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A good workman earns twice as much as he is paid and a poor workman is paid twice as much as he earns.

The Battle for the Ballot

THE right of women to the ballot in Pennsylvania has run the gauntlet of the people's representatives and now goes before the electorate itself as an issue. The campaign will be one of the most spectacular and sustained ever waged in this Commonwealth. It has already begun, and it will be carried on persistently and intelligently until the late vote has been cast in November. During the campaign the women will have ample opportunity to demonstrate their capacity for organization and their natural political sagacity. There is already little except prejudice left for them to overcome.

The Laborer is Worthy of His Hire

NO ONE should begrudge "Billy" Sunday the money which he will receive for his work here. No one has given a dollar to him who did not think that he deserved it. If there had been coercion there would be occasion for criticism, but the money is offered freely, each man deciding for himself what he thought he ought to give. Mr. Sunday himself has asked for nothing, but has announced that he would accept only what was willingly offered by those who thought he should be paid for his services. It may be called a thank offering, or a free will gift or what you will. It belongs of right to the remarkable man who has been filling the tabernacle for the last ten weeks. And if anybody asks him what he intends to do with it he will be justified in replying that he does not answer impertinent questions. This is true, even though the sum should be \$150,000. He has convinced the contributors that he has done them good, and those who have not contributed have no right to interfere or to criticize.

Legalized Extortion is Knocked Out

THE loan shark is appropriately named. Why the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania consented to legalize his nefarious extortions it is not easy to understand. The decision of the Supreme Court that the validating law of 1913 is unconstitutional makes the loan shark a usurer and punishable under the general statute against charging exorbitant rates of interest.

This law, which has been thus upset, permitted the money lenders to charge 46 per cent interest, so that when once an unfortunate man got into their power he would have to pay a sum almost equal to his debt every two years without decreasing the amount of the principal. No law should ever make it possible for any man to take advantage of the unfortunate in such an oppressive manner. Legalized extortion is not what we want in this Commonwealth.

Italian and Greek Interests

THE situation in the Mediterranean is complicated by national interests which practically compel assistance to the Allies irrespective of the sympathies of the countries concerned. It is of primary importance to Greece that Turkey in Europe be partitioned and it is just as important that she should share in the division. The accretions of territory resulting from the war with Turkey cannot be considered permanent until Turkey has been driven into Asia. But the German cause is absolutely tied up to the continuance of Moslem rule in Europe. The success of Germany would be the success of Turkey, and Turkish possession of Stamboul is a pistol leveled at Athens.

Italy likewise sees no possibility of the achievement of her national ambition unless Austria is humbled. Her status in Tripoli, too, depends on the defeat of Turkey. Whatever strings there are tying her to Germany must be cut, because Berlin has as active allies the two Powers which stand in Italy's way.

With Venizelos demanding war for Greece and the Italian deputies voting enormous war credits, there can be no longer any doubt of the intention of either nation. Both will be drawn into the conflict, out of which each expects to emerge with largely increased territory, most of it traditionally Greek or Italian and long dreamed of as back in the fold.

The Crying Need of Business

If there are to be courts of commerce or commissions, then the settlement of all matters which have been referred to such courts by the Legislature should be left to them.

THIS pregnant sentence from the annual report of the president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company contains the law and the gospel of business regulation. Every manager of a big corporation who has expressed himself on the subject has said the same thing in one form or another. President Rea, of the Pennsylvania Railroad system, said the other day when he demanded that the Interstate Commerce Commission be made large enough and powerful enough to decide quickly and justly the questions put up to it. It simply means that if we are to have Government regulation of business, the regulators should be commissioned with full authority to act and the Legislatures which have created the regulating bodies should keep their hands off.

There can be no business confidence until some such results are secured. The anti-trust laws are so indefinite that we have had government by lawsuit for several years. The railroad and corporation commissions created to fix rates and regulate other conditions under which corporations may do

business have been disregarded by Congress and by the Legislatures of the States, and the attempt has been made to do by statute without investigation what can only be done justly by a judicial commission after a careful investigation. Mr. Vall follows his theory to its final conclusion when he demands that the commissions created to control business shall be composed of men of the highest ability—no others can master the problems—and he adds that the tenure of office should be long enough for the commissioners to learn something about their duties. The shareholders of no large corporation would put a political hack in the position of responsible manager. And the shareholders of all the large corporations are joining with their representatives in protesting most vigorously against turning the control of their business over to any group of small, inexperienced men selected by politicians seeking to find a place for their followers. If business is to be regulated by the Government the regulators must be men capable of regulating.

Anarchy on the Seas

BETWEEN German war zone proclamations and British orders in council there is little difference in principle, except that the instruments available to the one country do not permit of search and capture, while in the other case they do. That England is perfectly willing to take ships into port and subject them to the jurisdiction of prize courts does not mean that she is any more fixed in her respect for international law than Germany. It means simply that it is possible and profitable for her to pursue this course. If German submarines could get their prizes to German ports they would be glad enough to do it. It is about time that talk of the barbarity of the German naval program cease in view of the general recognition by all of the belligerents that old rules are obsolete and no longer to be observed.

England has declared a hybrid embargo which resembles in some ways a blockade. There is no precedent to support its righteousness, although London is very careful to warn the United States that American dollars will be protected, whatever happens to American rights. There can be no international law when all of the great Powers that make international law, except one, are violating it and each other. Nevertheless, we are too great a nation to be humiliated unduly. London evidently expects a strong protest from Washington, and that is exactly what the Department of State will prepare. We must at least put ourselves right on the record, even if we are unable to maintain our rights on the seas.

Pennsylvania Leads the Procession

THE superdreadnought Pennsylvania, which is launched today, will be, when finished, the most powerful battleship afloat. She will exceed in speed, in thickness of her armor, in the power of her batteries and in her displacement, any other ship on the seven seas. Such other ships of the same size as are planned are described as the Pennsylvania type. The State appreciates the compliment involved in this, and the citizens of every other State should appreciate the enterprise of the Government in planning and building a battleship which has set a new precedent in fighting machines.

While the Pennsylvania was the last word in warships when she was designed, the present war has revealed new conditions that must be met in naval warfare. The successors of the Pennsylvania must, therefore, be planned to resist the new form of attack. It is not necessary that the United States should go so far as Great Britain and build two warships for every single warship built by any rival power, but it is important that the navy of this country should contain ships able to cope with the most powerful in the fleet of any other nation, and that it should have enough of them to defend our coasts and our shipping in any probable future contingency.

Samuel Bowles, Honest Man

WHETHER the dead can communicate with the living is a disputed question. But we all cherish a fond hope that when we have passed on we may continue to know what is happening on the earth. Assuming that there is basis for the hope, few of those dead can contemplate the work of those whom they have left behind with greater satisfaction than must be felt by Samuel Bowles, who founded the Republican in Springfield, Massachusetts, in the early years of the last century. The paper has remained in the family for three generations, and with the death on Sunday of Samuel Bowles, the third, it passes into the hands of the fourth generation of the same family.

But it is not this continuity of journalistic likings that is remarkable, but the continuity of high journalistic standards. Samuel Bowles, the second, inherited the ideals from his father, and he developed them to such a state of perfection that, although Springfield was a small city, his newspaper was known throughout the United States for the distinguished ability with which it was conducted and for the high sense of public responsibility which animated it.

The Samuel Bowles who has just died maintained the traditions of his father and his grandfather. His paper was the daily Bible for a large section of eastern New England. He went to his reward with the consciousness that he never betrayed the public for the sake of gold, but always served it to the best of his ability.

Every Philadelphia liquor dealer is regretting that Montgomery County is not to be "dry."

No one needs preaching to more than the New Jersey legislators, unless it be the Pennsylvania legislators.

A. Mitchell Palmer has been claiming so much that even his friends will agree that he is well qualified for a test on the bench of the Court of Claims.

The lawyer who pleaded for Thaw's release on the ground that his detention would be a fraud on the State of New Hampshire must have had his tongue in his cheek.

There are several vacancies in the list of French Immortals, but before the war is over there may be enough immortal Frenchmen to fill all the vacancies for years to come.

Local option does not depend on the will of Senator Vane, but upon the will of the people of this Commonwealth. If they want it they will get it whether Senator Vane likes it or not.

New York cannot get over its jealousy of Chicago, and the New York fashion experts are now pool-poaching the Geneva of the Chicago experts that pantalettes are to be worn this summer. "You may assert," said the New York man, "that no style ever started in Chicago." And now Chicago will let New York learn where the really important ideas are originated.

THE WOMEN'S FIGHT IN TERRE HAUTE

On Election Day, Armed With Cameras, They Recorded the "Repeating" and Rioting at the Polls, and Ended Organization Rule.

By IRWIN L. GORDON

VI

TODAY 28ingleaders of the Organization in Terre Haute are on trial in the United States Court at Indianapolis. They are charged with conspiracy growing out of a debauched election. More than 80 of their associates have pleaded guilty to all the political crimes charged against them and are telling their story upon the stand as witnesses for the Government. The big story, however, the true portraiture of the fight waged by the women, is receiving second consideration; it was first in the battle of regeneration.

Never in the history of the country have the women arisen to fight a civic battle as they did in Terre Haute. While the majority of the men were too disgusted and disheartened to keep up the fight for honest government, the women never wavered—they stuck to the end. How they manned the polls, photographed the repeaters, demanded that the Government of the United States take a hand in cleaning up conditions, and finally whipped the merchants of the city in line to fight for decency, is a story unparalleled. In fact, no better commentary can be written on the cause of woman suffrage in the United States than the chronicle of events which preceded and followed the election of November 3—all of which hinged about the 1400 women affiliated with the various clubs and organizations of the city. In fact, it may be said without fear of contradiction that the Organization would rule today in Terre Haute were it not for the methods introduced and the tactics pursued by the women of that Indiana city.

Prepared for the Worst

When Donn M. Roberts was elected Mayor a large number of suffragists appeared as watchers at the polls. While they saw the repeaters, the fraudulent manipulation of the machines and the gross violations of election laws at that time—1912—they were not equipped and were too unfamiliar with conditions to take an active part in the subsequent investigation. The leaders of the various organizations believed that similar tactics would be followed at the 1914 election. This time the women would be prepared!

Immediately after the last registration day several women appeared at City Hall, demanded and secured the poll books and carefully copied the name of every registered voter. Additional copies were made for each ward. A meeting of the Central Committee—known as the Women's Council—composed of delegates from each woman's club or organization in Terre Haute, was called and plans for the coming election were perfected. A subsidiary committee was appointed with Mrs. E. C. Stinson as chairman. Miss Mae Helmer, one of the most active suffragists in the State, was put in charge of the active campaign.

More than 400 women volunteered to appear as watchers on election day. A committee was formed in each ward which worked in conjunction with the subcommittee of the precincts. There were, however, many precincts in the business section and Tenderloin which were not represented.

For several weeks prior to the election the various committees held meetings. The Indiana election laws were read to the volunteers, the procedure at the polls was explained and the pollbooks carefully gone over. One woman found to her surprise that ten men were registered from her home—she would lay for them at the poll! Being familiar with their immediate neighborhood, the woman picked the questionable voters and made notations in the pollbooks. Back of the names a question mark was placed to be checked up on election day.

The Women Are Threatened

Some one among these 400 women had a brilliant idea—an idea which may result in clean elections throughout the country should it be universally adopted. All the women were advised to carry cameras in order to photograph repeaters and disorderly scenes around the polling places. In addition, various pocket electric lamps were supplied, while a few of the women went so far as to secure automobile searchlights to be used in the early morning hours and at night before the polls were closed. Notebooks, in which to mark the number of voters at a designated booth and to keep memoranda, were also supplied.

The Organization learned of the intended plot. They instantly started a series of stories to the effect that the women were to be arrested; that the Taylorville gang "would beat them up," and that the Organization would "get them" or their husbands. These rumors, quite naturally, prevented a number of women from appearing.

November 3 dawned cold and dark. Long before daylight a band of resolute women, 40 strong, left their homes and started for the polling places. These women represented the finest, wealthiest and most cultured families of Terre Haute. While they were inspired with a blind hope, the majority felt that little could be done to give an honest election. Still they would try—just once more.

A Strenuous Day's Work

That "one more" proved to be the last—the last, at least, for Terre Haute when the women will be compelled to keep tabs on the Roberts gang.

At the polls they stationed themselves before 6 o'clock. Many of the women did not leave during the entire day. Others worked on three or four-hour shifts. As each voter appeared his name was secured, and he was checked from the pollbook. Another woman—there were usually three or four at each polling place—kept tab on the number of men who entered the machine or ballot booths. When one woman left she signed her name and wrote the time in her book—thus an accurate record was kept in each precinct of the number of voters and those who voted.

Before the crooked work started the police department and the Roberts-Fairbanks lieutenants did everything in their power to persuade the women to leave. Holler and Nugent, the chief of police, and his assistant, confidentially told a number of the ladies that the Tenderloin thugs were about, and that the police never could protect such a number of women. They were also advised against exposing themselves on such a cold day, asked to step into nearby houses to warm themselves, and finally threatened with arrest. To all this kind advice and these threats the women paid no attention. In several sections of the city the women were really compelled to leave the polls

A STRENUOUS EFFORT



WINTER CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES

Analysis of the Situation in Northern France—Little Difference Since the Third Week in September—"On to Berlin!" vs. "On to Paris!"

By FRANK H. SIMONDS



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FOR nearly two months the official statements of German and French war offices alike have referred almost daily to engagements in Western Champagne. Le Mesnil, Beaumont and Ville-sur-Tourbe have again and again been the scenes of desperate combats. Plainly there has been going on in this field a major operation. Now the Germans announce it has terminated in French defeat—the Battle of Champagne has been a German victory. It is, then, an appropriate time to analyze what has probably been the most important engagement in the west in 1915.

At the outset it is necessary to review hurriedly the situation between the Oise and the Meuse as it has developed since the great German invasion was halted at the Marne in September. At that time three great masses of Germans were operating between the two rivers. The first, under Von Kluck, approached Paris and then went east and south. The second, under Von Bulow, came south through Rheims, passed the Marne near Chalons and was defeated about St. Gond and Camp de Mailly. The third, under the Crown Prince, passed between the Argonne and Verdun and was halted about Vitry-le-Francois.

The Deadlock

As these armies retreated the first took up the position behind the Aisne, north of Soissons and south of Laon; the second fell back until it occupied the northern forts about Rheims; while the third withdrew as far as Varennes, in the Argonne. When the retreat halted these three armies established contact and occupied a front from the Oise, east of Noyon, to the Meuse, north of Verdun.

Von Kluck repressed the Aisne on September 11, and on the next day the British, following, took ground about Soissons, but were unable to advance. Three weeks of desperate fighting in this field resulted in a deadlock. On October 9 the British army gave up its trenches to French reserves and entrained for Belgium, where it presently halted the German advance about Ypres.

The French troops who replaced the British pushed their advance against the Germans, made considerable progress west of Craonne, on the Laon road, but were finally heavily defeated in January, driven across the Aisne, and the whole offensive west of Rheims came to an abrupt close.

In the same fashion the early efforts of the French who pursued Von Bulow's army from the Marne were checked in the eastern suburbs of Rheims. This city had been a fortified place, surrounded by a circle of forts. In their great retreat the French had dismantled the forts and evacuated them. The Germans in their turn occupied the easternmost forts, brought up heavy artillery and speedily halted all offensive operations in this district. From the second week in September to the present time the German line here has held solid and German artillery still bombards Rheims at will.

Having failed about Soissons and about Rheims, there was left to the French a third possibility. Between Rheims and the Argonne in the great plain of Chalons, familiar in history as the scene of the defeat of Attila, the Argonne itself is a long range of low hills rising abruptly from the plain some hundreds of feet, perhaps ten miles wide, and thickly wooded.

Through the passes in this range run several highways and railroads, three of real value. The southernmost pass, that near St. Menesould, carries the Verdon-Paris Railroad. Near its western entrance is Valmy, the scene of the famous Prussian defeat in the French Revolution. This road the French hold. Some ten miles to the north is the second pass, that of Grand Pre. Possession of this was and is contested by the opposing forces, but it remains chiefly in German hands.

Finally, some six miles further north, is Vouziers, at the western end of the upper pass. Through this comes the railroad from Sedan, one of the life lines of the Germans in France. Just south of Vouziers this line leaves the Vouziers-St. Menesould line, and, turning west, touches the Rheims-Charleville Railroad north of Rheims.

Strategy of the French

The object of French strategy in this operation was to move north until French troops crossed and cut the Vouziers line, thus destroying one of the two lines of supply for the Germans about Rheims. At the same time occupation of Grand Pre and Vouziers would permit the French to inter-

when the shooting and fighting began. At several points the police and election officials grabbed the women and attempted to pull them away from the place. The women usually clung to something, screamed and always won their point.

Six Times Enough

When daylight broke, the cameras became active. Women who lived their entire lives in a neighborhood knew that certain men did not reside in nearby houses. Toward noon the same faces were seen under changed hats or even another coat. Disguises became frequent. A large number of photographs were taken during the day. The election officers protested, told the women that it was against the law, but not once did they succeed in preventing the photograph from being made.

An amusing incident occurred in Precinct A, of the notorious 6th Ward, the heart of the Tenderloin. A woman watcher approached Jack Hines, ward leader, and one of the men who has confessed, and said, "That man has voted six times." "Has he?" asked the saloon-diver keeper. "Well, I'll put a stop to that. Six times is enough for anybody to vote."

The same man worked a clever trick on the women watchers. Later in the day he became very friendly. He paid particular attention to the woman who had the pollbook. He would glance at the book while she was making a notation or ticking a voter and see the next few names not marked. He would retire, and in a few minutes men with these names would appear to vote. In this manner he managed to vote his complete complement—some 250 illegal voters in the precinct, without a protest. This story is a part of his confession.

That night 400 women retired with a consciousness that something had been accomplished. They had been witnesses to the thurgery at the polls; had seen honest voters beaten and others prevented from voting; they had seen the officers of the Superior Court fired at; they had seen and marked the repeaters. Scores could testify that "John Jones," "John Jackson" or "Pete Smith" did not live in well-known houses in their neighborhood. The old Philadelphia trick of voting graveyards was uncovered in Indiana. Vacant lots, too, gave up their voters.

This passed the election day of November 3, 1914, but the women were far from the goal.

NATION'S DUTY OF PREPARATION

From President Monroe's Message to Congress, 1822. Sustaining our neutral position and allowing to each party while the war continues equal rights, it is incumbent on the United States to claim of each with equal rigor the faithful observation of our rights according to the well-known law of nations. * * * The history of the late wars in Europe furnishes a complete demonstration that no system of conduct, however correct in principle, can protect neutral Powers from injury from any party; that a defenseless position and distinguished love of peace are the surest invitations to war, and that there is no way to avoid it other than by being always prepared and willing for just cause to meet it. If there be a people on earth whose more especial duty it is to be at all times prepared to defend their rights with which they are blessed and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burdens, and in submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations, it is undoubtedly the people of these States. * * * It has often been charged against free governments that they have neither the foresight nor the virtue to provide as the proper season for great emergencies; that their course is improvident and expensive; and whatever may be its calamities, that its terrible warnings will be disregarded and forgotten as soon as peace returns. I have full confidence that this charge so far as relates to the United States will be shown to be utterly destitute of truth.

HEINE ON THE PRUSSIAN EAGLE

From the London Chronicle. Heine (about whom, in spite of the professors, there was no Kultur) hated Prussia and Prussianism, and some of his bitterest satire and invective were directed, were hurled against this evil spirit that he saw in the making. In his "Germany" he apostrophized the Prussian eagle thus:

Detestable bird! if e'er thou should'st fall in my hands, thou creature perfidious, I would tear thy feathers from off thy back, And hack off thy talons hideous!

I then would stick thee high up on a pole In the air, thou wicked freebooter, And then to the joyful shooting match Invite each Rheimsli sharpshooter.

The verses were erased from the original edition by the censors. In these more civilized days his reward would probably have been a fortress or the rope.

HEALING FRAGRANCE

The primal duties shine aloft—like stars: The charities, that soothe and heal, and bless, Are scattered at the feet of Man—like flowers. The generous inclination, the just rule, Kind wishes, and good actions, and pure thoughts— No mystery is there!

—Wordsworth.

YOUR WORD

From the Cincinnati Enquirer. Be as good as your word, but see that your word is good.

pose between the German army before Verdun and that before Rheims, preventing direct communication between them and exposing the flanks of both.

Could the French advance be pressed home the Germans before Rheims would be wholly separated from those before Verdun. At Vouziers the French would be north and in the rear of the army before Rheims and in a position to attack it in front, flank and rear and threaten the Rheims-Charleville line near Rethel. The Germans would then be compelled to retire from Rheims and take a position behind the Aisne about Rethel. The Verdun army would in turn be compelled to give ground and make a new contact with the Rheims army by way of Stenay.

Another successful push would take the French to the Meuse, near Sedan, and cut the main and the only connection between German armies in the west and those in the east south of Namur. Hitherto the ability of the Germans to move their troops from Alsace-Lorraine to Champagne and Flanders has been the chief cause of the successive triumphs in foiling attacks on their communications. It was by such an operation that they drove the French out of St. Quentin and Peronne early in October and thus saved their whole position in France from the most dangerous of all the attacks made upon it to the present hour.

The German Line Has Held

The sole object of German strategy was to hold the line between the Argonne and Rheims, south of and covering the Vouziers Railroad. At the end of two months there is no reason to question the German claim that this line has been held. Such progress as the French have made north of Soain, of La Mesnil, of Ville-sur-Tourbe has not yet covered the half a dozen miles between the French front at the beginning of the battle and the Vouziers Railroad.

East of the Argonne a French offensive marching parallel with that west has made equally slight progress. The Grand Pre gap still remains contested ground, with no indication that either side has any immediate prospect of winning the commanding position. In sum, while the French have made slight progress east of Rheims, as they have lost some ground to the west, the whole Champagne operation from September to March has been practically fruitless. German lines still hold, German artillery still bombards Rheims at will. The German position in Northern France is solid.

But it is necessary henceforth to watch the Argonne operation closely—nowhere else along the whole German front in France could a successful offensive be so effective in so short a distance as between Soain and Vouziers. German estimates of a French loss of 45,000 in this operation indicate how desperately the French have tried to advance. The key of the whole operation remains the railroad.

A Mammoth Achievement

Meanwhile, it is also necessary to record the complete failure of the Allies in their winter campaign. In Champagne and Flanders two ambitious efforts have been stopped almost at their starting place. The British troops, which were in sight of La Bassee on October 29, are still west of it; though the recent operations about Neuve Chapelle, north of La Bassee, indicate a notable but indecisive advance. So far there has been not the smallest indication that the Allies can by any tremendous offensive sweep the Germans back from France. We are still exactly where we were in the third week of September. Regard being had for what they have accomplished on the eastern frontier, this represents an achievement on the German part likely to be long memorable in history.

More and more the situation in the west comes to resemble that in Virginia in the Civil War. Between the Blue Ridge and Chesapeake Bay Confederate lines held until the summer of 1864, and from Richmond to the mountains until 1865. "On to Richmond" was as familiar a cry then as "On to Berlin" is now. Such satisfaction as the Allies can find in the western campaign is discoverable in the fact that there is no longer any prospect of an "On to Paris" drive. In France the Germans are on the defensive—but on the defensive they are yet instoppable.

A DEFENSE THAT CONDEMNS

From the New Republic. Clausewitz was right when he declared that war was merely an extension of politics, though he meant the saying as a justification of war, sensitive and civilized people will see it is an indictment of politics.