

New York Tribune.

First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements.

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Carranza—or Nothing?

It is a popular thing in administration circles in Washington to describe General Carranza as opinionated, pompous and intractable, a leader of narrow mind and small capacity, who owes his tenure of power to the exertions of others.

In his diplomacy Carranza has shown both courage and consistency. He has hewed to one line, refusing to commit himself to any projects which seemed to him to impair Mexican sovereignty or to recognize the right of foreign powers to intervene for the purpose of reorganizing the Mexican government.

Even when his own fortunes looked blackest, when the military convention was captured by his enemies and he was obliged to retire from Mexico City to Vera Cruz, he repelled all suggestions that he should acknowledge the breakdown of his government and give a pledge to retire in favor of some new executive, to be chosen under foreign auspices by representatives of all the Mexican factions.

Call it right or call it wrong, Carranza's policy has been straightforward, open and logical. Being so, it has offered a striking contrast to the Mexican policy of the Wilson administration. While he has hewed to a straight line the Washington administration has travelled in circles.

Soon, however, Vera Cruz was evacuated and the idea of "serving humanity" in Mexico was abandoned. At Indianapolis, on January 8 last, Mr. Wilson said that, so far as he was concerned, the United States would do nothing to interfere with the Mexican people in their efforts to create a government which suited themselves.

General Carranza has declined to participate in the conference planned by the Pan-American mediators. His recent military successes and the evidence given by his subordinates of loyalty to him have encouraged him in the belief that his government is the only one in Mexico at present entitled to consideration. He virtually asks for recognition. The administration would like to boycott him as it boycotted Huerta. But from a practical point of view his government is now about the only rallying point for order in Mexico.

When the Pan-American mediators meet again this week they will have to face a choice between Carranza and chaos. The administration's policy in Mexico has led steadily toward chaos. A realization of that fact should make us eager to end anarchy and very modest about enlarging on Carranza's faults.

Commemorating Lafayette.

The New York Committee of the Lafayette Fund, before asking a million Americans to sign a petition to Congress that Lafayette's birthday be made a national holiday, should reflect that Congress has power to declare holidays only in the District of Columbia, the territories and Federal reservations.

state government as well as Congress. This, of course, reduces very largely the possibility that their undertaking would prove a success.

There can be no doubt that Lafayette's services have entitled him to the grateful remembrance of every true American. But a movement to constitute his birthday a national holiday will inevitably arouse strong opposition, which might be misunderstood in France at a time when Americans would least like to hurt her feelings.

It is on the whole a wise provision which gives each state the choice of its own commemorations. Did Congress possess the authority to legislate national holidays into the calendar not only would the number of these increase alarmingly, but in each instance large sections of the country would be impelled to lip service.

A Midsummer Night's Dream.

From all accounts the "manly art of self-defence" had its greatest demonstration Saturday night at the Brighton Beach Motordrome. Both fighters exhibited such a degree of "self-defence" that apparently neither was in any danger during the ten rounds except from an aroused audience.

And yet pugilism has a marvellous record of recovery. From time immemorial prizefighters and their backers have invited the public to grueling matches, widely advertised, only to stage lame imitations and grin over the gate receipts.

On Saturday night its seducers collected from it from \$70,000 to \$90,000, according to various estimates, a large part of it from men who paid a dollar each for seats so far removed from the ring that they were unable to tell a feint from a blow and could hardly distinguish the contestants. As it turned out, these remote spectators remained the best satisfied of all, since distance lent enchantment and the sight of that sea of humanity stretching to and about the fiercely glowing ring in the open night must have had its inspiration.

More Part-Time Pupils.

According to all the estimates, the schools will open this year less able to accommodate the number of pupils registered than ever. Apparently there will be from 40,000 to 50,000 part-time pupils, despite the fact that this year there is far less demand on the schools from the immigrant element of the population than usual.

These things are deplorable. But are they avoidable? New York has grown so accustomed to the part-time evil that no real stir of indignation is produced by it now. The lessened appropriation for construction is a new circumstance in the tangle, but, unfortunately, it is likely to be present for much time to come.

Neutrality a Blunder.

Increasing the city's revenue, under existing circumstances, will not necessarily assure enough money to set right the school conditions. The likeliest thing is the working out of some method, like the Gary system now being experimented with, for increasing the school plants' use and capacity without actually increasing the plants.

Modern War's Melodrama.

The first account of Wednesday's Zeppelin visitation to pass the London coast occasions a feeling of awe at the sheer splendor of the experience. This at last seems to approximate the "war of the worlds" as Mr. Wells's fertile imagination conceived it a decade or more ago. We take the liberty of quoting from Mr. Shepherd's startling description: "Traffic is at a standstill. A million cries make a subdued roar. Seven million people of the biggest city in the world stand gazing into the sky from the darkened streets."

Melodramatic to the last degree! And yet we have been complaining that modern warfare has parted with the picturesque. How tame and dull are the old cavalry charges compared with this; how puny and insignificant the old naval fights when frigate was lashed to frigate and cutlasses clashed over blood-greased decks!

Trenches and submarines have banished the old glories, but the conquest of the air has given us this new spectacle, so majestically frightful that it defeats its professed purpose.

However inhuman, ruthless, atavistic, the Zeppelin raid excites not fright but emulation. Londoners would like to think that England could cut as sensational a figure in the sky. Listen to "The Globe" and other London papers urging reprisal raids by British aviators on German cities. "It is time this superquickness was gone," cries "The Globe," as if a British raid could prove any more effectual in frightening Germans than was "Zeppelin night" in striking terror to English hearts.

The Kaiser's theatrical bosom must swell to bursting when he considers this envy of his prodigious show. Twenty innocent lives is indeed a small price to pay for such royal emotion.

Ambassador von Bernstorff insists he didn't give any letters to Archibald because he didn't consider it safe. And apparently that was the only reason he didn't join Dr. Dumba.

Burglar Snags Hair from Sleeping Woman—Headline—Samson extends his sympathy.

Bloodshed and Poppies.

There is a brisk discussion in France between the scientific people and the sentimental, tradition loving peasants. It has been noticed that all the battlefields of Northern France where blood was shed last year are awash with red poppies, which grow everywhere and border all the roads. The peasants see in it the aftermath of the blood shed in the fights of last autumn. Scientific men point out that it is merely the natural result of the fields being thrown out of cultivation. But at least the peasants have tradition on their side. The dreadful battle of Landen in 1693, when the victorious French and the defeated Allies left on the field between them some twenty thousand dead, produced a similar phenomenon. Lord Perth, writing to his sister in the following summer, described the appearance of the field in words which gave Macaulay an opportunity for a characteristic flight. "During many months the ground was strewn with skulls and bones of horses and men. The next summer the soil was fertilized by twenty thousand corpses, broke forth into millions of poppies. The traveller who on the road from St. Trion to Tirlemont saw that vast sheet of scarlet spreading from Landen in Neerwinden could hardly help fancying that the figurative prediction of the Hebrew prophet was literally accomplished and that the earth was disclosing her blood and refusing to cover the slain."

The Kaiser and the Bavarian Army.

The appointment of the Kaiser as a field marshal in the Bavarian army is a doubtful compliment, and probably intended by King Ludwig more as a reminder that he is head of his own army than as a tribute to the military genius of the Kaiser. Only when the empire is in a state of war is the Kaiser empowered to assume the command of the whole German army, though it is always in his power to nominate field marshals in any of the armies of the federated states. In the times of peace the kings of Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg are supreme in their own armies, the soldiers composing which are sworn in to them and not to the German Emperor, who has no authority over them. With the navy it is different, the recruits being sworn in to the empire and to the titular head of the federation, the King of Prussia. Emperor means nothing more than the president of the Germanic Federation of Independent States.

Heligoland.

The German Empire should have proclaimed yesterday as a notable "Joy Day," for a quarter of a century ago took place the last step in a transaction without which the Prussians themselves have declared that present war would have been impossible—the cession to the German Empire of Heligoland. It was on August 9, 1890, that the island was given up by the last German Governor—Mr. A. C. S. Barkly, who died within a few months of his last official act in Heligoland—to his German successor, The Emperor William, recognizing the prize he had secured from Lord Salisbury, lost little time in making his new possession valuable. On the day after the actual surrender he visited Heligoland and proclaimed it part of the empire, and before the year was out a start had been made with the work of fortifying what has become the savior of the German fleet.

Neutrality a Blunder.

It is not our fault that Germany is not able to get her support across the ocean. She must wait for a moment think she can dictate to us and tell us what we ought to do. We know our rights. Every loyal American deprecates this war, and our people are earnestly praying to God for its speedy termination. I have been hoping for years that the civilized nations of the world would elect delegates to a congress to which all differences should be referred. Then, if any nation wanted to declare war against another without just cause let us all say to the nation that is in the wrong: "You have no just claim. Go home and get fairly with your fellow men and you will receive justice; otherwise we will all be against you and you will be compelled to respect the rights of others." There is no nation under heaven that wants to do right which can object to this proposition.

Democracy Against Despotism.

Sir: Many thanks from many readers for your splendid editorial of to-day, entitled "The Marne—After a Year." It voices the sentiments of thousands of Americans who see that the world war is indeed a conflict to the death between Democracy and Despotism, and that Democracy is winning.

Appreciation.

Sir: I want to express my appreciation of the splendid editorials that have appeared recently in The Tribune. At this time, when the administration in Washington seems to be afraid to take a step that it ought to take for fear of severing relations between ourselves and the Teutonic powers, these editorials are very welcome.

Thankfulness.

Sir: Thank God for men like Conrad Hobbs, of Boston. Every true American editor should devote more space to letters of this kind. W. L. SPRINGER. Hillsdale, N. J., Sept. 9, 1915.

STRAFE GERMANY! Only Sense of World's Hatred Can Change German Nature.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: We Americans are living in a fool's paradise! Let us look at things as they really are. Emil Reich sized up the German situation eight years ago. In his book "Germany's Madness" he quotes from a speech of the Kaiser as follows: "If one wishes to settle something in this world, the pen is only powerful so long as it is backed by the power of the sword."

Apply this mental attitude to the Kaiser's view of our notes. Until Colonel Roosevelt's Plattsburg speech there was nothing done. He knew the Colonel personally, and realized that such a speech meant at least an echo from a great many Americans. Result—a promise, which with German ideas means a scrap of paper if it doesn't suit them to keep it.

As long as we retain diplomatic relations with Germany we condone their offenses against civilization. I am just in receipt of a letter from a cosmopolitan thinker of note in London who touches on the idea I wish to express. He says: "I am keenly interested in the course of events on your side and the feeling shown in the United States of America, because this war, or the results of this war, will affect us and our children a great deal more than is ordinarily thought."

"If any other power is inclined to follow the example of Germany in the future, it will only be deterred by the consequences to Germany of the present conflict. "If Germany finds it easy to regain her place in finance, commerce and politics, if her people find that the world is ready to receive them as if nothing had happened, it will show that Germany has not suffered the greatest of all losses, the only real loss, a moral loss in the eyes of the world. They took a chance and failed, but if it is made clear that even victory will never put Germany or the Germans on the same plane as before it may prove a warning and example. You and I may be saved from participating more in the mad scramble for armaments, and our children may escape a repetition of the sacrifices which now have to be made to repress the blood-lust of a maniacal people."

"The attitude of your fellow-citizens in America toward the moral failure of the German race will count for more toward their repentance and regeneration than anything from us, and so I rejoice greatly to realize that in this your own sentiments are with us." We can't do very much, but we certainly need no longer be officially friendly with such a nation. WILSON D. LYON. New York, Sept. 8, 1915.

Allied Bonds Here.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I see in to-day's Tribune an article which states that unless some method were adopted which would tend to equalize the difference in exchange between the English pound sterling and the American dollar our export of commodities would be materially affected.

It seems to me a very simple method could be applied, which if acted upon by the Allied forces, England, France, Russia, Italy and Japan, would keep the exchange between the United States and the countries named at somewhere near the proper ratio. If the Allied countries would jointly make a bond issue of say \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000, drawing interest at 5 per cent, which could be listed upon our exchanges, these bonds could be readily sold to private investors and others.

If listed upon our local exchanges they could be used as collateral by investors if need be, and would be regarded in every way as gilt edged securities. Many manufacturers who at present could not utilize a foreign security could in such case readily obtain advances through any bank in the United States. This solution of the problem occurs to me as feasible. The bonds being issued and listed in this country would be practically American bonds. The great trouble with local investors is they are not accustomed to handling foreign issues. Manufacturers and the public in the United States who purchase a bond or security of any kind usually prefer one which is listed on some American exchange where quick realization may be had. H. STIMPSON GILLETTE. New York, Sept. 10, 1915.

A Congress of Nations.

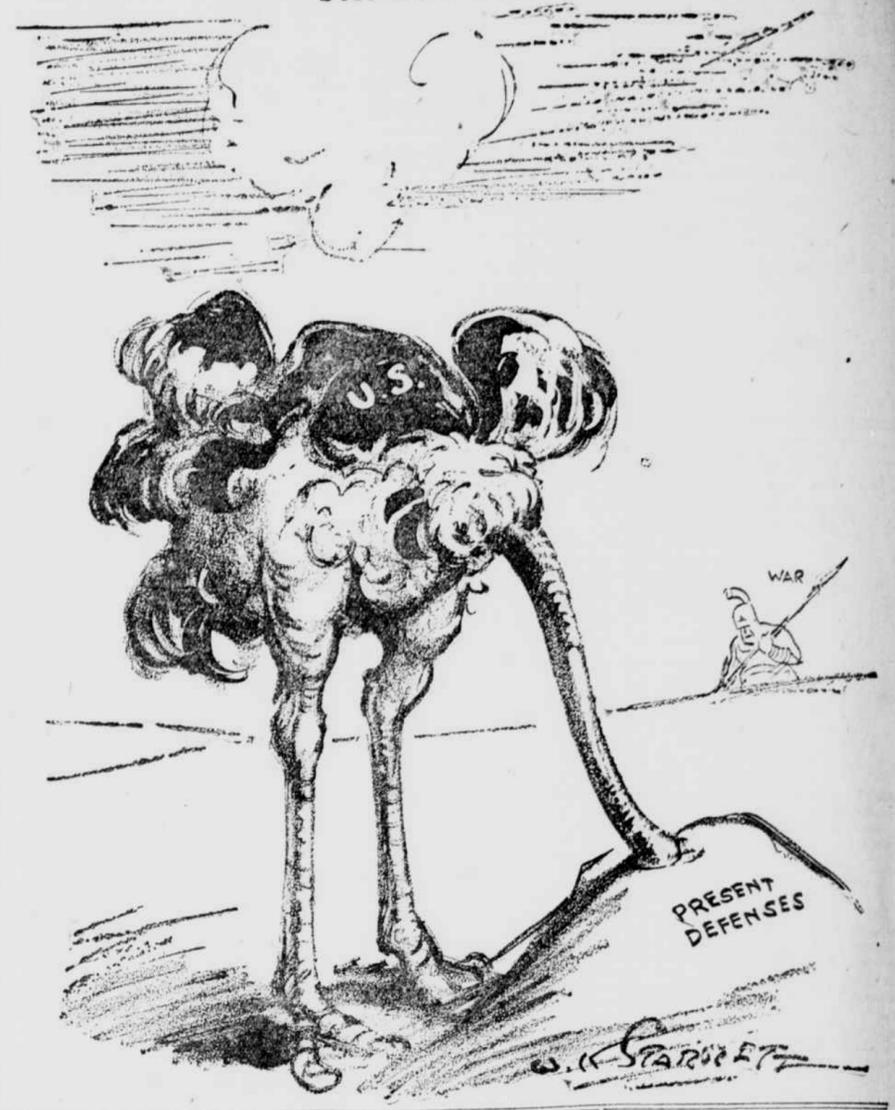
To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I am sorry that the Austrian Ambassador has made such a blunder. We Americans are neutral in this unholy war. We as a government do not take sides with any of the nations now engaged in war; therefore we treat them all alike. Because Germany cannot get supplies from this country, is that any reason why American capital should not manufacture guns and cartridges or any other kind of war materials for nations with which we are on friendly relations? It is not our fault that Germany is not able to get her support across the ocean. She must wait for a moment think she can dictate to us and tell us what we ought to do. We know our rights. Every loyal American deprecates this war, and our people are earnestly praying to God for its speedy termination. I have been hoping for years that the civilized nations of the world would elect delegates to a congress to which all differences should be referred. Then, if any nation wanted to declare war against another without just cause let us all say to the nation that is in the wrong: "You have no just claim. Go home and get fairly with your fellow men and you will receive justice; otherwise we will all be against you and you will be compelled to respect the rights of others." There is no nation under heaven that wants to do right which can object to this proposition. PETER TWAMLEY. New York, Sept. 11, 1915.

Democracy Against Despotism.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I want to express my appreciation of the splendid editorials that have appeared recently in The Tribune. At this time, when the administration in Washington seems to be afraid to take a step that it ought to take for fear of severing relations between ourselves and the Teutonic powers, these editorials are very welcome.

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THE COMMITTEE DESIGNATION Substitutes Viable Responsibility for Nominations for Invisible.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I have read with interest your good editorial on the subject of direct nominations, called forth by ex-President Taft's criticism of this reform. It is a singular thing that both friends and foes of direct nominations, in their arguments upon this subject, lose sight of one phase of direct nominations that, in the estimation of Governor Hughes, was all important to the success of any direct primary law. This feature is embodied in the law of no other state, and was first incorporated in the Hinman-Green bill by the Brooklyn Young Republican Club at the inception of Governor Hughes's fight for the reform in this state. It is the so-called "committee" feature, not embodied in the present law of New York.

The "committee" system answers at once the arguments of thousands of fair, open-minded people, who claim, like Mr. Taft, that direct primaries have left the matter of nominations "up in the air," and have left no one apparently charged with the responsibility of nominating good candidates. Upon this very point we have the testimony of Frederick M. Davenport, candidate for Lieutenant Governor on the Progressive state ticket—whom no one will accuse of being reactionary—who states in an article in one of the July, 1915, "Outlooks" that there is something decidedly lacking and disappointing in the operation of the direct primary laws of the various states, and refers to this absence of "responsibility" as the cause.

We have, therefore, these two eminent authorities looking at the subject from opposite positions, but both agreeing as to the nature of the ailment of direct nominations. These gentlemen would have made a happier selection of terms had they said that under direct primaries no one was vested with the "visible and apparent" responsibility for the selection of good candidates. Instead of saying that no one was vested with "responsibility" for such selection. The party machine always has been, is now and always will be "responsible" for the selection of candidates, good or bad—but that responsibility always has been, and is still, a secret invisible one, possibly more so under the primary laws. The voter at the primary today, if it be the desire of the machine, has absolutely no tangible evidence that will identify the machine candidate from any other one. We cannot call the man nominated at the primary the choice of the machine or the choice of the "people's choice"—the responsibility is with the "people"—i. e., it is no longer "responsible" for him, but they cannot prove it to the rank and file. Under the "committee" system there would be a party committee, in most cases composed of regular machine gentry, for every office to be filled. The committee would meet publicly (after first being elected by the party voters) and publicly cast its ballots designating its choice for the party's candidate for a given office. The designation so filed would automatically place such candidate's name on the primary ballot. Here we would have the "visible" responsibility of the regular party machine for this candidate. We would know the names of the men on the committee and we would know who, on the committee, voted to designate such candidate. In more ways than one such committee could be "reached" by the party voters if they favored a bad candidate.

If the man so designated by the party committee did not meet the approval of any group of citizens, that group, or any other group, would then be given a week to circulate a petition, getting a hundred or so signatures to it, designating a man of their choice. These names, i. e., the name of the party committee "designee" and the name of a "designee" or "designees" named by a group or groups of citizens, would all go on the primary ballot, the first position being given to the name of the party committee candidate—more for the purpose of singling him out than of giving him any advantage or distinction as the machine candidate.

In nine cases out of ten the party committee "designee" would be found acceptable. In eight cases out of ten this would be so because of the ever present danger of his being opposed at the primaries if not acceptable. We thus have the responsibility for a nomination fixed, and we give the party voters an opportunity to start a campaign to reject the machine "designee" if he is not all right. Neither of these things is done under the present law. In many districts petitions have been circulated for various candidates for each party. Many of these petitions were "blind"—i. e., they were never intended to be filed. The real petition that was to be filed, its existence was not known. Up to midnight Tuesday, September 7, there was a free for all marathon to get these petitions filed at the Board of Elections. Before midnight Tuesday night, September 7, the machine did not have to file its petition showing whom it favored. Then it filed its petition. After midnight no petitions could be filed giving people who did not like the machine "designee" a chance to get some other "designee" name on the primary ballot. So that from September 8 to primary day, September 28, these people can fold their hands with a clear conscience because there will be only one name on the primary ballot—that of the machine "designee"—and they can do nothing to prevent his nomination.

PRICE OF GERMAN DIPLOMACY Probably a Prepared and Not a Vulnerable America to Deal With.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: In an article by Lord Northcliffe the great journalist attributes the failure of German diplomacy to "its miscalculation of the psychology of other nations." This is an apt phrase, and Germany's bluff dealing with the American question aptly illustrates it. It has changed us from an almost passive at-any-price attitude into one of armed preparedness against possible European aggression. This will prove fatal to one of Germany's greatest ambitions, if Treitschke was a fair exponent of the empire's purpose. Treitschke advocated the acquisition of transatlantic power. In his proposals he did not limit himself to peaceful methods of disseminating German culture. He took no stock in the emigration of the chosen people to other lands, where by their domestic and political influence upon their benighted neighbors they might prove good missionaries of the German evangel. Indeed, he scorned that slower process of "bringing in the kingdom." In his lecture on German colonization he pays this left-handed compliment to the hyphenates: "The Anglicizing of the German-American is a heavy loss. There can be no question at all but that civilization suffers every time that a German is turned into a Yankee. All the touching proofs of faithful recollection which the motherland has received from the German-Americans since the year 1870 do not alter the fact that all German emigrants, at least in the third generation, become Americans. . . . The overpowering force of their new circumstances compels them to divest themselves of their nationality, until perhaps at last nothing is left them but a platonic regard for German literature."

This defection in the German stock is very sad to contemplate. How did this great teacher of Germany propose to avoid its consequences? In his lecture on "War" he tells us very plainly: "The task of ruling countries on the other side of the Atlantic will from henceforth be the chief duty of European fleets. . . . The importance of a people will finally depend on the share it takes in the rule of the transatlantic world. It is on this account that the importance of the fleet has so largely increased during our day." The great obstacle to the realization of this German dream is the United States, with its Monroe Doctrine. But even this was not so long as we remained a people unprepared for war on a stupendous scale. Even the appropriations of Congress for the navy a year ago gave no indication that America would make any serious defense of Central or South American coasts. But presto! The attitude of Germany until the last few days has changed all this. It has forced us to prepare a larger fleet. In spite of our peaceful habit we have been compelled to become "the strong man armed," just our house, or the house of some neighbor in the Pan-American settlement, should be broken into.

We Americans do not like the new necessity put upon us. We hesitate to adopt the measures required by our new role. But Germany has forced us. Three years hence no European power will have the audacity to challenge our defence of any part of the double continent. Treitschke's bones must be disintegrating with rage if his ghost observes the bungling diplomacy of his pupils in the present Foreign and War offices. JAMES M. LUDLOW. Norfolk, Conn., Sept. 7, 1915.

No Close Corporation Now.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I thank you for the editorial "How the Primary Has Succeeded." Those of us who worked for the direct primary never claimed it was a cure-all for our political ills. What we did claim was that when a vital issue was up, the people under the direct primary would be able to express their opinion on candidates and not be excluded by a close corporation, as they were before the new primary District (Third) 46 per cent of those entitled to vote voted at the primary. For the first time that was a large percentage; at any rate, it was a great deal larger than took part under the old system. JOHN J. HOPPER. New York, Sept. 10, 1915.

Wireless and Neutrality.

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: I am genuinely anxious to know whether the carte blanche given by this country to the Saville wireless station to operate its plant with a German force (or under German direction) for an indefinite period and without any Federal inspection (or restriction) of its activities does not really constitute as flagrant a breach of neutrality against England as does any act on the part of America against which the loyal "German-American" can possibly protest. I wonder vaguely, too, how far this government can logically claim indemnity for the loss of the Lusitania when the operation of this wireless station, fraught with such dire possibilities, was deliberately permitted by Washington? Please enlighten an inquirer on these matters, or, if that inquirer is hopelessly wrong, kindly so inform, and greatly obliged. New York, Sept. 8, 1915. A. J. F. [The United States government has assumed entire control of the Saville wireless station.—Ed.] New York, Sept. 10, 1915.