TULSA DAILY WORLD

EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR

MEMBER OF THE AUDIT BUREAU OF CIRCULATIONS

Eugene Lorton.....President and Editor
F. O. Larson.....Business Manager

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Official County Paper

AVERAGE NET PAID CIRCULATION FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY, 1919, WAS 21,031.

I, F. E. Scott, circulation manager, do hereby swear that the average net paid circulation of the Tulsa Daily and Sunday World for the month of February, 1919, was 21,031 to the best of my knowledge and belief.

F. E. SCOTT,
Circulation Manager.

Subscribed and sworn before me this 28th day of February, 1919.

MABEL KEIM,
Notary Public.

SEAL.
My commission expires October 17, 1921.

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Daily Food

Saturday, March 1.

The Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king; he will save us.—Isa. 33:22.

Thy throne O God forever stands,
Grace is the sceptre in thy hands;
Thy laws and words are just and right,
Justice and grace are thy delight.
Save us, O God of our salvation.—I Chron. 16:35.

There are those who would have us believe that the revolution in Germany is moving along ... quietly as a labor day parade in Tulsa.

The Globe-Democrat is already making inquiry as to what the eighteenth amendment mince pie will be like.

It must be admitted that some of these occasional "tail-end" storms which have been hitting Oklahoma have a rather vicious kick in the flipper.

Whatever his critics may say of him, in a political way, it cannot be contended that President Wilson's reputation as a grandfather is not making a steady growth.

Speaking of the situation in general, and some things in particular, Jay E. House says no permanent victory was ever won by disorderly conduct or appeals to the gallery.

Wireless report from the General Washington announced that President Wilson was spending most of his time resting, which causes the Dallas News to remark that it imagined he would be helping the sailors to sail the ship.

General Traub says he never saw Governor Allen near the front of Argonne battle. Perhaps the governor was there during one of the five times General Traub was gassed.

Mr. Wilson does not propose to have his peace of mind disturbed by congressional debates while he is putting the finishing touches to the peace treaty. He has concluded not to convene congress in special session until after he makes his second return from the peace conference.

TIME TO BE CAREFUL.

The great endeavor of the democratic press just now is to give out the impression that all criticism of the league of nations, that is of the plan as submitted by Mr. Wilson, is a jealous partisan attempt to destroy the work of the president as a check to his prestige. Notwithstanding the acknowledged fact that every reasonable man expects the league plan to be submitted to the closest scrutiny before we put our stamp of approval upon it, our political opponents would discredit in advance any criticisms offered by those not of the same party as the president. What they require of us, under penalty of being inferentially accused of disloyalty, is unquestioning approval of whatever Woodrow Wilson has examined and pronounced "O. K." We are asked to take one man's word for the righteousness of a measure that would obligate this nation for a political eternity and tie the hands of future presidents and congresses without any remedy except the resort to war.

There is no use trying to make this a partisan thing. While it is true that this measure was coddled and brought into being by a democratic administration, clothing it with a sanctity which few of the president's fellow partisans have the courage to dispute, yet that does not necessitate the conclusion that every man who desires to have the subject submitted to the full and free discussion of the public is an enemy to the principle of the organized amity of nations. The constitution of the league of nations is a document produced by human thought; like all things human, it has its faults. Some of these faults may be rectified, but first of all we want to know just what we are binding ourselves up to before we sign away any portion of our national rights. The attempt to choke off discussion of the plan on its merits by crying "partisan" to its critics raises the suspicion that its proponents are afraid to have the thing examined soberly before it is put into effect.

Republicans cannot afford to follow anybody's lead in this matter. They are not justified in taking anybody's word for it. Each man should examine for himself. Mr. Taft says it is one way, Mr. Lodge says it is another. Neither one can be accused of any lack of sagacity or of sincerity, and Senator Lodge has certainly come nearer expressing general American sentiment than anyone who has yet spoken on the subject. Wherein great men differ, it is time for the individual to do some thinking on his own hook. One thing is a foregone conclusion—if the language of the pact is so loosely constructed as to leave a margin for varied interpretation, we had better keep hands off, for we will be a party to future controversies instead of helping to forestall those things which help to produce war. It is unavoidable that each nation will read a doubtful clause in the light of its own wishes and interests, and that, after all, is already the provoking cause of most wars. Let us be careful that, in prescribing the remedy which shall heal the war spirit, we do not furnish an added incentive to future conflicts. Let us also beware that we do not yield some of our cherished rights and principles without corresponding benefit to the human race as a whole, for any other price would be too cheap. We cannot sell our birthright for a mess of diplomatic pottage.

The Boston police and secret service men were kept reasonably busy in preventing the militant suffragists and I. W. W. agents from interfering with the president's peaceful entry. These elements wanted to make the reception another tea party.

A few hours after President Wilson got in wireless contact with the United States he went down into the stoker room and dug out the biggest chip he could find, and as he crossed the gang plank at Boston he dared any member of congress to knock it off his shoulder.

Our guess is that it will be a long, long time before we have another great war, even though there is no such thing as the restraining influence of a league of nations. But then, if a league of nations will make any country feel more secure, we are not going to tear out much hair in opposing it so long as it does not deprive the United States of any cherished rights and privileges.

BURNT CHILDREN.

"Burnt children dread the fire," says an old proverb. Those once scorched are even likely to be oversuspicious of anything resembling that which caused their agony. This is one thing that the advocates of a large volunteer standing army have failed to take into calculation. Hundreds of thousands of our boys took up arms for the flag when it was attacked and gave their all for the country. In case of stress they would do so again. But who will have the hardihood to assert that a standing army could be recruited from their ranks? Among all wour acquaintances who took up arms when their country was in peril, do you know of a single one who is not eager to return to the pursuits of peace?

There are only two ways of raising an army—by conscription or by the volunteer system. If we resort to conscription we should have an army much larger than the 175,000 men now set as the maximum. To maintain such an army would be expensive in money and in loss of time of men who desire to make their own way in the world as private citizens. It would be an offense to our liberty-loving people and contrary to the wishes of a large majority of Americans, practically all of whom are praying for the establishment of a permanent peace and the abolition of conscription forever. And if we are to have a respectable and efficient army of volunteers, there must be something done to make army life less humiliating and more profitable for high-spirited young Americans who are obsessed with the idea that as individuals they are privileged to follow their own plans for the pursuit of happiness in times of peace. Even universal military training, while it will enable us to mobilize a fighting force with greater speed and efficiency when needed, will not serve to make military service in times of peace any more attractive.

If it develops that the United States should have an army in excess of present provisions, it will be necessary to make army life more attractive. Just now there are too many martinets among the officers, too many men just above the rank of private whose authority has swelled them up like poisoned pups. This is not so apparent as it has been in previous wars, but there is altogether too much of it for self-respecting privates to submit to. As long as men can be sentenced to death or prison for trivial infractions of the rules for highly deserved disrespect toward petty officers, real men will hesitate a long time before volunteering for service. As long as these evils remain unerradicated, we shall have to be contented with a pitifully small volunteer army, and there is no sentiment in the country for maintaining a big standing army by means of conscription. The very idea is un-American and repugnant to a free people.

Oklahoma Outbursts

Bill Jungley concludes that the demand for soap in Germany really means that she wants to clean up.

Speaking of kids, Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Kidd of Covington are the parents of a pair born last week.

Since Judge Grisso said that dream about striking oil on a Sapulpa lot in Chickasha, you cannot even rent one for a war garden.

The girl on South Main says one thing she is thankful for is that dreams do not have to be submitted to a censor.

We notice that Fatty Arbuckle still draws blank crowds from that new movie star, William Hohn Mc-Allen.

"A sleepless night," says an amateur actress in Oklahoma City, shows that "sis" is getting back to a pre-war basis.

Opinion as to whether March came in like a lion will depend to a large extent on whether you wear long or short B. V. D.'s.

One of the girls around town believes the reason she was hard to stay in a cage in Germany was because she was compelled to study German when she went to school.

One among the first defendants tried before United States Judge Williams was John Culver, whom the judge, while governor, pardoned for some infraction of the state laws.

Campbell Russell is starting a back-fire on those members of the legislature who insulted his dignity and ignored his demands, by organizing leagues to "maintain the sovereignty of the people."

Dennis Pierce of Chickasha insists that he is a peace man, and a law-abiding citizen as well. Having admitted this much, he cannot understand why the police preferred a charge of immoral conduct against him.

In looking for work for the returned soldiers the government employment board might pass up this one who advertises: "Discharged soldier wants work with lady fortune-teller; some experience; has white hair; odd, mysterious appearance; or anything under canvas."

At the next regular meeting of the supplemental peace board at Teasenium, Ed Crossland will undertake to meet Judge Breckinridge's contention that President Wilson's speech should have been printed on the front page instead of being sandwiched between the oil columns and the want ads.

Some Oklahoma democrats are fearful that the "Tulsa agreement" in regard to the geographical residence of the state's United States senators is to be abrogated. The "Tulsa agreement" is not any more sacred than the Monroe doctrine, and Oklahoma democrats seem perfectly willing to have it thrown into the discard.

Notwithstanding the crawfish action of the young democrats at McAlester, we shall still insist that to Mrs. Baldwin of Okmulgee belongs the honor of being the president of the first woman's democratic club organized in the state, and that the election of that Oklahoma City lady as secretary of the young men's league was a direct slap at political enterprise.

Live Issues of the Day

Keep the Monroe Doctrine.

Chicago Tribune.

When in 1908 the United States senate ratified the Hague convention of 1907, there was incorporated in the resolution the following stipulation:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude towards purely American questions."

The senate in 1908 was asked to ratify the agreements of the second peace conference at The Hague. The American representatives at this conference had accepted the agreements, but it was with the stipulation set forth in the foregoing paragraph. This paragraph was carried into the senate resolution accepting the agreements.

We forget that there have been other peace conferences and other peace agreements. We forget that this is not the first time that the national and social organizations have tried to find an assurance in agreement against war. We forget that this resolution was adopted by the United States senate less than seven years before the greatest war of the world's history broke out.

But what the American peace delegates at that time and the United States senate at that time did not forget was American interest. The United States agreed with the nations of Europe to the peace proposal. The United States agreed with itself to keep the Monroe doctrine.

The qualification that the United States should not become entangled in European affairs was nullified by events. We could not keep from entanglement. We had to fight. But we did keep the Monroe doctrine. We have it now.

If we have now a senate as wise as was the senate in 1908, we shall continue to keep it. We shall have it understood in any agreements to which the United States puts its signature, that the United States keeps the Monroe doctrine.

A "mandatory" in the new language of the league of nations has a moral sound. It gives a morally dubious nation the comfortable moral feeling that it has not obtained permission to do what it wants to do, but has obtained a command to do what it wants to do.

Great Britain may obtain a mandate to do what it wants to do and needs to do in India, Egypt and South Africa and elsewhere. If it could not obtain the mandate it would find its own way of doing it. The moralistic aspect may be comforting, but it is not real.

The United States does not need a mandate for what it does in this hemisphere. It does not need a moral justification. It is its own justification.

Senator Borah has called the attention of the senate which has the new peace scheme under debate to what the senate provided in 1908 when another peace scheme was under debate.

If Europe will not agree to the Monroe doctrine then the United States would do best for itself if it agreed to nothing with Europe. If such a stipulation be incorporated in the agreement which forms the league of nations the United States will save itself a great deal of trouble.

It will not be obliged to repudiate an agreement the first time the Italians or Jugo-Slavs or Chinese or Japanese are ordered by the league of nations, under the mandatory provisions of the league, to come over here and discover why Haiti does not pay its debts or why a commercial agent was killed in Guatemala.

We know what these forerunners of occupation are. And the United States has known how to keep them out. The bar on the door is the Monroe doctrine. It has been a stout door. It has been a good bar.

Let's keep the bar.

Ole Made It in One Jump.

Wichita Beacon.

The secret of success is simple, after all. One good way to achieve success is to be right, and to smash wrong hard and without hesitation whenever it sticks its head up.

Ole Hanson, mayor of Seattle, is having his pictures printed from the Pacific to the Atlantic these days, because he had the courage to do the obviously right thing. He smashed an I. W. W. revolution so quickly that it made the heads of the leaders swim.

The strike was not incited by legitimate labor, but by I. W. W. leaders who thought they saw a chance to exploit their well-known principles by promoting a general strike and paralyzing industry. Their purpose was to begin a widespread revolution. Luckily there was a real man against them. He is of Scandinavian descent, but he is all American. He is a strong progressive of the Roosevelt school and has always been classed as a radical in his championship of the real working man. But he knew treason when he saw it. Ole did not have to make it in two jumps. Just one was enough.

He came to the west coast in a prairie schooner and worked his way up through hardship and toil, in spite of a frail body. He has a copy of the Twenty-Third Psalm hanging on the wall of his office, but when a committee of bolsheviki called on him to request that he keep his hands off the strike, he told them to "go to hell."

The way to deal with treason is to smash it and not coddle it. We have a lot of mandlin sentimentalists in the country who weep great gobs of tears every time the I. W. W. are mentioned. But the leaders of real workers, who understand what real work is, do not sympathize with the American bolsheviki.

Roosevelt, who spoke softly but carried a big stick, is gone. And so when a man like Ole Hanson comes up, it is refreshing and encouraging.

Humiliating and Shocking.

New York Times.

About the only conseling feature to be found in the scandal affecting the Third naval district is the fact that nobody connected with the regular establishment has been implicated. It remains, none the less, a most miserable business, intensely humiliating to the navy and to the whole country, for we have all liked to think, and nearly all of us have thought, that the wave of ardent patriotism that swept over the country when the United States entered the war had raised everybody except the members of the irredeemably criminal class above the possibility of participation in such peculiarly sordid profiteering as has been revealed.

The one way to restore public confidence is to have the investigation now in progress absolutely thorough, and to have punishment according to their deserts imposed on all who have had any part in the sale of appointments, safe position and safe discharges.

Among the guilty, too, should be reckoned not less those who paid the bribes than those who took them. In every case except the few carried through for the sake of getting evidence, the exploitation was that of scoundrels by scoundrels, and the exploited should have as little of either sympathy or immunity as the exploiters. They both are birds of a feather, and if there had been no cowards and slackers willing to buy exemption from the performance of duty, there would have been no selling of that exemption.

A fact that attracts attention at a time when the severity shown by courts-martial to petty offenders has shocked the public, the one sentence as yet imposed by a court-martial in this matter was at once absurdly and outrageously lenient until it was sent back for revision by the secretary of the navy. That fact deserves investigation as much as, perhaps more than, do the corruptions with which it was connected.

Cost of Farm Tractors.

Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.

The efficiency and economy of the modern farm tractor, when operated intelligently on farms of fairly large acreage, is now generally conceded. The more elaborate type of this implement not only admits of the preparation of large areas of land promptly, but it may be made useful for haulage and many other purposes of up-to-date agriculture. It has been found, though, that the cost of the tractor is held to impose a financial burden which renders it unattractive to farmers with small land holdings.

In the matter of cost the tractor closely follows precedent. The first mowers and self-binding reapers commanded prices which were regarded by many farmers as excessive; and the scythe and cradel held their own on small farms much longer than makers of the improved implements had expected. The automobile, now so popular with small as well as large farmers, was at first regarded as essentially an urban luxury and convenience. The first types were highly ornamental, and few farmers, not operating large farms, aspired to their possession. When, though, far-sighted manufacturers realied the situation, cheaper but still highly serviceable cars were constructed. The result is that the farmer who does not own and operate his own automobile is the exception rather than the rule. The same is true, perhaps to a lesser extent at present, of the motor truck. Originally designed for heavy city freighting, the gasoline truck was more powerful than was necessary for ordinary farm purposes, and its cost rendered it uneconomical. As in the case of the mower, the reaper and the ordinary automobile, cheaper but still serviceable motor trucks adaptable to the needs of the smaller farmers and gardeners of the east, led to an enormous increase in the activity of the motor truck industry.

It has been clearly demonstrated that the New York state farmer takes readily to the handling of motor machinery. When once he can be shown that the farm tractor can be made an economical factor in his work, without excessive initial first cost and wasteful upkeep, the implement will be as universally in demand as is the lower priced automobile.

Our Fabulous Foreign Trade.

New York Tribune.

The largest of our banks has made an interesting compilation to show that the war brought to this country a larger balance of export trade than in all the preceding life of the republic. It reckons the entire excess of exports over imports from the beginning in 1790 down to August, 1914, as $9,007,000,000. In the 51 months of the war our trade balance was $10,903,000,000.

Before the war a year's trade balance of $666,000,000 was a record, and this balance had exceeded $500,000,000 but once before. For 1914, even with the considerable shipments that immediately set in when the war was declared, this balance was only $324,000,000. As is well known, it was over $3,700,000,000 in 1917 and $3,336,000,000 last year. This does not include government shipments.

With this enormous credit balance we bought back a great quantity of our securities held abroad. That is to say, our foreign customers were paying us in our own stocks and bonds. When their holdings of those were practically exhausted they had to borrow from us—that is, they had to buy on credit. This explains why our government and our bankers loaned heavily to the allies and elsewhere.

If we are to keep up this magnificent foreign trade we must continue these loans, with heavy foreign investments, or the nations of Europe will have no means of paying us. They could not pay in gold, but if they could we could not afford to let them do it, because so much gold would cause prices and the cost of living to soar to a height that would make ever war prices look slim.

Secrecy Without Justification.

New York Times.

There is cause for some disquietude, or perhaps it is only excuse for that feeling, in what seems to be the navy department's tendency to veil its scandal in secrecy—to keep it dark, or as dark as the circumstances will permit. Whoever does that is much more concerned about the navy's reputation than about its character, and the inevitable effect of such a policy, if such a policy exists, will be to hurt the reputation of the navy far more than would a prompt and full disclosure of the crimes committed. Of that the Dreyfus case is proof that should never be forgotten in governmental circles.

The current statements as to concealing names, for the present, lest their revelation interfere with and make difficult the course of justice, are not convincing. They too distinctly recall the inhabitions so often placed by the police on householders who have been robbed. They are not to mention their losses, nominally that the thieves may not be put on their guard, but really, everybody outside of police circles will always believe, in order that if the detectives fail their humiliation may not be public. Certainly everybody connected with this navy scandal knows his danger, and secrecy can only aid escape.

It Was Taft's Idea.

Ida Register.

Dispatches from Paris announce that it has been decided to allude to the league of nations as Lloyd George's plan, and the Wilson idolaters explain that for tactical reasons the president is willing to let it go at that.

As a matter of record, Lloyd George outlined his view of peace terms on January 5, 1918, while President Wilson delivered his address containing his "14 principles" on January 8, after the Lloyd George speech had been cabled to this country. In his address Lloyd George advocated an "international organization" and three days later President Wilson advocated a "general association of nations," which was only another way of putting the same thing.

But as a matter of fact and of justice it ought to be called the William Howard Taft plan. Taft originated the idea, which he called "The League to Enforce Peace," and he had formed an organization to push it at least two years before Lloyd George or Woodrow Wilson ever thought of it. And it is Taft who ought to be the first president of the organization, by whatever name it is called—not only by reason of having been the first to conceive the idea, but by reason of world-acquaintance, world-confidence and world-wisdom.

Horoscope

Sunday, March 2, 1919.

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This is not an important day in planetary direction. According to astrology, Mars is adverse and the Sun uncertain. The afternoon and evening are more fortunate than the morning.

Again some sort of agitation or excitement over the army is prognosticated. Discussions and criticisms are to multiply.

Mars is in a place read as indicating dissatisfaction and even enmity and jealousy among men in high places. This unrest and spirit of discontent will affect officers in the service as well as statesmen and politicians and men, but it is merely a recurence of the usual conditions after a war, the seers declare.

Warning is given that secret enemies may be active and may cause trouble for the government. In the breaking ranks of soldiers and in the working ranks of civilians the seeds of rebellion may be sown.

Warning is given against a tendency to waste money. This may be strongest among wage earners, who should accept the suggestion of thrift that has been in the position of the stars.

The evening of this day is read as lucky for love affairs. Engagements, weddings and meetings with strangers are all subject to kindly direction from the stars.

It is an auspicious rule for writing letters, especially those that convey assurance of love or friendship.

The stars foretell religious agitation and even serious troubles through misunderstandings and prejudices that cause injustice and suspicion.

Stability of character should be cultivated by all Americans, the seers declare, for they are to be put to a supreme test.

Peril in reaction of sentiment, in changeableness of opinion and in a tendency to agree with bitter criticism is foretold.

New York and Washington are to focus world attention this month and surprising events are foreshadowed.

Persons whose birthdate it is may have rather an anxious year. They should not risk money or health. Those who are employed may be promoted.

Children born on this day may be too sentimental to be happy or successful in life. These subjects of Pisces are often gifted and imaginative.

An Idyl of the Dry (?) Zone.

—Autobiography of— Theodore Roosevelt

THE most touching of all things was the fact that we received letters literally by the hundred, from mothers in tenement houses who had never been allowed to take their children to the country in the wide-open days, and who now found their husbands willing to take them and their families for an outing on Sunday. Jake Riis and I spent one Sunday from morning till night in the tenement districts, seeing for ourselves what had happened.

During the two years that we were in office things never slipped back to anything like what they had been before. But we did not succeed in keeping them quite as highly keyed as during these first weeks. As regards the Sunday closing law, this was partly because public sentiment was not really with us. The people who had demanded honesty, but who did not like to pay for it by the loss of illegal pleasure, joined the openly dishonest in attacking us. Moreover, all kinds of ways of evading the law were tried, and some of them were successful. The statute, for instance, permitted any man to take liquor with meals. After two or three months a magistrate was found who decided judicially that 17 beers and one pretzel made a meal—after which decision joy again became unconfined in at least some of the saloons, and the yellow press gleefully announced that my "tyranny" had been curbed. But my prime object, that of stopping blackmail, was largely attained.

All kinds of incidents occurred in connection with this crusade. One of them introduced me to a friend who remains a friend yet. His name was Edward J. Bourke. He was one of the men who entered the police force through our examinations shortly after I took office. I had summoned 20 or 30 of the successful applicants to let me look over them, and as I walked into the hall, one of them, a well-set-up man, called out sharply to the others, "Gangway," making them move to one side. I found he had served in the United States navy. The incident was sufficient to make me keep him in mind. A month later I was notified by a police reporter, a very good fellow, that Bourke was in difficulties, and that he thought I had better look into the matter myself, as Bourke was being accused by certain very influential men of grave misconduct in an arrest he had made the night before. Accordingly, I took the matter up personally. I found that on the new patrolman's beat the preceding night—a new beat—there was a big saloon run by a man of great influence in political circles known as "King" Calahan. After midnight the saloon was still running in full blast, and Bourke, stepping inside, told Calahan to close up. It was at the time filled with "friends of personal liberty," as Governor Hill used at that time, in moments of pathos, to term everybody who regarded as tyranny any restriction on the sale of liquor. Calahan's saloon had never before in its history been closed, and to have a green cop tell him to close it seemed to him so incredible that he regarded it merely as a bad jest. On his next round Bourke stepped in and repeated the order. Calahan felt that the jest had gone too far, and by way of protest knocked Bourke down. This was an error of judgment on his part, for when Bourke arose he knocked down Calahan. The two then grappled and fell on the floor, while the "friends of personal liberty" danced around the fight and endeavored to stamp on everything they thought wasn't Calahan. However, Bourke, though pretty roughly handled, got his man and shut the saloon. When he appeared against the lawbreaker in court next day, he found the courtroom crowded with influential Tammany hall politicians, backed by one or two republican leaders of the same type; for Calahan was a baron of the underworld, and both his feudal superiors and his feudal inferiors gathered to the rescue. His backers in court included a congressman and a state senator, and so deep-rooted was the police belief in "pull" that his own superiors had turned against Bourke and were preparing to sacrifice him. Just at this time I acted on the information given me by my newspaper friend by starting in person for the court. The knowledge that I knew what was going on, that I meant what I said, and that I intended to make the affair personal was all that was necessary. Before I reached the court all effort to defend Calahan had promptly ceased, and Bourke had come forth triumphant. I immediately promoted him to roundsman. He is a captain now. He has been on the force ever since, save that when the Spanish war came he obtained a holiday without pay for six months and re-entered the navy, serving as gun captain in one of the gunboats, and doing his work, as was to be expected, in first-rate fashion, especially when under fire.

Let me again say that when men tell me that the police are irredeemably bad I remember scores and hundreds of cases like that of Bourke, like the case I have already mentioned a Raphael, like the other cases I have given above. It is useless to tell me that these men are bad. They are naturally first-rate men. There are no better men anywhere than the men of the New York police force; and when they go bad it is because the system is wrong, and because they are not given the chance to do the good work they can do and would rather do. I never coddled these men. I punished them severely whenever I thought their conduct required it. All I did was to try to be just; to reward them when they did well; in short, to deal squarely by them. I believe that, as a whole, they liked me. When, in 1912, I ran for president on the progressive ticket, I received a number of unsigned letters inclosing sums of money for the campaign. One of these inclosed $20. The writer, who did not give his name, said that he was a policeman, that I had once had him before me on charges, and had fined him $20; that, as a matter of fact, he had not committed the offense for which I fined him, but that the evidence was such that he did not wonder that I had been misled, and never blamed me for it, because I had acted squarely and had given honest and decent men a chance in the police department; and that now he inclosed a $20 bill, the amount of the fine inflicted on him so many years before. I had always wished I knew who the man was.

The disciplinary courts were very interesting. But it was extraordinarily difficult to get at the facts in the more complicated cases—as must always be true under similar circumstances; for ordinarily it is necessary to back up the superior officer who makes the charge, and yet it is always possible that this superior officer is consciously or unconsciously biased against his subordinate.

In the courts the charges were sometimes brought by police officers and sometimes by private citizens. In the latter case we would get queer insights into twilight phases of New York life. It was necessary to be always on our guard. Often an accusation would be brought against the policeman because he had been guilty of misconduct. Much more often the accusation merely meant that the officer had incurred animosity by doing his duty. I remember one amusing case where the officer was wholly to blame but had acted in entire good faith.

One of the favorite and most demoralizing forms of gambling in New York was policy-playing. The policy slips consisted of papers with three rows of figures written on them. The officer in question was a huge pithecoid lout of a creature, with a wooden face and a receding forehead, and his accuser whom he had arrested the preceding evening was a little grig of a red-headed man, obviously respectable, and almost incoherent with rage. The anger of the little red-headed man was but natural, for he had just come out from a night in the station house. He had been arrested late in the evening on suspicion that he was a policy-player, because of the rows of figures on a piece of paper which he had held in his hand, and because at the time of his arrest he had just stepped into the entrance of the hall of a tenement house in order to read by lamplight. The paper was produced in evidence. There were the three rows of figures all right, but, as the accuser explained, hopping up and down with rage and excitement, they were all of them the numbers of hymns. He was the superintendent of a small Sunday school. He had written down the hymns for several future services, one under the other, and on the way home was stopping to look at them, under convenient lamp-posts, and finally by the light of the lamp in a tenement house hallway; and it was this conduct which struck the sagacious man in uniform as "suspicious."

One of the saddest features of police work is dealing with the social evil, with prostitutes and houses of ill fame. In so far as the law gave me power, I always treated the men taken in any raid on the houses precisely as the women were treated. My experience brought me to the very strong conviction that there ought not to be any toleration by law of the vice. I do not know of any method which will put a complete stop to the evil, but do know certain things that ought to be done to minimize it. One of these is treating men and women on an exact equality for the same act. Another is the establishment of night courts and of special commissions to deal with this special class of cases. Another is that suggested by the Rev. Charles Stelzle, of the Labor temple—to publish conspicuously the name of the owner of any property used for immoral purposes, after said owner has been notified of the use and has failed to prevent it. Another is to prosecute the keepers and backers of brothels, men and women, as relentlessly and punish them as severely as pickpockets and common thieves. They should never be fined; they should be imprisoned. As for the girls, the very young ones and first offenders should be put in the charge of probation officers or sent to reformatories, and the large percentage of feeble-minded girls and of incorrigible girls and women should be sent to institutions created for them. We would thus remove from this hideous commerce the articles of commerce. Moreover, the federal government must in ever-increasing measures proceed against the degraded promoters of this commercialism, for their activities are interstate, and the nation can often deal with them more effectively than the states; although, as public sentiment becomes aroused, nation, state, and municipality will all cooperate towards the same end of rooting out the traffic. But the prime need is to raise the level of individual morality; and, moreover, to encourage early marriages, the single standard of sex-morality, and a strict sense of reciprocal conjugal obligation. The women who preach late marriages are by just so much making it difficult to better the standard of chastity.

(To be continued)

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