

The San Francisco Call

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Open Until 11 o'clock Every Night in the Year

EDITORIAL ROOMS—Market and Third Streets
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LONDON, England, Trafalgar Buildings, Northumberland Ave

PARIS, France, 33 Rue Carbon

BERLIN, Germany, Unter den Linden 9

Subscription Rates
Delivered by Carrier, 20 Cents Per Week, 75 Cents Per Month, Daily and Sunday

Single Copies, 5 Cents
Terms by Mail, for UNITED STATES, Including Postage (Cash With Order):

DAILY CALL (Including Sunday), 1 Year \$8.00

DAILY CALL (Including Sunday), 6 Months \$4.00

DAILY CALL—By Single Month, 75c

SUNDAY CALL, 1 Year \$2.50

WEEKLY CALL, 1 Year \$1.00

FOREIGN (Daily) \$5.00 Per Year Extra

POSTAGE (Sunday) \$4.15 Per Year Extra

Weekly \$1.00 Per Year Extra

Entered at the United States Postoffice as Second Class Matter

ALL POSTMASTERS ARE AUTHORIZED TO RECEIVE SUBSCRIPTIONS

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"The Ominous Hush" in Europe
THE ominous hush, in the phrase of Lord Rosebery, that broods over Europe awaiting the outbreak of war, is the subject of an article in McClure's by H. R. Chamberlain, the London correspondent of the New York Sun. It is a strange condition, without parallel in history. The English people do not want war; the German people do not want war, but both expect it, and are piling up their preparations at a rate of cost that already constitutes "a silent war."

The disposition was at first on this side of the Atlantic to laugh at the prevailing state of mind in England as one of the periodic war scares that have so often in the past afflicted the people of the tight little island without cause. But when men of the eminence of Lord Rosebery, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Balfour and Lord Northcliffe, without regard to party, concur and cry out that there is imminent danger their opinions must be respected.

It is the sudden activity of German naval construction that supplies the foundation for alarm in England. It is the German naval program to build ships of the Dreadnought type faster than the British admiralty can turn them out. In modern navies only the big and newest battleships count. All others are practically obsolete.

Of course, this tremendous German naval program imposes a severe burden on the tax payers of the fatherland. Mr. Chamberlain writes:

Every possible appeal is being made to the German people to meet the emergency courageously. Always it is represented to them that the need is temporary and that "the reward will come by and by." The vague phrase has a very definite meaning. Politicians do not proclaim it, the newspapers do not print it, but the members of the powerful navy league and the war party make no secret of it by word of mouth. It means a sudden invasion of England, a dash to London, and the levying of a war indemnity twice as heavy as that which France paid in 1870. The words are as well understood as those of the silent toast drunk after dinner every day on the German warships. An English chaplain told me that this toast was drunk even in his presence, when he happened to be a visitor on a German cruiser a few weeks ago. The senior officer at the wardroom table raised his glass with the words, "To the day," and all present stood and drank silently and solemnly. When my friend asked his host what it meant he received the frank reply, "Oh, we always drink on German ships to the day when war shall be declared between England and Germany."

It is natural enough that men of the profession of arms should be eager to put their training into practice. But when a nation is composed of so large a proportion of trained combatants, and when the entire people has been compelled to make onerous sacrifices for which successful war offers the only recompense, what is going to be the public sentiment and demand of that country when the opportunity is reached? It is only another form of stating the proposition that when war becomes cheaper than peace then war it will be.

All this makes a situation sufficiently alarming and explains the sudden change in the British naval program by which, instead of two Dreadnoughts, eight of these great ships will be laid down this year to cost \$80,000,000. These vast expenditures are by themselves an incentive to war. They are the cause of the radical budget proposed by the British chancellor of the exchequer.

It is a satire on modern civilization that the three greatest nations in the world should be spending more than their income in preparations for war. The United States alone is able to carry the load without serious inconvenience, but in the case of England and Germany it is either national bankruptcy or war.

The situation invites a wise and humane statesmanship, and it is intimated by Mr. Chamberlain that negotiations are on foot between the White House and the English and German governments with a view to the limitation of armaments. It is obviously true that in the existing "silent war" of purses the United States holds the deciding hand.

DR. THOMAS GREEN, clergyman and investigator, tells as the result of observations in Japan, as published in Hampton's Magazine, why Japan does not want war with this country or any other. The fact is that the people are struggling under a crushing load of taxation. The war with Russia cost some \$900,000,000, and, although Japan was victorious, the peace of Portsmouth brought no indemnity. The war, in fact, almost left the country bankrupt. Quoting Doctor Green:

Everything in Japan is taxed, from the land you own, or rent and till, to the salt you eat, the oil you burn, the railroad ticket on which you travel, even the laborers you employ. You are taxed coming and going, waking or sleeping, living or dead. Not because the government wants to, but because the government must. Previous to the war the man whose income amounted to or exceeded \$50,000 per annum paid 55 per cent of it to the government. Now he pays 68 per cent! The average man pays an average tax of 32 per cent of his entire income to the government. Where else in all this wide world do you know of patriotism so absolutely dominating as this?

After the war an ambitious naval program was announced, but it was soon discovered that it was impossible of accomplishment. It was planned to expend 65,000,000 yen between 1908 and 1914 in building Dreadnoughts, but this has been cut down to 20,000,000 yen, which would just about build one Dreadnought for the six years. That is not a very formidable program, but in 1915 the Japanese government hopes to be able to appropriate 50,000,000 yen for building warships. It seems as if the Japanese had adopted with enthusiasm the most barbarous feature of European civilization—the craze for militarism. The unhappy Japanese are the chief sufferers thereby.

The Man With the Fixed Idea

By Herbert Kaufman

Make your chart before you start—choose your destination before you buy your ticket. Don't wait until you reach the end of your journey and then decide where you're going. Many a man has dried up in a little wayside opportunity, merely because he lacked the courage to acknowledge to himself that his judgment had landed him in the wrong spot.

You can't tell what you're best fitted to do until you've fought for a few things fit for the fighting. Rifles hit bullseyes by accident now and then, but remember that every championship record is the result of lots of practice and a good, steady aim.

C. Columbus did finally stumble on America after wandering aimlessly over the seas, but don't forget that a great many of his predecessors went down in the Atlantic gales because they set sail without making sure that there was a definite port before them.

The builder who hasn't decided how high he will run his walls before he digs his foundations takes too much of a chance—he's apt to make his foundations entirely too weak to support the "afterwork." Know what you are after before you start out for it. The "pig in the poke" is dangerous—the pig is apt to catch your hand just as often as your hand is likely to grab the pig.

Don't rely on accident to start you—accident doesn't run on schedule and hasn't a habit of happening in the same spot twice. The FIXED IDEA is the motive power that has driven most men to attainment—more plodders than geniuses have reached eminence. The sailboat without a keel capsizes very soon—the man without a keel is unsafe. Persistence and doggedness oftenest bring results. Hard work is the common coin in the realm of success.

The musician who aspires to become a maestro must look down to years of practice before he can look up to the hour of acclaim, and

once he has received recognition he must keep practicing just as hard to hold it. The gift of music and the love of harmony are only half—"it's the fixed idea" which keeps his fingers on the keys, for hours every day, that brings him to his goal.

The lawyer and the illustrator and the scientist must all pay the same price. The master of railroads must strive just as earnestly and centralize his efforts just as intensely today as when he was grasping for control.

You must make sure what you want to do—you must feel sure that you have the courage as well as the temperament to do it and then—DO IT!!

One fair idea unhesitatingly followed out is better than a dozen excellent plans none of which receive concentrated attention. Spurts don't count. The final score makes no mention of a splendid start if the finish proves that you were an "also ran."

Only steady men last. Call to mind a dozen men who have made their mark—choose them from trade or profession—and you'll find that at least 10 out of the 12 were men who hung fast to a "fixed idea"—who held on despite setbacks and reverse—who endured self-denial and difficulties and won out because they didn't "peter out."

They believed in themselves—they thought that they could do a certain thing and counted what they believed far more than the concentrated opinion of everybody else.

The world didn't take them seriously in the beginning, but they took themselves seriously and in the end the world changed its mind.

It always does change its mind when a man makes good. But the world's so old and has had so much experience with the human race that it puts every man down to a basis of zero and only acknowledges that he's above it when his gauge moves to the mark that his own confidence has set and his own ability attained.

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IRELAND SUFFERS BY IRRESPONSIBLE RULE

By HUGH SUTHERLAND

HERE it is necessary to go back a little. Opponents of home rule will admit that Ireland as a whole has suffered a decline in population, a heavy drain in emigration and an industrial relapse. But, they say vehemently, all or very nearly all of the loss has been in the south and west; it is nationalist Ireland that has suffered; Ulster, on the contrary, has prospered continuously.

This view is highly interesting and quite worthy of examination. Here are the emigration figures for the four provinces for 1908:
Leinster 5,079,181
Connaught 7,880,125

There is more rapid emigration at this time from Ulster, then, than from any other province. Taking a broader view, Ulster lost 34 per cent of her population between 1841 and 1901, while all Ireland lost 45 per cent. It appears, therefore, that Ulster has suffered with the rest of the country from the governmental conditions which reduce population.

Ulster, of course, remains the chief industrial center, and is likely to retain its supremacy, for the reason that the skilled labor is available there and in no other part of the island. But gradual stagnation is visible there, too. Following are the numbers of persons employed in the textile industries in the years named:

1871 198,894,1891 129,884
1881 129,787,1901 109,588

Linen manufacture, by far the largest of the textile industries, employed 85,000 persons in 1891; it employs now about 70,000. The woolen industry shows a like decline.

Another test of good government is its effect upon the temper of the people. Good government produces peace and contentment. Since the act of union there have been three insurrections—in 1803, in 1848 and in 1867. And in order to forestall the return that these outbursts were due to religious hatred of England, let us note that Emmet, in 1803, and Thomas Davis, John Mitchell and Smith O'Brien, in 1848, were Protestants. In addition to these armed uprisings there has been a steady stream of unprovoked rebellions against English authority, which English statesmen of today are compelled to acknowledge were forced upon the people by an intolerable oppression.

Good government establishes civil and religious liberty. As evidence upon the former we find a coercion act for every year of the nineteenth century; that is, the suspension of trial by jury, free speech, a free press and virtually every other form of political freedom. Upon the matter of religious liberty we find that equality before the law was not granted until 1829, and that today discrimination on religious grounds permeates the government, the professional classes and every field of activity which the upholders of the present system control.

Good government means just taxation. Yet we have the testimony of an English commission that Ireland was overtaxed \$12,000,000 a year, in proportion to England, in 1896, and \$10,000,000 has been added to the taxation since then. The very foundation stone of good government is fair representation. Where Ireland stands in this regard has already been demonstrated. True, she has fair representation in the British parliament, but in the executive, administrative and judicial departments in Ireland the power is in the hands of a reactionary minority, the great mass of the people having no voice whatever in these affairs. Good government implies a judicial system responsive in some measure to public opinion and untainted by favoritism or class prejudice. The high courts of Ireland are dominated absolutely by the "Garrison," while the

rated by animosities far more bitter than today separate nationalists and unionists, English and Scotch, upon the country, in response to agitation, a halfway compromise constitution. Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec) had each an elected house of assembly and a nominated "senate." All executive power, however, remained with the appointed governor and his council, who were responsible to London and in no degree whatsoever to the people of Canada.

Against this system there arose a fierce agitation, which for years kept the country in turmoil. Monster meetings were held, when nationalist banners were flaunted and nationalist sentiments flung in the face of the government. Coercion just as savage as in Ireland was applied. Meetings were prohibited, speakers arrested and imprisoned, newspapers suppressed.

During all this time the Canadian "Ulster" was, of course, active, loudly proclaiming its loyalty to England, not to Canada—and calling upon the government to exterminate this propaganda of the majority and restore the rule of the minority. The whole trouble, they said—and how familiar it sounds now—was due to the fulminations of irresponsible agitators and the efforts of "a majority in numbers only" to dominate the "wealth, education and enterprise" of the country.

In a final effort to quell the agitation England suspended the Canadian governmental system altogether. The effect was to consolidate the opposition and fan the embers of rebellion. In 1837 when the British empire was rejoicing over the ascent of Queen Victoria to the throne, Canada was in arms. The revolt was short lived, but it was successful. England hastened to grant home rule, and for 70 years Canada, peaceful, loyal and prosperous, has been marching forward in the ranks of the free nations of the world.

The "Ulster" presents a striking feature of that Ireland—disaffection, a diminishing population, industrial stagnation, racial and religious strife, open rebellion—except that, when the rights, while Ireland has not. Canada today is unaffectedly friendly to Great Britain, while her government is wholly free. There is no hostility between the two countries, and sectarian animosity is negligible. English Catholics, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, is prime minister, honored by all citizens.

Canada is growing in wealth, power and prestige. Ireland, which stands today exactly where Canada stood before home rule was granted, is disaffected, harassed by differences, prohibited, willfully and misgovernment. What is the inevitable deduction?

It is found on the records of the Canadian parliament, which again and again has urged the British government to grant to Ireland the home rule which Canada enjoys. It is found in the parliamentary records of every self-governing colony in the British empire at the same effect. It is found in the records of the British parliament itself, not only in the speeches of such leaders as Gladstone and Bright, but in the passage of a home rule resolution through the house of commons at this very session.

Answers to Queries

MONARCH—Subscriber, City. What king is claimed "I am monarch of all I survey"?

They were not uttered by any king, but were written, it is supposed, by Alexander Selkirk (Robinson Crusoe), sailing master of the Cling Ports Galleon, who was left by Captain Stradling on the desolate island of Juan Fernandez, where he remained for four years.

CONCRETE BUILDING—F. E. M., Oakland, Cal. Which is the largest concrete office building in the United States?

The Pacific building at Fourth and Market streets in San Francisco.

ON A RESERVE—S. Point Bonita, Cal. Can a citizen who lives on a government reserve, as for instance Fort Barry, Marin county, vote in San Francisco?

If in the employ of the United States government he can.

FRENCH QUOTATION—Reader, City. What is the translation of the following: "Le secret d'enlever est cell de dire"?

This from "Les Discours Preliminaires" by Voltaire, means "the secret of making one's self tiresome is not to know when to stop."

ALEXANDER THE GREAT—D. H., Woodland, Cal. When did Alexander the Great appear in Harper's magazine?

SUFFRAGISTS DIVIDED INTO FOUR FACTIONS

By MARY ASHE MILLER

TROUBLESOME times encompass the suffragette in the present year of our Lord—in fact conversations with those of my sisters who hunger for the ballot lead me to believe that the cult has never before, even in the early days of the movement, encountered more swift and tempestuous waters.

This acute stage is reached not only through the men—women have endured the vagaries of mankind with philosophy and even heroism since the beginning of time—nor is it through those women who are indifferent to the equality of the sexes along political lines. It comes from within their own ranks and is a peculiar situation. Some one said historically a long time ago, "United we stand, divided we fall," but the suffragettes have managed, paradoxical as it may seem, to divide themselves into four main divisions, the result is that the organization is suffering from what one might term an indigestion of plans. They are strong as to their principles, but sadly mixed as to their methods.

I am told by suffragettes—I was not there myself—that the recent exciting annual election at the Stockton convention was due to a contest between those who still speak of "woman's work" and those who believe in pursuing the policy of peaceful progress were opposed by those who are in favor of the more aggressive "warlike" method of dealing with man. The result was a compromise with the balance somewhat in favor of the milder ladies.

To an impartial observer there seem to be four classes of those who fight for their "rights"—four main divisions, that is, with an occasional subdivision. Two of these are impersonal as regards their general attitude and the other two are determined to make it a hand to hand, man to man individual sort of battle, apparently.

First of all comes the old school of suffragists, those who have not become accustomed to being "suffragettes." These are impersonal beyond all others. Many of them have spoken in public of the "tyrant man" with horror in their voices and gone straight home to be loving, happy and doting affectionate mothers of men children.

There is something very beautiful in these older women, even to one who can not hold with them, they have been so steadfast and heroic. The old school said their prayers very hard for the coming of what they believed to be right and just. Nowadays, one may remark, a suffragist meeting is never a peaceful place.

Then they were sensitive, shrinking women, many of them, who carried themselves into the arena with a fine courageous determination. All honor is due to them and their faith, and be it said to the credit of the newer type that however much the younger women may disagree with the modes of work of the older ones, they accord, in most instances, at least, a seeming deference to their pioneers. This branch of the movement has become a trifle modernized, but they are consistently dignified, sincere and feminine.

Of the personal type of suffragists, there are, as I said, two parties, and the first of these is the aggressive. They say that the old fashioned methods have been in vogue for 20 years, and nothing has been gained, practically. The extremists of these warriors are the ones who are leading the politicians and police of London such a merry life. They are not the martyrs of 30 years ago, nerving themselves to the encounter. They glow with pride at their determined stand and would bring men to a recognition of their strength through forceful demonstrations.

In this country, where riots and tumults and prison bars do not prevail, legislators are harassed and political parties are besieged. Political jockeying is not scored in many instances, and the results as regards the women themselves is not always happy. Some of the workers become embittered, and their remarks are, to say the least, vituperative. This stand is heartily regretted by many suffragists, who feel

that harm is done the cause in this way.

The other branch of this personal party is perhaps the newest development—the latest thing in suffragettes, as it were—and is opposed to the methods of their aggressive sisters.

These seek for their propagandists the dainty, well gowned, softly feminine and persuasive, with logical appeals, statistics and amusing little tales to coerce the masculine mind. They approve, they will tell you, of the British suffragettes, but in their heaven, prettily, that the men in this country do not require such treatment. They are sincere in their hope and desire for suffrage, and are ardent workers along their own lines, but their creed is contained in the remark of one of their party to me: "We should be of all things womanly, I believe, because the men are going to criticize us for our attitude, and we should give them no reason to find fault with us personally."

Among the different types of women in these personal divisions may be found the "fluffy ruffians" of the suffrage world. These are women with no particular aims or occupations, who have no absorbing interest in social or club life, church or charitable work, and who must find some diversion or excitement outside the domestic circle. For such as these, suffrage warfare is simply a safety valve for their surplus energies. They have no property interests to protect; no desire for a vote save as a seemingly unattainable thing; no true grasp of the ethics of the movement, nothing save a superficial, lamentable desire to be in the limelight.

Do not feel that I am thus classifying all suffragists, or in fact any but a small proportion of them. It is in simple justice to the movement at large that I segregate these detrimental types. For the last, I have reserved the other branch of the impersonal suffragists because I consider them the most important as the most powerful. These are the working women—the waitresses, the laundresses, the garment workers and the other women of the labor unions. I believe that through them will come first to women the right to vote.

Unhappy as it may make some women to realize it, the ballot must come to women through the votes of men. These working women take suffrage as no matter of sentiment, or ethics, or question of sentiment, it is simply a diversion of shorter hours, better pay and better living conditions generally. They are convinced that they will gain power through the ballot.

I asked an official of the waitresses' union once if she wanted the right of suffrage.

"Yes," she said, "you bet I want to vote. I'm working all I know how for an eight hour day for waitresses, and I'd come a lot nearer landing it if I was of some use politically."

"Then," I said, "if you had an eight hour day, would you lose your interest in suffrage, would you?"

"Oh, no," she answered, "I guess we'd be wanting something else then, and a voting power would be pretty useful to have around a union."

One statement of this order would appear more to those men who must grant the right than a thousand which were less definite and practical. The women of the wage earning bodies may also use as a powerful argument the fact that their votes would increase the general force of the union labor party, and their fellow workers will, from motives of self-interest, as well as a realization of the justice of their demands, strive to aid them. These women have little patience with some of the other suffragists and do not hesitate to express their scorn of their methods. And so, with all these twists and turns, these deviating modes of expression and work, the fight goes on for equal suffrage with that absorbing enthusiasm, that untiring devotion which women have displayed for one cause or another since the beginning of history.