

low" and "Master" with the investiture of the golden hood; and after the impressive recessional, composed by Mr. Norman Landis, a gifted musician who is organist of the village Presbyterian church, the Benediction was pronounced by the Baptist minister and the choir Benediction invoked by Father Mannion, of the Catholic church. Although a creed is recited during the choral service; there is nothing sectarian in the entire ritual. The creed reads as follows:

We, the Chorus of the Alumni of the Flemington Children's Choirs, believe music to be God's gift to his

children, and as ministers of song, do give ourselves to this holy office of the church. We pledge ourselves by our service, enthusiasm, and means, to aid the music of the church; to raise the standard of music in the community; to respect by perfect silence the art of music during its performance, nor to suffer disturbance from others. Therefore we do give our utmost support to this cause of good music in any community in which we may live.

It is difficult in cold type to describe the impression which this community festival makes upon the visitor who sees it and hears it for the first time. Musically speaking, it would have been note-

worthy in any of the large cities of the country, and yet it was the production of a village of twenty-five hundred inhabitants. But its real significance lies in its exemplification of the community spirit working for a fine end. That the people of Flemington should think it perfectly natural for Catholic and Protestant church members to work together in this way for the upbuilding of a spirit of worship is a sign of hope at a time when in some communities there is such a display of acrimony between Catholics and Protestants, Fundamentalists and Modernists, about differences of theological opinion.

Germany Finally Conquered

By ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

The Outlook's Editorial Correspondent in Europe

FOR the first time since the Armistice, a German statesman has publicly acknowledged Germany's defeat in the war. "*Wir sind ein besiegtes Volk*" (we are a conquered people), declared Chancellor Marx in a recent address. Other statesmen have now followed him in similar confessions.

Thus the whole psychology changes. The German will is broken—that old obstinate will which would not acknowledge realities.

Ever since the war I have heard over and over in Germany: "We were not really beaten in the war, because we preserved our Fatherland from invasion."

"But what do these British and Belgian and French troops in the Rhineland mean, then?" I would ask.

And then this answer: "They are here because we were temporarily checked on foreign soil, and because our troops could not stand the Socialist-Communist backfire in Berlin."

From this amazing attitude it is a relief to turn to the Chancellor's honesty in admitting the truth without any qualifications.

The Treaty

IF the sight of foreign troops at Mayence and Coblenz and Cologne could not convince the Germans that they had lost the war, neither did the first years of their duty in executing the clauses of the Versailles Treaty, especially the clauses relating to the delivery of war culprits, to disarmament, and to reparations.

The requirements concerning reparations should sow no seeds of a new war,

for no war indemnity at all is demanded from Germany, only reparations for the regions she devastated. Yet, so far, the money promised by Germany to France for these purposes has, in Germany's default, been loaned by the French people, despite their burdensome Budget.

For two years after the signing of the Treaty the French had to submit to one disillusion after another concerning the exact amount to be obtained from Germany—that amount regrettably not having been fixed in the Treaty and a definite settlement having been delayed far too long. Finally, on May 5, 1921, international experts at London placed Germany's total war debt at 132,000,000,000 gold marks (about \$33,000,000,000). From this sum, 82,000,000,000 gold marks were subtracted, and at present do not enter into the calculation. The remaining 50,000,000,000 gold marks were to be paid at the rate of two billion a year, plus twenty-six per cent of the value of German exports for the year. As France lost most in the war, the Allies awarded her fifty-two per cent of the German reparations. Of the 50,000,000,000 gold marks this would mean 26,000,000,000 gold marks. The French have held to this total as the "last word."

The German Government

THE Germans, having signed the Versailles and London documents, gradually took the position that neither were valid—because, forsooth, as they claimed, signed under duress. In addition, they were, the Germans urged, unreasonable, hence impossible; and, being

"impossible," the Germans then tried to think of them as non-existent. Anyway, they were not going to execute them.

Their resistance to the Treaty began at Scapa Flow, where they had sunk their fleet.

Resistance continued with their Government's refusal to deliver the war culprits, with its delay in reducing military effectives, with the license permitted to illicit enrollments, with the secret growth of armaments. But the Government's resistance was most marked in not meeting the full coal and wood requirements and in delaying money payments.

This was not all. Apparently, the Government did not even seek the means of payment. It did not put its finances in order. It by no means summoned the rich to do their plain duty. It did not take the trouble to create a special reparations fund, fed by a special income. It established no strict export control. Without trying to do anything, without even proclaiming its desire to do something, the German Government simply contented itself with saying that it was in no condition to fulfill its promises.

At the same time it increased some great public works; it enlarged its postal and railway personnel; above all, it inflated its currency. It would precipitate bankruptcy, so that its creditors could obtain nothing from it!

The German Magnate

IN 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War, one and the same impulse moved the defeated French to bring their resources to the Treasury, so as to free

their country from German occupation and pay the war debt.

On the other hand (there being no French occupation of Germany), instead of bringing to Berlin all *they* could, the German magnates converted most of their bonds and stocks and goods and balances into foreign currencies, and with these opened accounts abroad. The large number of German banks outside Germany (fifteen in Amsterdam alone) facilitated the affair. The billions of gold marks thus sent abroad were not used to help Germany.

These magnates are mostly the Junker agriculturists of the east, the landlords of the center, but especially the great industrialists of the west. The Berlin Government is unworthily dependent on them; it has been their tool. Usurping unlawful power, they artificially impoverished the Government and proportionately enriched themselves.

Every time the mark fell the fortunes of these magnates rose; for they were able to pay wages, other money contracts, and mortgages in a continually depreciating currency. The Junkers paid off the mortgages on their farm buildings, the landlords on their apartment-houses, and the industrialists on their factories in money whose depreciation long since ruined the mortgage-holders. The magnates thus enriched themselves, not only as the Government grew proportionately poorer, but also as the other ninety-five-hundredths of the people did. The worst enemies of Germany are some Germans.

They killed the projects of a forced loan, of death duties, of a proper income tax. They eluded paying existing taxes, particularly the coal tax (it should have been the most productive of all). Finally, a discouraged and subservient Government made no real attempt to collect revenue. Had it done so, it might not have needed to say that it could no longer make further payments for the armies of occupation. It is now face to face with the tax problem, grimmer than ever—that is to say, whether the Germans with “slathers” of money will pay the high taxes incumbent on them and absolutely necessary, as the International Experts Committee points out, if Germany expects to come to a proper debt settlement.

Like Jeshurun, having waxed fat, the German thieves began to kick. They declared that the Allies could do nothing without Germany's free consent and co-operation, consequently the Allies must treat her as an equal. In other words, the conquered in war should be the judge of the treatment imposed by the conqueror!

In 1871 did the French demand that kind of thing? Yet the Treaty of Frankfort was certainly not more agreeable to them than is now the Treaty of Versailles to Germany. None the less, the French executed all the clauses of the Frankfort Treaty.

No one expected that the German Government would execute all of the Versailles Treaty clauses with enthusiasm. But the world did hope that the German Government would not go back on its word as to money payments. When the French could not get money, they tried to develop a system of payments in kind. But these did not succeed either.

France to the Fore

FINALLY, after four years of fiddling, France resolved to show the mailed fist. The immediate business in hand was to make a recalcitrant debtor furnish at least a part of the sum due. But for this resolve and its execution, the recent work of the International Experts Committee would have been infinitely more difficult, as its members have acknowledged.

France had decided to seize the Ruhr region as a productive pledge for the payment of reparations. Doubtless the thought of her own frontier security was also not absent from her mind. But chief of all was her determination ultimately to break that obstinate old German will—to conquer Germany.

To French gratification, Belgium joined the movement, and on January 11, 1923, the two Allies entered the Ruhr Valley. (Note that this was done in face of English counsels to the effect that you cannot better a country's paying capacity by taking from it the means of production.)

The Germans seemed in despair. But they were not, quite. If, they thought, the half-million Ruhr workmen should go on strike and stay on strike, the French and Belgians would have to retire. The Berlin Government, therefore, spent an incredible amount to support these workers and their families.

During 1923, little by little, the workmen came back to their work, now really for French and Belgian, and no longer for German, employers. Towards the close of the year there was a rush in the Allied direction.

Passive resistance was then at an end. The French had gained their point. The Germans had lost theirs.

This was followed by positive results. In November the Interallied Mission of Control of Factories and Mines, familiarly known as the “Micum” (Mission Interalliée de Contrôle des Usines et des

Mines) signed agreements lasting till April 15, 1924, with the German industrialists. These agreements have now been renewed to June 15. Among other things, provisions are made for:

(1) Payment of coal-tax arrears to the extent of \$15,000,000.

(2) A tax of 37 cents a ton on all coal sold.

(3) Reparation deliveries not to exceed thirty-five per cent of the total deliveries.

(4) Assured delivery of coal to the Franco-Belgian Railway control.

(5) Every concern agreeing to deliver coal and iron in adequate quantities.

Thus the French are compelling the Ruhr industries to pay taxes, make deliveries for the reparations account, and protect the occupation enterprises. Germany is finally conquered.

On the German side there is the greater willingness to submit to the heavy charges on the mines because of the International Experts Committee's suggestion of a \$200,000,000 loan and the conviction that the Franco-Belgian economic control will end when the Experts' control begins. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Franco-Belgian military control will end before debts are paid.

Of all the Allies, only France and Belgium have consistently followed a severe programme designed to maintain the Treaty's integrity.

The aims of these two Allies in the Ruhr have been, first,

To make their rights respected; and, second,

To establish peace.

In other words, justice first, then peace.

The main thing achieved by their Ruhr occupation has been the breaking of the German will.

Again, by that occupation there has come some guaranty of security to France and Belgium.

Finally, the commercial agreements, now renewed, form a vital step towards reparation payments.

These three things may have been accomplished primarily for the benefit of France and Belgium. But the benefit does not stop there; it goes on to England and Italy, despite the hanging back of those Powers. France and Belgium have indeed worked for all the doubting world as well as for themselves.

Perhaps that world is now beginning to appreciate that the way to establish justice is not to sacrifice it.

Perhaps the world is also beginning to appreciate that there can be no peace without justice.

Berlin, April 19, 1924.

Pittsburgh is Famous for Other Things than Steel

A notable Picture from the International Exhibition of Paintings
at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania



Madame Suggia, by Augustus E. John, of London, England
Awarded the First Prize of \$1,500