New York Tribune.

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Carranza Ought to Have a Hearing at Niagara Falls.

General Carranza's communication to the mediators at Niagara Falls deserves to be treated with serious consideration. It should not be dismissed on a technicality. He is too important a factor to be left out of any arrangement looking to peace in Mexico. The record shows that he was deprived of representation at the conference chiefly because he did not want to go into a "blind pool" settlement. He wanted to know what the scope and conditions of the mediation were to be before he became a party to it, and when he became a little too inquisitive on that point the mediators were apparently pretty well satisfied to shut him out.

In the original invitation to Carranza the A B C envoys tendered their good offices "in a friendly and peaceful solution of the conflict between the United States and Mexico." The conflict referred to was that arising out of the seizure of Vera Cruz as a means of enforcing reparation for the Tampico incident. Carranza accepted the good offices of the South American powers and said that he would leave for a later discussion the details of the negotiations.

Thereupon the envoys sent him two more requests—one for the suspension of hostilities and the other for the appointment of a "representative before the mediators, with a view to proceed to the discussion of the basis of agreement."

The Constitutionalist chief, following the plan he had laid out, requested the mediators to "make definite the points which are to be covered by said good offices." That was a legitimate demand and one which the United States should also have made before entering upon the mediation.

Carranza, in addition, pointed out the great inconvenience and injury to the Constitutionalist cause which would result from declaring an armistice. In that he was also on solid ground, since a truce would have prevented the Constitutionalists from reaping the fruits of their successful campaign in the north. It would have prevented them from taking Tampico, Tuxpam, Monterey and Saltillo, which have recently been occupied by them at trifling cost.

The mediators, however, treated Carranza's refusal to agree to an armistice as a practical refusal of their services. But they had not even hinted that an armistice would be required when their original tender of good offices was made. They also declared that Carranza's idea that the conflict precipitated by the seizure of Vera Cruz was international in character and did not include "internal questions" was "inconsistent with the view we had in mind when we offered our good offices." Consequently they withdrew as "inopportune" their offer to Carranza to participate in the mediation proceedings.

But how was Carranza to know what view the mediators originally had in mind? They gave him no definite information, just as they gave no definite information to the United States. Before the point was reached at which Carranza could enter the mediation with his eyes open the doors of the conference were shut upon him with a bang.

It would be only fair, therefore—and it might also save much time—to permit Carranza to make any representations he may wish to make before the work of the conference ends. He was pushed temporarily out of the settlement, but he cannot be left out of it permanently. An agreement with Huerta, if rejected by Carranza, would be worth little. It would only mean more trouble.

The mediators ought to give Carranza a patient and respectful hearing, if he really wants one.

To End the Inspection Nuisance.

To end the nuisance of divided authority over buildings which is harassing property owners, Superintendent Miller of the Bureau of Buildings in Manhattan has proposed a simple remedy in a letter just sent to the State Factory Investigating Commission. This is to create here a department of public safety, having jurisdiction over construction, alteration and equipment of buildings through suitable bureaus. It should also enforce the provisions of the labor law as to buildings within the city, if it were to reach its highest efficiency.

It is a very real evil against which the property owners are protesting—one, unfortunately, not new. There are inspections by the Police Department, the Fire Department, the Tenement House Department, the Bureau of Buildings and the State Labor Department. One property owner recently figured that a new building of his had received nine separate, distinct inspections by nine inspectors having individual duties and jurisdiction. Obviously this is expensive to the property owners and the public and a faulty system. Yet no scheme of consolidation of inspections and jurisdiction proposed hitherto has seemed feasible, as does Superintendent Miller's, which has the advantage of experience of other states behind it. Logically, the Police Department should be a part of this great department of public safety, though in a city of this size, with its tremendous police problem, it might prove desirable to keep the police affairs to themselves. There should be in the department, Mr. Miller argues, a bureau of fire extinction, corresponding to the fire fighting branch of the existing Fire Department; a bureau of building inspection, to administer all laws and ordinances relating to erection of new buildings and alteration or removal of old ones, including the labor law and tenement house law; a bureau of old building inspection, enforcing provisions for guarding against fire, unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, overloading floors, blocking exits and the like, after the new work was reported completed by the bureau of building inspection. There would have to be special bureaus for elevator, plumbing, electrical, combustible and boiler inspection.

The advantage of all this would be that an engineering division could fix standards for all inspections and there would be one central authority to enforce one set of standards. The actual number of inspectors who would visit one piece of property would undoubtedly be smaller than at present, and there could not possibly be the divergence of requirements for improvements which now is the rule. Borough President Marks, the heads of city departments and the state authorities are endeavoring to work out a solution of the problem. Mr. Miller's scheme is worth serious consideration.

Out of the Wreck.

There is not much to dwell upon with satisfaction in the wreck of the Empress of Ireland. The catastrophe was one of those engulfing horrors which let little heroism survive and offer scant use for any faculties save those of brute strength and skill. The whole destruction was so swift that the up-pouring passengers in the dark and fog had no chance for organization or action.

Perhaps the most significant incident in the half hour of terror which saw the 1,350 either drowned or saved was the saving of two little girls because they knew how to swim. Gracie Hanigan, aged seven, was separated from her parents in the confusion, fell off the boat when it listed, kept afloat until a piece of wood floated by and then hung on till rescue came. The other Helen O'Hara, aged ten, fell out of her father's arms as he dived from the boat, and swam about for some time before she found anything afloat. Later, when a boat appeared, she swam over to it and was hauled aboard.

Both girls had learned to swim at school and undoubtedly are alive to-day solely because of their training in the water. This is a small ray of light in one of the most terrible of modern tragedies. But it is significant and has a message for every one. The notion that no one should embark on the water, in anything from a rowboat to a liner, without a fair ability to swim, is a pretty sensible rule which no amount of safeguards and invention can destroy.

A Progressive Republican to Unite Progressives of All Parties.

"I believe the time has come to clean house in New York," declared Colonel Roosevelt yesterday as he sailed away. "And I believe that all right minded people ought to act together without regard to their ordinary party differences, in a determined effort to accomplish this task and to destroy the malign and baleful influence of both the Barnes machine and the Murphy machine in this state."

If "all right minded people" can be induced "to act together without regard to their ordinary party differences" it will be quite possible at the next election to cripple the reactionary bosses, if not to destroy them altogether. But the Republicans should nominate a progressive Republican for Governor, whether the Progressive party is to indorse him or not.

The Republican party has not prospered under its present leadership. Such political success as has come to the party recently has come because the voters showed plainly they considered it only a less evil than Tammany. It has been reserved for Democracy under Murphy's guidance to produce highway scandals, a Governor who had to be impeached, a State Treasurer who committed suicide while under subpœna, and a state committee one of whose officials pleaded guilty to violating the corrupt practices act. And Murphy persists. His control of the Democratic party, though challenged, is as firm as it was the day he assumed charge of state affairs in the famous Room 212, where he nominated John A. Dix for Governor. Hope of betterment in state affairs cannot lie in the Democratic party at present.

It does lie, The Tribune believes, in advanced and liberal Republicanism. That element of the party most nearly represents the political ideas and ideals of the great body of Republicans, and probably of right minded people, to use Colonel Roosevelt's phrase, in other parties. It is to that element the party must turn for a candidate for Governor if it is to have the slightest chance of success this fall. A man of the Hughes type is needed. A man of that brand is the only man who can be elected against a Murphy candidate. The duty of the Republicans is plain. It is to select a candidate of unmistakable probity and unmistakable progressivism and give him a tremendous primary vote. Then if the Progressives believe with Colonel Roosevelt that smashing Barnes and Murphy is a sufficient reason for dropping ordinary party differences they would have no reason for not indorsing and electing such a Republican.

An Amazing Question.

We do not know whether to be amused or depressed by the question put to us by a New York Republican, whose letter we publish in another column of this issue. What has Senator Penrose ever done, he asks, to incur criticism from those who put the claims of clean government above the claims of partisan regularity? Nobody in Pennsylvania would dream of asking such a question. There Penrose is known for what he is, because he has never made any pretence of being anything different. He is a commercial politician of the Cameron-Quay school and is no more ashamed of himself and his methods than are his parallels and contemporaries here, the successful leaders of Tammany.

To ask in Pennsylvania "What has Penrose ever done?" is like asking in New York, "What has Croker or Murphy ever done?" We exclude Tweed because Tweed got into trouble with the public prosecutor. Penrose was for years the controlling figure in the Philadelphia Republican organization, whose aim it was to keep the Quaker City "corrupt and contented." He was Quay's lieutenant and helped in all of Quay's fights to commercialize politics in the state, to prevent election reforms, to retain the spoils system and to make the party organization an intermediary between "the interests" and the people. Penrose's friendly relations with the Standard Oil Company have been exposed. He was just as willing to be friendly with any other interest good for a fat campaign contribution.

There may be New York Republicans who have heard only vague rumors of Penrose's activities. Chestnut street is a long way from Broadway. But there is one eminent New York Republican who can testify to the character of the Philadelphia machine of which Penrose has long been the guiding spirit. Elihu Root was employed as counsel in 1905 by Mayor Weaver of Philadelphia, who was then engaged in trying to indict a number of prominent contractor-politicians, associates of Penrose. His acceptance of the post of Secretary of State in succession to John Hay compelled him to withdraw from those cases, but on retiring he wrote Mayor Weaver a letter putting on record his opinion of the Penrose machine. Urging the Mayor to do his utmost to secure indictments, Mr. Root said:

There is more at stake here than the mere punishment of isolated offences. There is the question *whether your city shall continue to be governed by criminals* or shall take its place on the list of American cities capable of honest self-government. . . . I have taken very great interest in the cases because I have acquired absolute confidence in the sincerity of your purpose and in your pluck and persistency, and I have a strong desire that the city of Philadelphia, whose history and good name are so dear to every American, shall be relieved from the stain which *a corrupt and criminal combination, masquerading under the name of Republicans*, have put upon her.

It would take several pages of The Tribune to give an adequate account of Penrose's vicious activities as a political leader. Pennsylvania voters need no such record, and for good New York Republicans we do not doubt that Mr. Root's clean-cut indictment of Penrose corruptionism will suffice.

OUTSIDE.

THE TALK OF THE DAY.

When Wallie went to a restaurant with his father he was told they would have something which mother did not serve—pie à la mode, in fact. This quite common New York dessert was a revelation to the youngster, who talked about it for some time. A couple of weeks later he and his father went to a restaurant once more. Father, needing something solid, ordered beef à la mode.

"Say, pop," said Wallie before the meat was served, "this is a funny world, isn't it? One time we get ice cream on pie and now we're going to have ice cream on beef."

But when the meat was brought on he marvelled greatly at the gastronomic versatility of the New York language.

Hicks—You never can tell about a woman.
Wicks—You shouldn't, anyhow—Boston Transcript.

According to the most recent report of the American Bison Society, there are now in the United States and in Canada 3,453 head of bison. Of these the United States has in captivity 1,651 head, Canada 1,303 and there are 499 wild specimens. A herd of bison has been established recently on the Niobrara Reservation, in Northern Nebraska. The object of the American Bison Society is the permanent preservation and increase of the animal.

Niece—My husband's so careless; he's always losing his buttons.
Aunt—Perhaps they are not sewn on carefully, dear.
Niece—That's just it; he's awful slipshod with his sewing.—London Telegraph.

For commercial candor and unconscious telling of the truth it is hard to beat some of the circulars received here from various European resorts. Often they are translated literally from the foreign languages into English, and the results are a delight. One of these advertisements of a Hungarian summer resort tells us that it charges "Moderate prices, except during the height of the season!"

The common house fly is so scarce as yet that many of our prominent subscribers are keeping in practice by swatting the editor occasionally.—Ohio State Journal.

NEW YORK FROM THE SUBURBS.

New York has just held a highly successful affair called "The Exhibition of Bad Taste." The formal one is closed, but the informal one will proceed indefinitely on Broadway.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The anarchistic demonstrations in New York, which have passed from foolish "mourners'" parades to rioting in churches, ought to be put down with a strong hand.—Baltimore American.

A young surgeon in New York has discovered the typhus germ. It is to be hoped it will not behave like some other belligerent germs, which have contested the discovery.—Baltimore American.

It is estimated that $125,000 worth of water at New York City rates is running to waste every day at the big dam at Croton. Enough to furnish "chasers" for several dollars' worth of whiskey.—Washington Herald.

Some of the New York agitators who call themselves "socialists" will be inclined to regard the literary exponents of "socialism" as silken-hosed pretenders.—Washington Star.

THE PEOPLE'S COLUMN

An Open Forum for Public Debate.

AN AMAZING QUESTION

What Did Penrose Ever Do? Asks an Innocent New Yorker.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: As a reader of The Tribune I have observed with interest your editorials on the Senatorial situation in Pennsylvania and the comments they have excited in letters to you. Personally, I feel wofully ignorant in regard to Senator Penrose. For years I have read attacks from many directions, and by people in different parties, but as a rule these attacks dealt in generalties and, anyhow, in so far as they were specific, the items have escaped my memory.

You feel so strongly about the matter as to have taken the responsibility of recommending to Pennsylvania Republicans that they reject the choice of the Republican rank and file as expressed at a direct primary and vote for the imported candidate of another party, himself one of the most zealous preachers of the doctrine that the Republican party must be destroyed. This is an extreme position, and, of course, you must have weighty grounds for taking it—specific facts to sustain the conclusions expressed in your editorials.

You would, I think, greatly oblige all Republicans who, like myself, wish to see the party come again into power and to deserve to return to power if you will publish as a news item a description of the political career of Mr. Penrose, with particular reference to the things he has done which you chiefly criticise.

NEW YORK REPUBLICAN.

New York, May 29, 1914.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL SERVICE

We Need the Latter, and Plenty of It, Says a Reader.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: In reply to Mr. Rollinson's article, "Social Service Would Be the Negation of Christianity," I wish to say that there has been a grave misunderstanding in the interpretation of the phrase "social service." From what I have inferred from his article, I fear Mr. Rollinson has not been comprehensive enough, but has restricted its meaning to the establishment and maintenance of playgrounds, swimming pools and gymnasia. In fact, the phrase embraces every branch of endeavor tending to ameliorate the extant social conditions.

Mr. Rollinson has attempted to separate social service from Christianity as if social service was entirely alien to Christianity. There is no need to abandon the life of Christ, with His sufferings, for philanthropic activities, for "real" religious obedience and philanthropy are almost inseparable. Furthermore, "real" religion can hardly exist without social service. Continuing, Mr. Rollinson says, "Is humanitarianism to supplant creed?" Humanitarianism is the essence of the creed of any civilized nation or nations, and this is particularly true of Christianity. Again, "Are the questions of wages, tenements, sanitary conditions and social uplift to become dogmas? Are these questions to take the place of faith? Those who favor this latest religious panacea will answer affirmatively, but they will forget that these questions are a small part of the Christian religion." In reply, altruism, philanthropy and social service constitute the rock foundation of Christianity.

Did Christ suffer because He wished to make Himself an object of passive worship? No, a thousand times no. He suffered to serve humanity, to uplift humanity, to render the surrounding atmosphere more genial, to make life more tolerable. His work was different from ours, but the principle is the same—i. e., to serve mankind, or, in other words, social service. The life of Christ should be impressed vividly upon every mind, because it is an immortal example of social service. My friend should discriminate between passive Christianity and active Christianity. Social service is "real" Christianity; without it Christianity would be a mockery, cold, frowning and uninviting. Why do we exalt the Apostles? Not because they merely professed it, but practised it; because they were great social workers.

Social service is the very spirit of Christianity. The evils which Mr. Rollinson has enumerated are to be attributed to an unequal social system and to depressing moral, financial and economic conditions. A mere profession of Christianity will not better these conditions. What we need is social service, and plenty of it. J. H.

Brooklyn, May 30, 1914.

"The Inside of the Cup."

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I heartily agree with your correspondent who holds that Winston Churchill has outlined in "The Inside of the Cup" the immediate change that the churches must make in their theology or lose their hold upon the intelligent people and go to pieces. I have been reading a little book by the Rev. Henry R. Rose, entitled "The Outside of the Cup." He is a minister who has had the courage to indorse Winston Churchill's position and go him one or two better. Mr. Rose states that he has been a minister over twenty years and has seen the decline of churches all around him until to-day their pews hold but few people in comparison to their capacity. He himself has congregations that fill his church and often overflow it because he has been giving them a theology in accord with science and philosophy of to-day, with no hell fire or devil in it and without miracles or the vicarious atonement, but with a loving God as the centre and conscience as a man's heaven or hell. In "The Outside of the Cup" he advocates divorce on the ground that marriages are not made in heaven and are frequently so sinful and degrading that divorce is the only possible remedy. He also takes up the "white slave" problem, eugenics, feminism, ruthless business and all the live issues of the age and treats them with a bravery and a fulness not usual on the part of a minister. Surely Winston Churchill is waking up the clergy.

PROGRESSIVE RELIGIONIST.

Newark, N. J., May 27, 1914.

The Most Unpopular Ex-Republican.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Please enroll another of the 3,500,000 Republicans who will work for party unity in keeping exiled the would-be third-termer and overlord of the Progressives.

The extent of this sentiment would be attested to the satisfaction of all concerned if you could arrange for a coupon vote on the most unpopular ex-Republican in America. In fact, the big and little business of the country would gladly make it "a million bid"—to keep TRouble in Spain's wilds looking for Rios until after the Wilsonian swatting festival of the coming fall is over. REPUBLICAN.

New York, May 29, 1914.

THE TROUBLE WITH RELIGION

How V. V. Views the Churches of To-day.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: From the constancy with which the question is heard, "What is the matter with the churches?" we can well imagine many a church member resorting to a popular appeal "To have a heart!"

The regrettable part of the situation is that an appreciable portion of such members honestly and sincerely believe themselves to be living up to the highest truths of their respective religions. They try to apply the truths to their personal lives. The church organizations contribute largely to charity. So what further is to be expected? In the enlightenment of such members the writer would be glad to be of service.

In getting at the seat of the trouble, the true significance of religion at the present moment must be realized. Unless we very much mistake the spirit of the times, religion now demands, besides an adherence to the code of moral laws, as set forth in the Bible, a paramount emphasis upon the spirit of human brotherhood.

We immediately hear the protest that the Church in its present form is the very exemplification of this spirit; witness its extensive charities and benevolences. To which it must be replied that such activities are aimed at the effect rather than at the cause of evil conditions, and as far as lasting betterment of humanity is concerned must be regarded as worthless.

An illustration in point: In a certain church in a certain town, not long ago, an after-service meeting was held to protest against the granting of a liquor license to an aged woman proprietor of a "one-horse" grocery shop. The object was accomplished. But there remained undisturbed five retail or wholesale grocery establishments, run on a large scale and supplying alcoholic beverages to the public in unlimited measure.

Another illustration: The overwhelming majority of tuberculosis cases in our cities is found among the poorer classes. The prevalence of the disease in these classes is attributed, without exception, to unhealthy crowding and insufficient nourishment. But the real responsibility for the condition must be laid to an inequitable social system, with its consequent mass of poverty. In face of these incontrovertible facts the Church feels that it is fulfilling its duty in contributing, through its social service departments, to institutions for the cure of tuberculosis. Is it not more reasonable to compare such activities to the application of lint to a running sore, when the need is for internal medicine in the shape of complete social reorganization?

This, in our mind, is what the Church must finally accept if it is to figure as a social, or even a religious, factor—an ideal of complete social reorganization. At present the Church is quibbling. Its position is not unlike that of a man whom we find in a frock coat and top hat. We expect him to be a gentleman. For similar reasons we have been led to expect big things of the Church. If we have been mistaken, only a word is needed to set us right. But until it has made a stand definitely either for or against social progress in its full implication we venture to predict that the castigation of the Church will not diminish, but will be applied with increasing force.

E. W. VAN VALKENBURGH.

East Orange, N. J., May 27, 1914.