

Congressman-at-large, considered a progressive, was elected over J. McCann Davis, Republican, by 1,737 plurality. Thomas P. Sullivan, the other Democratic candidate for Congressman-at-large, was defeated by his Republican opponent, Chipperfield, by 32,218 plurality. Mr. Sullivan's campaign had been made on assurances that he opposed continuation of the "Administration's war on business." [See current volume, pages 1091-1093.]

PRESS OPINIONS

Equalizing Legal Penalties.

Chicago Herald, November 15.—The city law department has prepared a bill abolishing the present system of fines in dealing with keepers and inmates of disorderly houses and empowering the courts to imprison without the privilege of escape by a money payment. The coming general assembly will be asked to enact the bill. While it is about it the general futility and gross inequity of the fining system might well be considered and amended. The current report of the "Springfield Survey" conducted by the Russel Sage Foundation offers some pertinent reflections on the subject. The Springfield police dealt in 1913 with 1,456 offenders who had been arrested before. Seventy per cent of those coming before the city courts were fined, usually \$3. It is evident that such fines neither deter from law-breaking nor help to law-observance. Moreover, fines are plainly inequitable as between the offender with money and the one without. Even a \$3 fine is serious for a laborer earning \$1.75 a day. But it leaves unimpressed the man whose income is from about \$5 a day upward. The profit of the offense may exceed the loss of the fine. Especially is this the case with vice occupations. There the fine becomes little more than a profit-sharing tribute.



The Inexcusable War Tax.

Charlestown (Ind.) Citizen-Record, November 26.—It can be said of the Federal war tax that it is an outrage upon industry, a disgrace to the American people and an injury to the Democratic party. . . . It is hard to tell just how the protectionists would have proceeded in order to save privilege had they been in power last October, but it is safe to guess that they would have found some means of discouraging industry, more burdensome than that selected by the Democratic congressmen. But while we sneer at the shallowness of the protectionist arguments, let us not forget to criticise the undemocratic attitude of the Democratic congress. It should have laid the tax on land values, but such a course not being feasible in the present state of public opinion, it could have at least put the tax burden on privilege by adopting a measure that was introduced into congress, levying the war deficit tax on incomes over \$20,000 per annum. Or, better still, by slashing that disgraceful relic of barbarism, the army and navy appropriation. But no; the stubborn mule would not so. He prefers to preserve privilege and corruption and to sanction and make sacred before the nations the business of legalized murder. He puts a

tax on little retail tobacco dealers, on moving picture shows and little amusement houses of the poor and on little dinky box ball alleys and pool tables in order that the rich and powerful may rest secure in their privileges; in order that millions may be wasted and the pork barrel filled to overflowing; in order more men may be trained to slaughter their fellow men and provided with the engines of legalized murder.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE GREAT WAR.

For The Public.

The fort-chains and intrenchments far outspread;
The puppet armies that so quickly came
To grapple in this grim, satanic Game;
The deadly aircraft hovering overhead;
The hungry siege-guns, with huge missiles fed,
More ruinous than wind or quake or flame;
And all the many marvels without shame
In cunning brains for this vast Outrage bred—

It is not merely these. It is the weight
Of murdered peace, the loss throughout the world,
That gives this War its infamous renown.
What shall it yield of good to compensate?
O piteous host to swift destruction hurled!
O torrent of the living going down!

CHARLES H. WINKE.



UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

For The Public.

Bismarck's Blindness to Opportunity After the Franco-German War.

Leisurely they strolled up Second Avenue, pausing for a moment before a small cafe, to listen to the music of a violin and piano by performers of unusual merit—a place they had often visited before.

"I have wondered," said Ballard, if the perfection of these musicians is not an illusion that would be dispelled if we heard them in surroundings of more pretension?"

"In this instance I think not," replied Wurtzel, who could lay claim to accomplishments at the piano. "The greatest geniuses may remain undiscovered or unappreciated, and while you and I may recognize merit here we have other and complex interests to engage us—we do nothing to advance these artists—and they are compelled to plod on as though but mediocre. If I were in the theatrical business—but let us on—I have the appetite of a mountain climber."

Soon they had passed into that picturesque old building, "The Boulevard," and had taken seats inside, for the evening was warm and the balcony

had already been filled with diners. The table they had often occupied in winter months was vacant, fortunately, and there prevailed that buoyant atmosphere one feels around the theater when the orchestra has struck up and just before the curtain rises.

"Caviar," said Wurtzel, "and—let me see—soup—that okra—yes—oh, the blessings of free trade with Louisiana!"

"Serve everything for two," said Ballard to the bowing waiter, who disappeared, and Wurtzel said:

"I'll admit that you have convinced me that the tariff is the CAUSE of war, and that if it were abolished wars between nations would cease, but nevertheless free trade would have a tendency to close up industries—"

"Wherever they are run at a loss," said Ballard slowly. "Free trade is reciprocal—both sides gain or they wouldn't trade—and there is amity. When trade is restrained, competition becomes jealous of the restricted territory and the war begins—the commercial war—there is but one kind of war—the commercial war—and as its intensity develops they use powder, dynamite, lyddite—the Zeppelin, the submarine."

"You drive me from my feet with your astonishing ideas—and yet they hold. Oh, here is the waiter—the blessing of free trade with Louisiana!" said Wurtzel as he eagerly began to ladle the contents of the bowl.

"And with Michigan," said Ballard, raising a stalk of celery so brittle it would break like chalk.

"And with North Dakota and Minneapolis," said Wurtzel, holding a fluffy cracker of snowy whiteness over his steaming plate.

"Yes, Uncle Sam had the intelligence from the beginning to utilize his great farm to its best advantage—planting corn on corn land, wheat on wheat land, rice, cane and cranberries in swamps. Georgia's cotton, Kentucky's tobacco and Maine's potatoes are the result of natural selection. Mining coal and iron in Florida would not be so profitable as raising oranges, and no man tries it—but if you had Pennsylvania walled off with a tariff, and made the wall high enough they might raise bananas there—though I think it would be more profitable to work half a day in an iron mill and buy a wagon load. If Uncle Sam could only extend his system of free trade between the States through the whole world!"

"Why, you are dreaming of not the United States of Europe, but the Federation of the world!"

"It's progressing fast enough—you have the United States of Germany—very similar to our own—a federation of States that had abolished the tariff between themselves long before the German Empire was established—I mean formally established—for the Zollverein, the free trade union between Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, etc., had destroyed their animosities and

made the empire possible—in fact, created the empire. When Prussia got into a war with France, the smaller States went where their interests lay—they had been wedded to Prussia through free trade—and after victory the proclamation of the Empire at Versailles was but the celebration of what had long been a fact—Germany or the German States were one nation from the time they destroyed their tariff walls," said Ballard.

"And the Empire was but the inevitable result that followed the obeying of natural law, and Bismarck—"

"Bismarck himself was an instrument—almost an unconscious instrument, using forces he did not understand. Indeed, it is quite certain he had not an intelligent grasp of the great law that made his political moves not only possible, but irresistible—for if he had, it was once within his power to extend the Zollverein through the whole of Europe—making of it one nation. This man of blood and iron lacked brain—the grasp and imagination of a Napoleon!"

"He could have—"

"Allowed Austria to have entered the Zollverein—the Free Trade Union of German States—made Free Trade the condition of peace with France after Sedan, and the beggarly five milliards he extorted would have been beggarly indeed compared to the countless wealth and unbounded prosperity that would have followed."

"My God, what a story! France, Germany and Austria—all the power of Europe—in a free trade league—at that time nearly three times as populous as our United States!"

"Nor is this all, for Italy, too, would have been in Bismarck's greater Zollverein. The Italians had risen in 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, and though defeated by Austria, victorious Prussia compelled Austrian surrender of Venetia, Italian unity being thus a gift at Bismarck's hands in 1866. The City of Rome itself four years later was evacuated by the French in August, 1870, becoming Italy's capital with the German march upon Paris. Bismarck had the world within his hands, and he did not know—"

"Great God! and there was no prophet, no seer to point out that Free Trade would solve Europe's wars for all time!" said Wurtzel.

"This great truth, Free Trade, as firm and unshakable and as plain as Mount Blanc is the motif of German history. But statesmen obsessed with statecraft, and blind to the natural laws of political economy, leave peoples to pay the penalty. The very moves of the "statesmen" are inspired by causes they do not understand, and when these by accident agree with natural laws the people benefit; when they violate these natural laws the people suffer. Nature (at least in political economy) cares nothing for motive, and rewards those who follow its immutable laws."

A fish course, too, had been served—fresh sal-

mon from far-off Oregon—with entrees of choice products of a border State, and Wurtzel was trying to catch the eye of the waiter, while Ballard looked over the bill for the *piece de resistance*.

"Roast sirloin," he said, "from Ohio, perhaps; turkey poul, possibly Rhode Island; roast lamb, New York or Ohio—from all over this continent—and the vegetables, peas, rice, carrots, potatoes."

"I'm through—I'll never raise another objection to your doctrine."

"What's that waiter's name?" asked Ballard.

"Call him Louis—a name in every language, Ludwig, Luis, Louis—none of these people of foreign birth are offended if they think you have taken them for Frenchmen. This place has a French name, but the restaurant is Hungarian, and most of the patrons are from Eastern Europe—Austrians in the main, but that means every race and language in Europe—you could neither guess his nationality or race."

Ballard had indicated a choice on the menu. Wurtzel had ordered, and turning to Ballard he said:

"And the cause of the Franco-German war was—"

"It was a commercial war like all wars—secretly the French Emperor's jealousy of Germany's growth (and he did not know that Free Trade had made of Germany *one nation*)—an irrepressible conflict precipitated by Napoleon III. resisting Prussian attempt to seat a Hohenzollern on the Spanish throne and thus 're-create the Empire of Charles V.' Pardon me, but I must telephone my daughter I'll not be home to dinner—I had almost forgotten—" he broke off as he started for a telephone booth, and "Louis," the waiter, returning, while unloading his tray upon the table, ventured to speak:

"A wonderful man, that," he said to Wurtzel. "How I'd love to hear him talk—he has such a grasp of affairs—I'm sure he'd make a great detective—surpassing anything I've read in fiction—"

"Yes," said Wurtzel, "the mysteries in fiction so cleverly unravelled by imaginary detectives are constructed for them, but to my friend the most complex problems of real life—seen but not understood by millions of people—become simple at his touch—a man of power, too—the statesmen, and scholars of Europe would be putty in his hands—"

Wurtzel checked himself, partly because of the indiscretion in speaking so frankly to this stranger and partly because Ballard had returned and he feared had overheard the closing words of his last sentence.

Ballard seated himself in thoughtful silence, while Wurtzel with hunger far from satisfied, prepared to continue his own dinner, and urging Ballard, said:

"Free Trade as a motif or cause back of all

causes in German history is a new idea—I believe no historian has touched upon it."

"Yes, countless little principalities under Austrian suzerainty, with little tariff walls every ten miles, besides bridges and even toll roads, made commerce impossible. If one started to cross a bridge and changed his mind and went back, the toll was again collected. Steeped in narrow poverty and feudal ignorance the people remained until Napoleon came and carried the French revolution through Germany, destroyed the old German Empire, and as a means of weakening Austria detached from her allegiance German States with a population of 14,000,000 people. These were formed into the Confederation of the Rhine, and along the military roads constructed by Napoleon sprang up the commerce that created the modern Germany."

"And Prussia?"

"The Prussian King to save his kingdom from revolution granted the reforms the French had carried through the rest of Germany. After the disasters of the Russian campaign, these Germans to whom he had given new life, turned upon Napoleon upon the field of Leipzig and overthrew him. Then followed Elba, Napoleon's return, the Hundred Days, and—Waterloo. Prussia now proceeded to play the cards that established her position in Europe—ignorantly, I am certain, for had her statesmen understood the laws of political economy they would long since have established the United States of Europe."

"And it is now possible for Germany to—" interposed Wurtzel, excitedly.

Ballard checked him, first with a glance, then with his finger on his lips, but seeing Louis, who had been all attention, had been summoned by the head waiter, he continued:

"Let us not discuss that now—not here."

Louis had come back, but before Ballard had time to resume the thread where he had left off, Wurtzel, trying to regain his composure, after what had suddenly occurred to him as an inspiration, said:

"Why is it that notwithstanding my German origin, my pride and amazement at their military prowess, and my desire to feel neutral in this war, I feel repugnance and horror at the thought of German victory?"

"That is easily understood, and I should feel the same way if I thought they were fighting for what many of them think they are fighting for; but Germany is unconsciously fighting for—" Ballard glanced at Wurtzel, who evidently understood the speaker did not care to say more just then.

"We would not hurt your feelings; and you will excuse me if I ask your nationality—or race?" said Wurtzel, addressing Louis.

"Oh, I was born in Durazzo, Albania; am a

Slav, but spent many years in Vienna. Austria and Italy both had their eyes on my country before the Sarajevo murder."

The restaurant had grown a little crowded, and Louis—he had accepted that name—seated a stocky, dark, well dressed stranger at their table at Wurtzel's request—for they would soon be going. The face of the newcomer was familiar, and Wurtzel greeted him with a bow.

Their conversation interrupted, Wurtzel remarked he would like to see some article that Ballard might prepare on the relationship of tariff laws to Germany's growth and history.

"I was requested to prepare one by The New York _____," said Ballard, and here are some notes I have just copied from encyclopaedias—Britannica and Chambers."

"Why they didn't hold your point of view—nor does any historian?"

"No, no; it is evidence—their testimony, their testimony unbiased, for they knew not in what case they were testifying," and Ballard handed over a number of excerpts.

"I see by this quotation from Chambers," said Wurtzel, "that after the war of liberation in 1815, the Zollverein, a union of independent German States under the leadership of Prussia, was formed so as to enable them in their commercial relations with other countries to act as *one* State. The first suggestion of such a union came from Prussia; but it took many years—"

"Prussia had learned from the French and instinctively tried to make it to the material interests of the smaller States to attach themselves to her, but naturally it took time to wean them from the great empire with which they had been connected for centuries," said Ballard. "Isn't an extract from Britannica next? That's it; let me read it":

There was evolved the Zollverein, which gradually attached the smaller States by material interests if not of sympathy, to Prussia.

"Sentimentally the people, particularly in the south German States, inclined to Austria, but they were drawn to alliances where *their material interests lay*. Austria made efforts to break up the Zollverein, as she saw her influence weakening, and Prussia's strengthening, but to no avail. That free trade among the German States was the cause of German growth there can be no question. Read that next one."

"From Britannica?" queried Wurtzel, and Ballard assenting, he read:

Even in the earlier stages of its development the Zollverein had a marked effect on the condition of the country. Its growth coincided with the introduction of railways, and enabled the nation to derive from them the full benefits; so that in spite of the confusion of political powers, material prosperity increased, together with a consciousness of national unity and a tendency to look to Berlin

rather than to Vienna as the center of this (national) unity.

"If I didn't trust to your honor I'd swear that you wrote that yourself—maintaining a thesis—it so bears out your contention! The country *grew* and *grew to Berlin*, and in spite of confusion of political powers; consciousness of *national unity*. Great Heavens, Ballard; Free Trade was creating the German Empire on the ruins of Austria's last vestige of ancient Rome!"

The stranger at the table and the waiter behind his chair shared amazement with Wurtzel at the great truth that to them was as a new revelation. Ballard quietly remarked:

"Unconsciously the Prussians had smote the rock and there gushed forth as from the Fountain of Truth the blessings of the Almighty God!"

After a pause, to relieve an oppressive silence, he continued:

"No, I did not write those lines; they were probably written before I was born."

"You have some more; read on."

Wurtzel read:

* * * and practically the whole of what is now Germany was included in a union in which Prussia had a predominating influence, and to which, when too late, Austria in vain sought admission.

"The whole of what is now Germany," said Ballard. "Of course everything that was in the Free Trade league later became part of the German nation. German statesmen—'statesmen'—" He spoke not so much in contempt as in sorrow—"they were fools—to shut out Austria through blind fear that Austria with a large non-German population would over-top, not Germany, but Prussia—and at bottom THAT was the cause of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866! In 1862 Bismarck had concluded a commercial treaty with France 'based mainly on free trade principles,' to use the language of Britannica, and forced it upon the smaller German States (opposition inspired or at least encouraged by Austria), which, had it been absolute free trade would have made war with France impossible; but after the war of 1866, in which, to quote Chambers, 'Austria, by the treaty of Prague was completely excluded from participation in the new organization of the German States' the jealousy of Napoleon III. knew no bounds, for Prussia not only had compelled the surrender of Venetia to Italy, but she had incorporated Schleswig-Holstein, and her star was in the ascendent. Napoleon III. had provoked the war, but, says Chambers: 'Contrary to the expectation of France the Southern German States which had supported Austria four years before at once decided to support Prussia and the Northern States,' for Prussian Free Trade had bound them 'by material interests if not of sympathy.' The words you first read from Britannica are almost identical with those from Chambers. Excepting

the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, etc., when in 1868 Lubeck and the Mecklenbergs had joined the Zollverein, its territory extended over the whole of what subsequently became the German Empire.

"Oh, there is no question the Free Trade union made the German nation," said Wurtzel, "almost the very words of this quotation from Chambers":

The principle of the Zollverein's action was this: The whole territory embraced by the union formed commercially (in regard at least to countries beyond its limits) ONE STATE.

The last course had been cleared away, and over coffee and cigars they lingered, the stranger and the waiter all attention, as had been Wurtzel from the beginning. Ballard saw they were still eager and he said: "To illustrate how entirely the German Empire was built upon and owes its existence to the Free Trade union and its constitution read that last excerpt from Chambers I gave you."

Wurtzel read:

In 1867 the administration of the Zollverein was so modified as to give to the various members of the union votes in the Council and Parliament proportionate to the number of inhabitants in each State, ("Why, that's just like the American Congress!") * * * Since the establishment of the German Empire, the Zollverein has no longer a separate constitution of its own. ("Of course not," interrupted Ballard. "The Empire took the Constitution and the nation Free Trade had built up and gave it a name—and that was all!") Its Council, representing Governments, is merged in the Federal Council of the Empire ("That's the United States Senate!"); its Parliament, representing populations, in the Reichstag ("That's our Congress!") and the affairs of the Empire are managed on the principles adopted by the Zollverein in 1867.

Wurtzel let fall the slip of paper in utter amazement. "Well, by the shades of James Madison, the German Empire is nothing on earth but a league of Free Trade States, like our own, whose real inspiration was the French Revolution and whose founder was Napoleon Bonaparte! The German Empire, proclaimed from the palace of Versailles, and had the Prussian victors but the imagination of Napoleon the tariff walls of France would have fallen even before the walls of Paris; and though French aid had been instrumental in establishing Italian liberty, German arms delivered Venice and made Italian unity; and Italy would have eagerly seized the opportunity to cement her alliance with her Prussian benefactors by entering the Zollverein—and Austria had long been clamoring at the door! Almost universal Free Trade might have been proclaimed—the freedom of the world! In the ancient home of the Grand Monarque should have been born the Grand Republic!"

Wurtzel had been speaking with open eyes, arms uplifted, as in a trance, but his arms now fell limply by his side, and Ballard said in a low voice:

"Yes, for in a garret of this same palace, over a hundred years before, a pale student, Quesnay,

the King's physician, had written of the great law, 'The Natural Way'!"

They rose from their seats to depart, but Louis could not restrain himself and eagerly seized Ballard by the hand, while the stranger, too, arose and introducing himself confessed: "I have a vision of a new Europe! I am of a Greek family of Constantinople, though born in Salonika, and spent some years in both cities as well as Vienna. I have a vision of a new Europe—a new world! I hope we shall meet again!"

Bidding the Slav and the Greek good evening, the two friends were passing down the one broad flight of stairs when Wurtzel remarked: "I never once thought of the German blunder in this war—or of Prinzip. Some time we'll—"

"I am oppressed with a heavy load," said Ballard. Perhaps some time—Will you answer my call at any time—to go anywhere? Well, I want that cab—Good night."

And Wurtzel was left standing on the sidewalk, wondering what tremendous project could have entered the mind of his friend—of whom he had said the statesmen of Europe would be as putty in his hands? Could it be that possibly suggested forcibly by this chance remark Ballard would attempt—he dared not even think of it.

BASIL HOWARD.



A UNIVERSAL MUNICIPAL NEED.

Extract from the Annual Address of President Wm. Dudley Foulke at the Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League at Baltimore, Md., November 18, 1914.

Speaking of the present unsatisfactory method of electing city councils, Mr. Foulke said, in substance:

But where a whole representative body is to be chosen from the city at large there is another method of securing more accurate representation than we can get either by the system of ward representation, so fruitful of small politics, or by a ticket at large where minority representation (so necessary for the watchful observation of city business) is altogether excluded. This other method is the system of proportional representation.

Up to this time proportional representation has made little progress in American communities, but elsewhere it has been used with success, notably in nine of the cantons of Switzerland and in all its most important cities; in various representative bodies in Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Finland, the Union of South Africa, the Transvaal, Tasmania, and Wurtemberg; in Hamburg and certain communal councils in Baden, Oldenburg and Bavaria, as well as in other places. It is objected that the system is complicated and confusing, but it has not been found so in the places