

ance of power. If it must so end, great God! why not begin with the conference and have no war at all? He saw that people did not realize the staggering, the unspeakable catastrophe that the world and humanity confronted—a catastrophe that would draw blood-red scars across the future to remotest time. He saw that here in America we were lapped in a sense of false security. All this he saw, saw plainly, as the cables poured in from London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, from all the world, each with its message of impending ruin and death.



The End of Monarchy and War.

Chicago Tribune, August 2.—Before establishing hell on earth the pietistic kings commend their subjects to God. Seek the Lord's sanction for the devil's work. "And now I commend you to God," said the kaiser from his balcony to the people in the street. "Go to church and kneel before God and pray for His help for our gallant army." Pray that a farmer dragged from a Saxon field shall be speedier with a bayonet thrust than a winemaker taken from his vines in the Aube; that a Berlin lawyer shall be steadier with the rifle than a Moscow merchant; that a machine gun manned by Heidelberg students shall not jam and that one worked by Paris carpenters shall. Pray that a Bavarian hop grower, armed in a quarrel in which he has no heat, shall outmarch a wheat grower from Poltava; that Cossacks from the Don shall be lured into barbed wire entanglements and caught by masked guns; that an innkeeper of Salzburg shall blow the head off a baker from the Loire. "Go to church and pray for help"—that the hell shall be hotter in innocent Ardennes than it is in equally innocent Hesse; that it shall be hotter in innocent Kovno than in equally innocent Posen. And the pietistic czar commends his subjects to God that they may have strength of arm in a quarrel they do not understand. . . . The kings worship Baal and call it God, but out of the sacrifice will come, we think, a resolution firmly taken to have no more wheat growers and growers of corn, makers of wine, miners and fishers, artisans and traders, sailors and storekeepers offered up with prayer to the Almighty in a feudal slaughter, armed against each other without hate and without cause they know, or, if they knew, would give a penny which way it was determined. . . . It is the twilight of the kings. The republic marches east in Europe.



The Balance of Power.

The (London) Nation, July 18.—The hatred of war and the despair at the growth of armaments is the current mood of educated men. Europe has survived acute risks of war, and realized in the act of survival the deeper unity, the latent good sense, which does and will avail to keep the peace. And yet it seems as though the less there is left to quarrel about, the more were nations bent on having something to quarrel with. . . . We are accustomed now to the spectacle of a conflict which threatens for a moment to engulf all Europe, but presently vanishes through the beneficent pressure of the allies of the Powers directly concerned. That has twice happened over Eastern affairs. A superficial

observer is content to say that alliances help to keep the general peace. So they do, but they first make the general danger. Moreover, even if it were true that the system of alliances averts some possible wars (while rendering Armageddon conceivable), its effect on armaments is wholly and demonstrably mischievous. The influence of an ally is always used . . . to stimulate the arming of her partner. . . . This triple system means for every Power that it bears the weight of the ambitions, the enmities, and the dangers, not of one nation, but of three. Every crisis in Europe today affects every Power, and the consequence is that the stimulus to arm is forever repeated and forever echoed from every quarter of the horizon.



Will Texas Lead the Way?

St. Louis Post Dispatch, July 27.—James E. Ferguson's victory in the Texas Democratic State primary, Saturday, July 25, has decided national significance. * * * For the growing American army of landless and homeless tenant farmers—now more than 40 per cent of the whole number of American farmers and more than 50 per cent in Texas—it means that a beginning has been made toward relieving their condition, that public attention has at last been focused upon their problem, and that in the judgment of a large majority of the voters of one of the greatest states the time is ripe for radical land reforms. For the railroads of the Southwest it means that the people will not permit them to refund their enormous quantities of watered securities at par, thus fixing the burden of excessive rates and inferior service on shippers for two more generations. It is notice to these roads that they must prepare to refund their bonds on the basis of actual values invested in their properties, including not one dollar of franchise values. For the protective tariff wing of the Southwestern Democracy, led by ex-Senator Joseph W. Bailey, it means a final and crushing defeat, a triumph for the Wilson bill's agricultural free list in the chief of the agricultural states. In this campaign all the great corporate interests of Texas—railroads, express, public utility, telegraph, telephone, lumber, oil, cattle, etc., all but two or three of the leading daily newspapers; 90 per cent of the prominent politicians of all factions; 80 per cent of the lawyers and nearly all of the preachers; the whole landlord element with rare exceptions; most of the bankers and big business men—these and other powerful elements of society, including the Texas Federal office holders, were aligned back of Col. Ball of Houston, the railroad-prohibition candidate for Governor. James E. Ferguson of Temple had nobody with him but the plain people—farm folk in the country, workingmen and small business men in the towns and cities. The returns show * * * that the people of Texas as a whole welcomed the opportunity (afforded them by the candidacy of a vigorous, modern-minded young man who never before ran for office), to consign the whole tribe of old-time political bosses—pro and anti-pro, Bailey and anti-Bailey—to the political scrap heap. Saturday's primary signals the arrival of a new era in the political and industrial affairs of Texas. It foreshadows land and industrial

legislation which will lead the way for other states, as Texas led the way for them a quarter century ago by creating the first Railroad Commission.



Remove the Cause.

New York Call, July 25.—To see a New Haven director in jail would probably delight the dear old ladies who inhabit the government offices at Washington—but the real government of the nation isn't going to let anything like that happen. Nor would it do any good if William Rockefeller and a bunch of his associates did go to jail. Putting men in prison is an archaic manner of dealing with such a situation as that presented in the trust problem. Some day, when officials cease to infest public office, but really occupy it for intelligent work, we shall stop fooling with our great problems as we do nowadays. * * * For the New Haven directors to do as they did was but the inevitable thing for them to do. Of course they combined many roads and of course they looted them to their limit. But they could have done none of those things if they hadn't owned the roads.

RELATED THINGS

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NOTWITHSTANDING WARS AND RUMORS OF WARS.

By James H. West.

Earth's night is waning! Beautiful and fair
The dayspring flashes gold across the deep.
I see the wailing nations cease to weep,
For War and Want Me wounded in their lair
And know their end approacheth. Stricken,—bare,—
Bewildered by the Day,—the selfish heap
Of woes that thrive in darkness take their leap
To escape the sunbeams netting in their hair.
At last man rouses, knowing Earth his Mother
Amplify provides for all her children's needs:
Means of exalting holds she for each one,
With woe to him who would oppress his brother.
Hail, humankind! more now than kings or creeds!
And every lifting forehead fronts the sun.



THE FULL STATURE OF MANHOOD

From The (London) Nation of July 18.

The historian who assumes that every period resembled the Napoleonic wars will get his view of mankind dangerously simplified and riskily foreshortened. The part which nationality plays as a motive in life varies from decade to decade and from one latitude to another. In normal times the average citizen of the civilized modern State is a buyer or a seller, an employe or an employer, a believer or a skeptic, a Tory, a Socialist, or a suffragist, nine times and even ninety-nine times, as against the hundredth moment in which he must realize acutely that he is an Englishman

or a German. It is this immense preponderance of interests and concerns at once wider and narrower than nationality which, to our thinking, renders any attempt to read the march of history in national terms abstract, false and even trivial. The great changes in human society of which we are aware, and the greater changes that we dimly divine, are all concerned with relationships that vary hardly at all with frontiers and only a little with climate. They are the relationships of employer and employed, of men with women, and of the dark races with the white. In these conflicts the brain and the will of mankind are largely absorbed today, and it seems to us that they must be wholly absorbed in them tomorrow. When a historian comes to us with the prophetic message that the real issue of today and still more of tomorrow is whether Britain or Germany shall possess the mastery of the world, we find ourselves merely bewildered. . . .

The tragedy of the Napoleonic era was that at its outset both France and England, by mutual wrongs and blunders, were persuaded that safety could be reached only through supremacy. But the will to power is not yet the national passion, and the lesson of history is that only by untoward circumstances and the folly of statesmen does it ever for a period become the dominant motive with great masses of men. . . .

Does a modern man, watching Serbs or Greeks celebrating victory among their own dead over the burned villages of Turks or Bulgars, while the press rings with mutual accusations of barbarity, seriously think that these peoples in that hour touched the summit of human achievement and felicity? To us a thinker who would persevere war for the sake of its rare heroism and selflessness seems to reason like a madman who would oppose the use of precautions in mines, because a catastrophe gives occasion for moral splendor. Nor can we grasp the morality which erects the will to power into the supreme or indeed into an allowable motive of human action. If men can only reach the full height of their moral stature by sating their will to power, the consequence follows that they can attain humanity only by denying it to others. . . .

The cult of force and the worship of the will are not a possible faith for modern men. . . .

The true futurism is busied no longer with the monopoly of power by the aristocracies of favored races. Its problem is the diffusion and equalization of power in a world where Labor and Capital, and Men and Women, have replaced German and Englishman, conqueror and subject.



If those Senators should prove that Columbia has to spend \$15,000,000 to get \$10,000,000 worth of justice, it would raise a nice problem as to who ought to be investigated.—Craig Ralston.