violation of the courtesy of a guest and in violation of the laws of the United States.

**CONCLUSION**

We are dealing, therefore, with a vast, world-wide conspiracy which has for its end the subversion in the long run of the liberty of practically every free nation, and which means, if the conspiracy succeeds, the overthrow of the independence of the United States. In other words, we are engaged in a great battle for the liberty of all free countries.

Anything short of a complete victory over the Teutonic powers will result in a mere truce, to be followed by a renewal of war within a few years. Every nation would have to arm and to keep armed. International relations would be on the one hand a series of German intrigues to divide the present Allies so as to renew the attack under more favorable auspices, and on the other hand endless attempts to frustrate such conspiracies. The whole world would be full of plots and counterplots, suspicion and fear, with the inevitable result of another bloody struggle. Assurance of a peace relatively permanent cannot depend on treaties; no treaty obligation would bind Germany or Austria-Hungary under their present ruling forces. The only safety for the world can be found in a complete victory over the Teutonic empires and in establishing as a guarantee a state of things which would make it exceedingly difficult for them to make another assault on civilization with reasonable hope of success.

**APPENDIX A**

**WHAT GERMANY EXPECTS TO GET BY CONQUEST**

Ernst Haeckel in *Das monistische Jahrhundert*, No. 31–32 (November 16, 1914), p. 657:

In my view the following fruits of victory are highly desirable for the future of Germany, and at the same time for the future of federated Continental Europe: (1) Liberation from the tyranny of England. (2) As a necessary means to this end, invasion of the British pirate state by the German navy and army, occupation of London. (3) Division of Belgium: the largest part, as far west as Antwerp and Ostend, a state in the German Empire; the northern part to Holland; the eastern part to Luxemburg—also, thus enlarged, a state in the German Empire. (4) Germany obtains a great part of the British colonies as well as the Congo state. (5) France must cede a portion of her
neighboring northeastern provinces. (6) Russia is to be made powerless by restoring the kingdom of Poland and connecting this with Austria-Hungary. (7) The German Baltic provinces revert to the German Empire. (8) Finland becomes an independent Kingdom and is to be connected with Sweden.

Petition to the Imperial Chancellor, voted June 20, 1915, at a meeting of professors, diplomatists, and higher officials in active service, held in the Künstlerhaus at Berlin. It was handed in with the signatures of 352 professors of universities and of special schools of the same rank, 138 school teachers and dergymen, 145 superior administrative officers, mayors, and city councilmen, 148 judges and advocates, 40 members of the Reichstag, 182 representatives of industry, commerce, and banking, 52 landed proprietors, and 252 artists, writers, and publishers. It was circulated only as a “strictly confidential manuscript.” The full text is given in Grambach, "Das anexionistische Deutschland," 1917, pp. 132-40.

... The military results already gained in this war at the cost of so great sacrifices should be utilized to the extreme attainable limit. This is the fixed determination of the German people.

1. France.—We must ruthlessly weaken this country politically and economically for the sake of our own existence, and we must improve against her our strategical position. For this purpose, according to our conviction, a thorough improvement of our whole west front from Belfort to the coast is necessary. We must conquer as great a part as possible of the North-French Channel coast, in order to obtain greater strategical security against England and a better outlet to the ocean. ...

To avoid such conditions as exist in Alsace-Lorraine the enterprises and possessions that give economic power are to be transferred from hostile to German hands, the previous owners being taken over and compensated by France. To the part of the population that we take over no influence whatever in the Empire is to be conceded.

We must also remember that this country has disproportionately large colonial possessions and that England can indemnify herself in these possessions if we do not anticipate her.

2. Belgium. — We must keep Belgium firmly in our hands as regards political and military matters and as regards economic interests. In no matter is the German nation more united in its opinion: to it the retention of Belgium is an indispensable matter of honor.

... Belgium will bring us an immense increase of economic power. As regards population, she also gives us an important increase, particularly if the Flemish element, which in its culture is so closely related to us, can in course of time be freed from the artificial Latinizing influences that surround it and be brought back to its Teutonic character.

... To the inhabitants of Belgium no political influence in the Empire is to be conceded; and, as in the districts to be ceded by France, the most important enterprises and landed estates are to be transferred from hostile to German hands.

3. Russia.—On our eastern frontier the population of the Russian Empire is increasing at a monstrous rate—at a rate of something like two and one-half millions a year. Within a generation the population will amount to 250,000,000. Against this overwhelming preponderance on our eastern flank, Germany can assert herself only if it sets up a strong barrier... and if on the other hand the healthy growth of our own population is furthered by all possible means. Such a barrier and also a basis for safeguarding the growth of our own population are to be found in the territory that Russia must cede to us. This must be agricultural land adapted to settlement. Land that gives us a healthy peasantsy, this fresh fountain of all national and political power. Land that can take over a part of our increase of population and offer to returning Germans who desire to turn their backs upon the hostile foreign world a new home in the old home. ... Such land, required for our physical, moral, and spiritual health, is to be found first of all in the East. ... This land will also serve to defray the Russian war indemnity. ... Russia is over-rich in land, and the land of which she is to cede us political control we shall demand ... freed for the most part from private titles. ... The Russian population is not so strongly rooted in the land as is that of Western and Central Europe. Russia itself has repeatedly transplanted large parts of its population to remote districts.

4. England, the East, colonies, and the world across the seas.—We admit that the blockade by which England has transformed Germany during the period of the war into a closed commercial state has taught us something. It has taught us above all that, as has been explained in the earlier sections of this memorial, we must make ourselves as independent as possible in all political, military, and economic matters, on the basis of an expanded and better-secured home territory in Europe. Similarly we must organize upon the Continent, in immediate connection with our land frontiers ... the broadest possible Continental economic domain. ... For this purpose it is important permanently to secure Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, Turkey, and Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf against Russian and English ambitions. ...

In the next place it is important to secure, in spite of England, our re-entry into the economic world beyond the seas. ... In Africa we must rebuild our Colonial Empire more solidly and more strongly than before. ... Here again the importance of a permanent connection with the world of Islam makes itself felt, and also the necessity of secure passage over the seas independent of the good or ill will of England. ...

It has already been pointed out that we must keep Belgium firmly under our control and must also obtain as much as possible of the North French Channel coast. It is important, besides, to break up the chain of maritime bases which England has thrown about the world or to enfeeble it by a corresponding acquisition of German bases. Egypt, which connects English Africa with English Asia, and, with Australia as a further barrier, converts the Indian Ocean into an English lake—Egypt, which maintains the connection between
successful Panisoe type, if the German dreadnoughts bombard the French ports of the North Sea.

. . . . Our fathers have left us much to do. In compensation, the German nation holds a position among the European Powers that permits it at once to reach its goal by a single rapid rush. At the present time the German nation finds itself in a position similar to that of Prussia at the beginning of the reign of Frederick the Great. He raised his country to the rank of a great European Power. It is Germany's task today to pass from the position of a European Power to that of a World-Power.

The German people must take possession of Central Africa from the mouth of the Orange River to Lake Tchad and from the Cameroon Mountains to the mouth of the river Rovuma. They must take possession of Asia Minor, of the Malayan Archipelago in Southeastern Asia, and finally of the southern half of South America. Only then will Germany possess a colonial empire that will correspond to her actual power.

A policy of sentiment is folly. Enthusiasm for humanity is idioty. Charity should begin among one's compatriots. Politics is business. Right and wrong are notions needed in civil life only.

The German people is always right, because it is the German people and because it numbers 87,000,000. Our fathers have left us much to do.

A. Oelstein-Newin, Welche Strafe soll die tragen, die Schuld am Weltkrieg tragen, 1915, pp. 12-15:

Russia is by far the most dangerous enemy, not only of Middle Europe, but of all Europe and of the whole civilized world. . . . The object of any treaty of peace must therefore be to preserve Russia's Asiatic character and, so far as possible, to weaken her position as a European Great Power. This can be done only by taking from her those western territories which are most valuable from the cultural and the economic points of view and by keeping her away at the same time from all European seas (except the White Sea). . . . The boundary that should be drawn would . . . run from Kronstadt by way of Brest-Litovsk and Taganrog to Baku, Finland, of course, being included. Besides the raising of all Russia's western fortresses, especially the fortresses on the sea, it would be necessary to take from her Posenland, Estonia, Livonia, Kurland, Poland, Volhynia, Podolia, Bessarabia, portions of Little Russia and of South Russia, Taurida (Krim) and the Caucasus. . . . In the Balkans, if these are freed from Russian assistance and intrigues, two kingdoms, Servia and Montenegro, should be wiped completely off the map. . . .

There can be no united and powerful Middle Europe so long as France retains her present size and power. To deprive her of these must be the object of any treaty of peace. Of course it is not a question solely of acquisition of territory, for nations can be ruined by war indemnities or by commercial treaties, but of these we are not talking at present. We are asking only,
What cessions of territory are necessary in order to lessen by two the number of Great Powers in Europe? What is necessary for this purpose? Whether the cession of northern seaports will come into question is a matter that had better not be discussed at present. Possibly the Middle States may even need a port on the Mediterranean like Toulon, which would necessarily involve the annexation of Nice. That France must lose all the north coast of Africa that belongs to her is the more certain because she would not be sufficiently crippled by war indemnities alone. Nor would it be enough to insist on the transfer of her fleet, but among her fortresses those that protect harbors must first be razed; and one of the most important conditions of peace that we should strive to obtain would be that she should maintain only a commercial fleet. France should be forced into a position similar to that now held by Spain.

The punishment that England would find most severe would perhaps be her complete exclusion from the Mediterranean. She would be shut off from Malta and the other islands if Gibraltar were taken from her and if Tangiers ceased to be neutral. If any part of those protecting walls is defectively constructed, our culture will be permanently injured or perhaps annihilated before another generation. Then the great sacrifice of life would have been made, not for life, but only for death.

Albert Ritter, Der organische Aufbau Europas, 1916, pp. 27–28:

Middle Europe must consider strategic necessities in fixing her eastern boundaries. East Prussia needs stronger protection on the North and on the East. In the west military considerations demand a greater extension of the geographic boundary. If the military object of gaining permanent security against France and also the freedom of the seas is to be really attained, the northeastern part of France, as a number of leading statesmen have already indicated, must be brought within the German northwestern frontier, as far as the mouth of the Somme, somewhere along the line Vignacourt-Bapaume-Verdun-St. Mihiel-Pont-à-Mousson. The establishment of this frontier, together with the taking of Belfort and its environs, which are necessary for the protection of South Germany, seems thoroughly justified. As regards the annexation of Belgium to Middle Europe, to which the majority of its inhabitants belong as regards language, no further words need be wasted; it is a matter of course.

In the southwest the geographical frontier must in like manner be pushed forward, in order that Triest, one of the most important points for Middle Europe, may be removed from hostile attack. The northern part of Venetia, the districts of Friuli and Treviso, up to a line running from the south end of Lake Garda to the mouth of the Piave, must be taken as a glaci at the foot of the Alps in order to ward off from Austria’s Adriatic coast all future menace. On national grounds, however, this necessary line of security may and will be pushed forward a few kilometers.

Albert Ritter (“Konrad von Winterstetten”), Nordkap-Bagdad, 1915, pp. 33, 34:

In general, the problem of making England innocuous and her overthrow as useful as possible for us may best be solved if we make ourselves masters (from a military point of view) of the European center of the British Empire. The road from Gravelotte and Verdun to Dunkirk and Boulogne might be continued by the occupation of a bridgehead at Dover—a castle on English soil. This proposal may seem fantastic, but it is quite as easy to carry it through as a landing on British soil, and without this the war must last for years. Only the taking of London, which we shall live to see, will make peace possible, and after the taking of London one treaty provision may just as well be exacted as another.

“Wann wird der Krieg beendet sein?” by “Diplomaticus,” October, 1914, p. 16:

[Our enemies] must also pay, and must pay a very high price, for the injuries they have inflicted upon our interests and upon our good name by the lies they have spread over the whole world. Germany must insist that, in the treaty of peace to be signed by our enemies, they themselves shall confess that they forced the war upon us and that they have lied to the whole civilized world. So only can we stand justified before the tribunal of history.

A memorial, dated May 20, 1915, was addressed to the imperial Chancellor by six of the most important agricultural and industrial associations of Germany: “Bund der Landwirte,” “Deutscher Bauernbund,” “Vorort der christlichen deutschen Bauernvereine,” “Centralverband deutscher Industriellen,” “Bund der Industriellen,” and “Reichsdeutscher Mittelstandesverband.” It was transmitted to the governments of the several German states and was extensively circulated in print as a “confidential” communication. Its publication in German newspapers was not permitted. The entire text was first published in the Paris Humanité, August 15, 1915. The complete German text is given in Grumbach, Das auswärtige Deutschland, pp. 173-17.

In addition to the demand for a colonial empire that shall fully satisfy the many-sided economic interests of Germany, in addition to securing our future in the matter of customs and trade policy and the attainment of a sufficient war indemnity, [the undersigned associations] find the chief aim of the conflict that has been forced upon us in the securing and improvement of the German Empire’s basis of existence in Europe and particularly in the following directions:

Belgium as regards military and customs policy, and also as regards monetary, banking, and postal systems, must be subjected to German imperial legislation. Railroads and canals are to be made portions of our transportation
system. For the rest, after separating the country into a Walloon district and a preponderantly Flemish district, and after transferring to Germans economic undertakings and possessions that are important for the domination of the country, its government and administration must be so conducted that the inhabitants shall obtain no influence upon the political destinies of the German Empire.

As regards France... the possession of the coast beyond the Belgian frontier, perhaps to the Somme, and therewith an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean, must be regarded as vital to our future importance on the sea. The hinterland that is to be acquired with this coast strip must be sufficient to secure complete strategic control and economic exploitation of the ports that we acquire on the Channel. Apart from the necessary acquisition of the ore fields of Brierie, any further annexation of French territory is to be made exclusively on considerations of military strategy. It may be assumed as self-evident after the experiences of this war, that we... cannot leave in the hands of the enemy the fortified positions which threaten us, particularly Verdun and Belfort, nor the western slope of the Vosges that lies between them. The acquisition of the line of the Meuse and the French coast on the Channel involves, in addition to the above-mentioned ore fields of Brierie, also the possession of coal fields in the Departments of the North and of Pas-de-Calais. After our experiences in Alsace-Lorraine, it is probably self-evident that in these acquisitions also the people of the annexed districts are not to be put in a position to obtain any political influence upon the destinies of the German Empire, and that the economic resources to be found in these districts, including medium and large land holdings, are to be put into German hands, with an arrangement that France shall indemnify and take care of the former proprietors...

The need for strengthening also the sound agricultural basis of our national economy... demands a considerable extension of the Imperial and Prussian frontiers toward the East, by annexing parts at least of the Baltic provinces and the districts lying south of the same, taking into consideration at the same time the object of making our East-German frontier defensible from a military point of view...

As regards the extension of political rights to the inhabitants of these new territories and the safeguarding of the German economic influence therein, what has been said as regards France is valid here also. The war indemnity to be paid by Russia must consist largely in the transfer of private titles to land...

APPENDIX B

GERMAN INTRIGUES AGAINST AMERICA IN TIME OF PEACE

BY THE U.S. BUREAU OF PUBLIC INFORMATION, JUNE, 1917

Evidence of the bad faith of the Imperial German government soon piled up on every hand. Honest efforts on our part to establish a firm basis of good neighborhood with the German people were met by their government with quibbles, misrepresentations, and counteraccusations against their enemies abroad. And meanwhile in this country official agents of the Central Powers—protected from criminal prosecution by diplomatic immunity—conspired against our internal peace, placed spies and agents provocateurs throughout the length and breadth of our land, and even in high positions of trust in departments of our government. While expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, the government of Germany had its agents at work both in Latin America and in Japan. They bought or subsidized papers and supported speakers there to rouse feelings of bitterness and distrust against us in those friendly nations, in order to embroil us in war. They were inciting to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, and in Santo Domingo; their hostile hand was stretched out to take the Danish Islands; and everywhere in South America they were abroad sowing the seeds of dissension, trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the United States. In their sum these various operations amounted to direct assault upon the Monroe Doctrine. And even if we had given up our right to travel on the sea, even if we had surrendered to German threats and abandoned our legitimate trade in munitions, the German offensive in the New World, in our own land and among our neighbors, was becoming too serious to be ignored.

So long as it was possible, the government of the United States tried to believe that such activities, the evidence of which was already in a large measure at hand, were the work of irresponsible and misguided individuals. It was only reluctantly, in the face of overwhelming proof, that the recall of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador and of the German military and naval attachés was demanded. Proof of their criminal violations of our hospitality was presented to their governments. But these governments, in reply, offered no apologies nor did they issue reprimands. It became clear that such intrigue was their settled policy.

On the first of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico:

That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own

1 "War Information Series": How the War Came to America.
initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan; at the same time offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.¹

(Signed) ZIMMERMANN

APPENDIX C

GERMAN DOMINATION IN SOUTH AMERICA

The German colonies in southern Brazil and Uruguay are the one bright spot in this gloomy picture of South American civilization. Here dwell some half-million Germans; and it is to be hoped that by the reorganization of South America, when the half-breed population—a cross between the Indians and the Latin races—has disappeared, the vast basin of the La Plata will become German territory. The Germans in southern Brazil—like the Boers in South Africa—have, on the average, twelve to fifteen children; so that, by this natural increase alone, the country is assured to us. In these circumstances is it not wonderful that the German people has not long since decided to take possession of this territory? For the people of the republics which have inherited the former domains of Spain and Portugal it would be altogether a blessing to become subject to German power. They would soon be reconciled to our rule and be proud of their part in the world-wide glory of the German name.⁴

APPENDIX D

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PRUSSIA—1785

ARTICLE XII.—If one of the contracting parties should be engaged in war with any other Power, the free intercourse and commerce of the subjects or citizens of the party remaining neutral with the belligerent Powers shall not be interrupted. On the contrary, in that case, as in full peace, the vessels of the neutral party may navigate freely to and from the ports and on the coasts of the belligerent parties, free vessels making free goods, inasmuch that all things shall be adjudged free which shall be on board any vessel belonging to the neutral party, although such things belong to an enemy of the other; and the same freedom shall be extended to persons who shall be on board a free vessel, although they should be enemies to the other party, unless they be soldiers in actual service of such enemy.

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PRUSSIA—1799

ARTICLE XIII.—And in the same case of one of the contracting parties being engaged in war with any other Power, to prevent all the difficulties and misunderstandings that usually arise respecting merchandise of contraband, such as arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind, no such articles carried in the vessels, or by the subjects or citizens of either party, to the enemies of the other, shall be deemed contraband, so as to induce confiscation or condemnation and a loss of property to individuals. Nevertheless, it shall be lawful to stop such vessels and articles, and to detain them for such length of time as the captors may think necessary to prevent the inconvenience or damage that might ensue from their proceeding, paying, however, a reasonable compensation for the loss such arrest shall occasion to the proprietors; and it shall further be allowed to use in the service of the captors the whole or any part of the military stores so detained, paying the owners the full value of the same to be ascertained by the current price at the place of its destination. But in the case supposed of a vessel stopped for articles of contraband, if the master of the vessel stopped will deliver out the goods supposed to be of contraband nature, he shall be admitted to do it, and the vessel shall not in that case be carried into any port, nor further detained, but shall be allowed to proceed on her voyage.

All cannon, mortars, firearms, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, balls, muskets, flints, matches, powder, saltpeter, sulphur, gunpowder, pikes, swords, belts, cartouch boxes, saddles, and bridles, beyond the quantity necessary for the use of the ship, or beyond that which every man serving on board the vessel, or passenger, ought to have; and in general whatever is comprised under the denomination of arms and military stores, of what description soever, shall be deemed objects of contraband.

ARTICLE XXIII.—If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance; and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and, in general, all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted by the armed force of the enemy, into whose power by the events of war they may happen to fall; but if anything is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price.

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND PRUSSIA—1828

ARTICLE XII.—The twelfth article of the treaty of amity and commerce, concluded between the parties in 1785, and the articles from the thirteenth to the twenty-fourth, inclusive, of that which was concluded at Berlin in 1799, with the exception of the last paragraph in the nineteenth article, relating to

¹ Intercepted dispatch of the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the German Minister in Mexico.
² Tannenberg, Grosddeutschland, p. 295.
treaties with Great Britain, are hereby revived with the same force and virtue as if they made part of the context of the present treaty, it being, however, understood that the stipulations contained in the articles thus revived shall be always considered as in no manner affecting the treaties or conventions concluded by either party with other Powers, during the interval between the expiration of the said treaty of 1799, and the commencement of the operation of the present treaty. The parties being still desirous, in conformity with their intention declared in the twelfth article of the said treaty of 1799, to establish between themselves, or in concert with other maritime Powers, further provisions to insure just protection and freedom to neutral navigation and commerce, and which may at the same time advance the cause of civilization of humanity, engage again to treat on this subject at some future and convenient period.

APPENDIX E

TREATY OF LONDON, NOVEMBER 15, 1831

ARTICLE VII.—Belgium, within the limits indicated in Articles I and II, Sec. 4, will form an independent and perpetually neutral State. It will be required to observe this same neutrality toward all other States.

ARTICLE XXV.—The Courts of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia guarantee to His Majesty, the King of the Belgians, the execution of all the preceding articles.

The engagements contained in this treaty were renewed by that of 1839, which definitely established the status of Belgium and recognized that all the articles of the treaty of 1831 were placed under the guaranty of the five Powers.

TREATY OF LONDON, MAY 11, 1867

ARTICLE II.—The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, within the limits determined by the act annexed to the treaty of April 19, 1839, under the guaranty of the courts of France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, will henceforth form a perpetually neutral State. It will be required to observe this same neutrality toward all other States. The high contracting parties bind themselves to respect the principle of neutrality stipulated by the present article. The latter is and continues to be placed under the sanction of the collective guaranty of the Powers who are signatories to the present treaty, with the exception of Belgium, which is itself a neutral State.

APPENDIX F

STATUTE ENACTED BY THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT, JULY 22, 1913. TO GO INTO EFFECT JANUARY 1, 1914

A German who is neither domiciled nor permanently resident in this country loses his German nationality by the acquisition of a foreign nationality, if this acquisition is at his request or at the request of the husband or

of the guardian, and if, in the case of a wife or a ward, the conditions exist under which, according to articles 18 and 19, a petition is admissible to be dismissed from German allegiance. The German nationality is not lost by one who prior to acquiring the foreign nationality has upon his petition obtained the written authority of the competent official of his native state to retain his German nationality. Before this authority is granted the German consul must be heard. The Chancellor with the consent of the Federal Council may ordain that the authority provided for in this paragraph shall not be granted to persons who desire to acquire the nationality of designated foreign states.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHY

There are innumerable books and pamphlets dealing with war questions from the point of view of all the belligerents. A few only are mentioned below, which it is believed are especially significant. In some of these further bibliographies will be found.

Bernhardl, Germany and the Next War (1911). London: Longmans, 1914.

This is the well-known expression of the views of a Prussian general officer, clearly outlining the theories and purposes at the basis of the present aggressive war by Germany.


This contains an important presentation of the whole Pan-German scheme, especially as based on the plan for Central-Europe domination from Hamburg to Bagdad, and thereafter for the conquest of the world.


Gerard, My Four Years in Germany. New York: Doran, 1917.

An authoritative discussion by the American Ambassador at Berlin.


A very striking collection of various presentations of the German case by Germans themselves, clearly revealing their purposes and the underlying doctrines on which the extraordinary German disregard of law and humanity is based. Citations in Appendix A are from this valuable book.


A collection of numerous texts illustrating German aims of plunder.

The English of many of these will be found in the preceding title.


Important as showing German political purposes.
Besides an intelligent discussion of the issues will be found a considerable bibliography bearing on the various topics.

This is a full presentation of the Pan-German program outlined before the great war began.


One of the innumerable Pan-German pamphlets which are significant is that issued by the Pan-German Union in 1895, *Grossdeutschland und Mittel Europa um das Jahr 1950*. A brief discussion of the contents of this pamphlet, especially as concerned with Tannenberg’s book, will be found in Chéradame.

The National Security League is publishing many useful pamphlets and books on the war from the American point of view. One of the most useful of these is Hart and Lovejoy, *Handbook of the War*, New York, 1917. This *Handbook* contains in brief form many interesting documents and also a very considerable bibliography.

The Committee on Public Information at Washington, consisting of the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, and Mr. Creel as chairman, is publishing a series of authoritative documents, the “War Information Series.” Of course, being official in character, they may be regarded as entirely reliable. Note especially:

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