

tion of being the only Democrat elected on the State ticket in New York at the election of last November. He had the endorsement of the Progressives and of the Sulzer adherents. The campaign against him was made principally on his record as a Single Taxer. His majority was over 60,000. [See vol. xvii., pp. 1091, 1092.]

## PRESS OPINIONS

### Soft Voice Impossible With Big Stick.

Charles Edward Jefferson, D.D., in *Woman's Home Companion*, January: A few things we are now certain: Engines of war are not guarantees of peace. Military experts are not safe counsellors of parliaments and kings. The policy of the big stick has been hopelessly discredited. Men who still advocate it belong to a bygone age. They can learn nothing, and we must leave them behind. The counsel to speak softly and carry a big stick is not wise. It is impossible to carry out the advice. The coarseness of the stick inevitably gets into the voice. Men who carry big sticks inevitably speak loud, and so also do nations. Low standards of conduct report themselves in the voice. If a nation wishes to cultivate the disposition of a gentleman, it must not dress like a brigand. To carry a big stick is the act of a rowdy, and we want to get rid of rowdiness in our international world. We cannot build an enduring civilization on suspicion and fear. We must build it on faith and hope and love. We now see what mischief-makers can accomplish if they are given ample time in which to work. The men who talk about "irrepressible conflicts" are blind guides. There are no irrepressible conflicts in this world except those which we make such by our wickedness and folly. The talk about the "inevitable conflict" between the Slav and the Teuton, and between the white race and the yellow race is silly. Men who say that commerce leads inevitably to war, and men who invariably impugn the motives of foreign nations in their every action belong to our dangerous classes, and should be feared by all right-minded citizens.

### Playing Providence.

The *Indian Social Reformer* (Bombay), October 4.—There is a sentence in the second of a series of articles on the "Education of Bengali girls," appearing in the *Indian Witness* from the pen of Miss B. K. Hogg, which is a striking illustration of the self-complacency with which some of the best and most devout men and women imagine themselves to be excellent substitutes for Providence in relation to the people of India. "One of our best gifts to India," she writes, "is surely that great, good gift of God to us expressed in our untranslatable word Home." As if God is precluded from having any dealings with India except through the medium of estimable ladies like Miss Hogg! We do not question in the least that the best type of the English home is an admirable embodiment of domestic life, but we can only regard Miss Hogg's assumption that there were no "Homes" in India before she and her coadjutors

presented us with them, as an instance of that subtle self-conceit which sometimes masquerades in the guise of a religious frame of mind.

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### GOD'S FLATTERERS.

For The Public.

"Not mine, O Lord, but Thine the victory!"  
How easy from the lips of those in need  
And sore beset, fall humble words like these.  
"Not mine, O Lord, but Thine the victory!"  
How oft we hear them on the lips of those  
Who crave for naught but vict'ry's baser spoils.  
HORACE B. ENGLISH.

### UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.\*

For The Public.

III.

Russia, Germany and England Hurried on the War Into Which the United States Will Be Drawn to Defend the Monroe Doctrine—The Clamor for a Mighty Navy and Wilson's Opportunity.

It was election day, beautiful and bracing, and Wurtzel telephoned his friend to know if he would take an auto trip, and spend the day in the country, but Ballard said:

"You are lazy. This is a day for walking. We'll walk to Yonkers."

Wurtzel was much the more portly of the two, but still athletic, and in a few minutes was at Ballard's door. A girl companion had already asked that his daughter, Cecil, might attend the English opera that evening, and telling her he would not return till late, they were off. Out Broadway they walked, Wurtzel an enthusiastic partizan of New York waxing eloquent on this being the first city of the world.

"Why, I doubt," said he, "if all the capitals of Europe combined could equal the number of magnificent hotels of this city!" And other points in which New York was easily pre-eminent were commented upon with equal ardor.

It was still early, and but few people were met in the street—some, like themselves, voting early and off for a holiday. Soon they were on Riverside Drive and presently had paused for a moment before Grant's Tomb to drink in the beautiful view along the river. Wurtzel, turning to his companion and repeating aloud the inscription, "Let Us Have Peace," then said:

"A very appropriate plea for to-day, when governments representing one-half the people of the world are at war."

\*Note: The two preceding articles of this series are to be found in vol. xvii, pp. 899, 1166.

"Yes, since the beginning of time never was there anything like this. It is impossible to think of anything else!"

They had started on.

"I left you very abruptly the other night, but I—"

"No apologies, please—it is your way! Ordinarily, too, you would have walked, but a rain was blowing up—I was compelled to seek shelter, and so I rejoined the Greek gentleman at the table."

"And you learned—"

"That 'Louis,' the Albanian Slav, and the head waiter, who is a Jew, are Russian spies—for that nation has long maintained an immense secret service in this country to keep track of revolutionary propaganda here directed against their government."

"And the Greek—his name was—"

"Agapoulos. I have not made him out yet. But there can be no doubt they are all enthusiastic admirers of yours. Still, you may be assured they will not fail to report—"

"Did M. Agapoulos understand the Near Eastern question—the English, Russian rivalries—into which Germany has entered in these later years?"

"Had a very clear idea, indeed, and some of his remarks suggested he had conceptions so profound they startled me: that after the Sarajevo murder, Russia, Germany, and England all deliberately hurried on the war—while their efforts to maintain peace were no less earnest—all determined by shrewd diplomacy to obtain the profit and advantage of a long and successful war without its cost! There appeared so many contradictions, and yet a certain kind of unity and coherence—"

Ballard stopped still in the road—they were now far out on what was once Boulevard Lafayette, the broad expanse of the Hudson stretching away for miles in both directions. Touching his friend upon the shoulder, he said:

"They all deliberately hurried on the war while earnestly seeking peace, each determined to reap the advantage of a successful war—Did he say that to you?" asked Ballard, with wide open eyes.

"It sounded almost insane—and yet there was something that appealed to me."

"This man has penetrated the most profound secret of world diplomacy!"

"A secret so profound it may not have been clearly understood by the great diplomats themselves!" said Wurtzel, lightly, almost breaking into laughter, but the serious look on Ballard's face as he gave a start, checked him.

"My God! man, what wisdom you have uttered if you but understood it yourself!" He paused a moment. "Russia was determined to back up Serbia, but certainly desired peace, for if Austria had been compelled to back down on her demands, the existence of Austria as a world power would have ended, and her oldest Emperor would have

been her last, with Russian influence supreme in the Near East, the Romanoffs one step nearer Constantinople—and war in any event, no matter how Great Britain aligned herself, would in the end be to Russian advantage. And so Russia ardently desired—either war or peace."

"Ardently desired—either war or peace," repeated Wurtzel with a puzzled look. "Yes, that holds! A crisis was approaching that could but result to Russian advantage! But how?"

"German trade and interest had so grown to the East and through Mesopotamia that she had in these later years supplanted Britain as the protector of the Turk—even the Turkish army and navy commanded by German officers. British interest, now as jealous of German influence as of Russian design, would remain neutral or at least not rush to the support of Austria and Germany, as she had done in the annexation of Bosnia ten years before. Russia welcomed war—or peace, with the spoils of war!"

"And Germany?" asked Wurtzel.

"German diplomacy, taking advantage of British extremity in being placed between the devil and the deep sea, thought Germany could rely upon British neutrality and Italian support, and trusting to British influence to hold France from the possible conflict, eagerly welcome war—or peace, with the spoils of war!—that Britain in greater fear of Russia than of Germany would allow Germany to entirely supplant her in the Near East while professing friendship!"

"And England?" asked Wurtzel.

"Britain, seeing her great territorial and commercial rivals about to come to a clash at arms over the richest spoil in all the world (Constantinople, the key city to the commerce of three continents, the protection of which had been the chief end of British diplomacy for over a century) while striving for peace, foreseeing a certain advantage that might come to her from a war in which her rivals might exhaust themselves, eagerly welcomed war—a war in which she would be free to pick the side on which her interests lay. The British Ambassador at Paris diplomatically refused to commit England to the support of France, a declaration earnestly solicited by President Poincaré as the surest means of averting war; while the German Ambassador at London, on Grey's own statement, in the event France were drawn into the war, *'even suggested that the integrity of France and her colonies might be guaranteed,'* and *'pressed me as to whether I could not formulate conditions on which we would remain neutral.'*"

"England could have averted the war—both sides appealed to her!" interjected Wurtzel.

"But of course Grey could not formulate such conditions," said Ballard, refusing to be interrupted; "that would be letting the cat out of the bag—for Constantinople was the prize, and nothing but the destruction of German interest and

influence in Turkey would satisfy; and now that Germany and Russia were about to rush at each other's throats, England *'should have to consider, what British interests required us to do'* in the words of Grey," said Ballard.

"And English interests required that she allow her rivals to destroy each other!" said Wurtzel, with brows knit, his hand upon his forehead.

"And when the cards should have all been played, were upon the board and the war begun, *'England's decision would be very rapid,'* to use the words of Grey to the German Ambassador.

"Then England was to blame for the great—" said Wurtzel, startled.

"No more than was Germany and Russia. Each was but playing according to the rules of the game—trying to dupe all the other nations and achieve the advantages to be gained by a great war if possible by a diplomatic peace of neither risk nor cost. But England—" He paused a long time. Then breaking off on the old tack, he said: "Our Greek friend, M. Agapoulos I believe you called him, when he said that Russia, Germany and England all deliberately hurried on the war—while their efforts to maintain peace were less earnest—and each determined by shrewd diplomacy to obtain the profit and advantage of a long and successful war without its cost, at least apprehended the truth if he did not *com-*prehend it! But let us drop this phase of the war for something of more immediate interest to ourselves."

"The election?" asked Wurtzel.

"And the grave danger lest we shall be drawn into the great world commercial war—I mean drawn in with shot and shell."

"Are you fearful the President's policy of neutrality will not be sustained?"

"You are aware of the fact that a very large element of our population believe that our neutrality has a decided pro-British leaning, but it is not along that line that trouble is to be anticipated. According to accepted tenets his attitude in the European war has been measurably correct," said Ballard.

"And in the event he is not sustained by the elections?" asked Wurtzel.

"Self-seeking and time-serving men, backed by special interests, will raise the cry the people have repudiated even Wilson's mild approach to free trade—and make it impossible that from this country could come the proffer of friendly intervention by offering world free trade as the only possible solution of the European war!"

"Yours is a long look ahead," said Wurtzel. "And if the administration should be repudiated?"

"The opposition, inside and outside of Wilson's party, thoroughly understanding that 'hard times' is always laid by the public at the door of the national administration, and uncertain how the people stand on the railroad regulation, Panama Canal, Mexican, and trust questions, will for their

own ends declare the vote shows popular demand for the old or a more exaggerated tariff—as I said making impossible our offering to Europe the only solution of the war, the total destruction of her tariff walls. And we should be drawn in—"

"But surely no nation would be so mad as to attack the United States?" and Wurtzel's alarm was not feigned.

"That is not the view of the tariff advocates, and the loud cry they are sending over the world to disarm and to dismantle their navies is surpassed only by the even louder cry of the same people for the creation of a standing army and a greater navy—for all consciously or unconsciously understand that the victors in Europe will immediately attempt to violate and trample under foot the Monroe Doctrine—that is, to tear down the national tariff walls of South America or rather to convert them into 'colonial' tariff walls through which they may enter free at the gate! An American navy equaling that of the whole of Europe, and costing countless millions will be required to maintain—"

"The tariff walls of South America! You see that I have thoroughly learned your political economy—and applied it to international politics!" said Wurtzel.

"Oh, the future, the very life of this country depends upon our solution of the European war," said Ballard, ignoring the compliment; "or we shall be dragged in to defend the Monroe Doctrine—a doctrine that under absolute free trade would become useless to ourselves or to South America, and to nobody's interest to violate! Our public men seem to have gone mad not to have seen the solution, and propose only to exaggerate the evils and the CAUSE of war while clamoring for disarmament and peace—a cry that comes in exceedingly bad taste from the wealthiest nation in the world when the leading men of all parties are in the very act of demanding a large increase in both army and navy! Why, the mere proposition of proportionate disarmament, seriously advanced by leading statesmen, besides being an absurdity on its face, is tantamount to confession that the cause of the war is not understood or being understood is wilfully ignored."

"I am content to listen," said Wurtzel, as Ballard paused.

"And not only the leading men of the world, but of our own country seriously propose this silly expedient," he continued. "It was not ten days ago the American Bar Association met in Washington, where President Wilson delivered an address of welcome, the entire supreme court of the United States were guests of honor, and ex-president Taft, the chairman, in his speech, said to the assembled brainy men of the nation: *'It is not too early to hope that the exhaustion which it (the war) is certain to bring to both sides may sink deep into the minds of their respective peoples the*

*absurdity of maintaining hereafter the policy of immense and bankrupting armaments and the wisdom of a reduction of these by agreement.* What an astonishing thing," he went on, "that notwithstanding the fact that millions of men representing one-half the people of the world are now engaged in war, not one of these public men has ever offered the simple and only solution of the war, but have proposed only *repressive* measures—war to become a contest in ingenuity after proportionate disarmament—and this same logic would demand we put to death the most ingenious, or having entirely disarmed, we fight with feather pillows, or revert to the frightening masks of the old Japanese, throw dice or have trial by ordeal. They have not searched for the *cause* of the war and reduction of armaments would be about as effective as our prayers—you will remember that on the day before the nation prayed for peace, one vessel sailed from New York with 16,000,000 cartridges, enough to kill every soldier in Europe."

"It is so absurd," said Wurtzel, "and though there is profit in it for certain interests, in this blindness the greater part of the world is really blind. I know, for I have but recently seen the light. Why, even if we abandoned the Monroe Doctrine, the South American nations to become but colonial possessions of European nations, so inseparably linked are these ideas, we would require strong forts along our Chinese wall, the total destruction of all vessels of commerce, and an immense army and navy that we might become a hermit nation like Japan until some more powerful Perry should appear to teach us intelligence at the cannon's mouth. To be serious, the English are telling us the Germans in victory would menace the Monroe Doctrine, while the Germans tell us the Allies menace the Monroe Doctrine."

"They are all agreed, and they are all correct—all the world menaces the Monroe Doctrine!"

"You overwhelm me with your astonishing logic—in repartee," said Wurtzel.

"The nations of Europe do not care to *govern* South America, but seek only free trade privilege—pushed on by ceaseless law that acts like gravity that never rests, and the nations of the world will be at war until they have leveled every tariff wall! In the language of Lincoln, when the wars are over the questions that caused them have still to be solved. While every nation in Europe is fighting for the preservation of its national life, secretly, consciously and unconsciously each in a trade sense is determined to conquer all the rest. In other words every one of them is bent upon having the world as a market, the Federation of the World, and the result would be the same no matter which won! Until this is understood, and we have universal free trade the war will rage."

Wurtzel did not care to again interrupt him, and after a pause he continued:

"And you will notice that their blindness to this

great fact frightens them all—and they look into the future with fear and trembling. Why, H. G. Wells, in terse sentences summing up the British view, declares that in the event of German victory, the Monroe Doctrine would go down, Germany being supported by Russia and Japan, and the London Times joins in the alarm at the prospect of Teutonic sway; for had not Baron von Edelsheim already disclosed the German purpose *'to put a stop to the overreachings on the part of the United States and eventually to make our will prevail by resort to force,'* and the Baron continued: *'Successful enterprise on the Atlantic seaboard would create throughout the United States such a depressed situation that the government would be willing to accept fair conditions in order to preserve peace.'* Our *'overreachings'* are the Monroe Doctrine, and *'fair conditions'* simply its abandonment—that Germany should seize South American tariff walls! Yes, I know that Count von Dernburg and Ambassador Bernstorff recently voluntarily disclaimed such designs, but it is the law of trade, and Germany like England and every other country—"

"But you will recall that England herself had to be choked off in Venezuela!" said Wurtzel.

"Why, of course, all Europe has for a century had its eyes upon our southern neighbors, and since our statesmen do not understand the natural law we shall be compelled to defend ourselves by force—with a mighty navy! Side by side with his protective tariff in Hearst's editorials we read the demand for the mighty navy—often in the same paragraph."

"Exactly where it belongs," said Wurtzel, quietly, while Ballard, smiling at the interruption, went on:

"And his papers make great display of such news as that Roosevelt, speaking at Princeton University, October 30, declared that he had seen the plans of two of the Empires now at war for the capture of New York and San Francisco, and Roosevelt is again championing a greater navy. The *'wake up America'* speech of Gardner, supported by Senators Poindexter and Smith, and people all over the country, is but spreading the alarm of naval expert Maclay; and so competent a body as the Navy League, of which General Horace Porter is President, issues an address in reply to peace advocates, in which it is declared our weakness invites attack. And the worst of it is that the alarm is justified—that we shall need a navy not merely as great as that of England, but equaling that of the whole world—demanding the immediate expenditure of one billion dollars. These are the forebodings of the leading men of all parties—given voice as early as October 2, by Republican leader Mann, in a keynote speech, in which the truth—the solution—does not dawn, though he absolutely stumbles over the great truth and sprawls upon it."

"Well—" said Wurtzel.

"I have his speech in my pocket—the very words: *'A fight for commercial supremacy leads in the end to a fight with arms.'*"

"Well, for the love of heaven!" said Wurtzel, "and he did not see that to break down restrictions of trade would end the commercial war! And I spent a lifetime in the ignorant belief that if the people of some foreign country sold us \$2.00 worth of goods for 50 cents it would ruin us! And even now I am wondering where the government will collect its revenues when the tariff taxes shall have been destroyed."

"But if you will but read the book that I will give you," said Ballard, "some day you will discover that the source of taxation is inexhaustible if you know how to tap it; indeed, that the application of the tax is but the widening of the breach through which wealth may flow, or to use another illustration, that taxes is a thing not to be extorted, but, rightly understood, is a force like steam in a boiler, striving to escape, whence, reversing the principle of the safety valve, the more you let out the greater the supply."

"Some dry political economy that couldn't interest me now, in the midst of the world's greatest war—and on election day."

Almost leisurely they had strolled all day, with no other repast than a little fruit, and now at dusk, with ferocious appetites they dined a la carte in Yonkers, not sparing of time and awaiting a suitable hour to return by rail to the city after sufficient election returns would be in to indicate how the President's party had fared.

"I am more at home in practical politics," said Wurtzel, "than in international intrigue and political economy—they are *your* forte. And I will tell you now the President will fare far better than he would have in July, because of this European war—notwithstanding a large defection in the German and Irish vote because of this same war."

They had both voted in such a way as to sustain the President for several reasons.

It was a beautiful night, and the crowds in front of the bulletin boards, while large, showed no enthusiasm, reading war bulletins—three months not having made them callous—with as much interest as election returns.

Ballard, no longer communicative, was very thoughtful. They were walking toward Ballard's home.

"The returns are satisfactory—if the President knows how to snatch victory from defeat!" and his manner was unusually serious, and Wurtzel, interpreting as he believed the thoughts of his friend, said:

"It is not a defeat—though Hearst and the Republicans will turn heaven and earth to make it appear so. The Progressive vote has simply returned to the Republican party. Roosevelt for a

time will appear in eclipse, but as an actual fact I shall not be surprised to see him the Republican nominee for President. The crowds that greeted Roosevelt in the campaign show his popularity undimmed, and going back to the Republican fold they will take him with them. People have little difficulty in persuading themselves to a point of view that to them will prove an advantage, and Roosevelt will find no difficulty in lining up with the bosses he has denounced if necessary to achieve the Republican nomination. The questions upon which he pretended to have broken with the Republicans when he set out to prevent LaFollette from defeating Taft will be forgotten, and upon the great big issues of the Panama Canal, the tariff and the navy—one question—they will be in perfect accord. Besides, the Republicans will see the advantage of nominating a man Hearst would support—"

"But if Champ Clark—" said Ballard, looking through the side of his eyes.

"He never seriously supported Champ Clark, the free trader!" said Wurtzel.

"I only wondered if you shared my opinion," said Ballard, satisfied.

"And Roosevelt would be Hearst's candidate. Of course I cannot foresee the end of the war, but—" and Wurtzel stopped short as if overcome by a tremendous idea. "I have heard that Wilson was at heart like Champ Clark, an absolute free trader! Political necessity might give him courage!"

"Well?" And then you see that—"

"All the nations of the world are looking to the United States for a solution of the war! The Democrats can claim the administration has been sustained, Wilson can convene the Hague Congress and propose universal free trade—the war ends, and disarmament follows!"

Ballard grasped his friend by the hands to steady him—he almost reeled like a drunken man.

"Wilson has had every chance—you know there is a movement in New York—"

"Political necessity will give him the courage! Clamor for an army and navy will drive him—this clamor will grow with redoubled vigor in his own party—and to this neither he nor Bryan will ever consent! Wilson will be compelled—to become one of the greatest men of history whether he will or no! It is his destiny!"

They had arrived at Wurtzel's Hotel.

"The salvation of our own country depends upon our solution of this war, and if Wilson should fail us—" But Ballard did not finish his sentence. Rubbing his hand on his forehead as if he had forgotten something. "You say—Agapoulos expressed a desire to meet me again?"

"He was to sail for Europe in a few days."

And Ballard walked on home alone.

BASIL HOWARD.