EDITORIAL NOTES

Peace or War?

The moment of writing, clouds have again appeared in the Balkans, and what seemed to be a clearing sky is once more, and ominously, overcast. But the political weather at present is very changeable, and the threatened storm may pass, with such sunshine for Christmastide as may be found by those tens of thousands who have already paid their share of the reckoning of dead and wounded. It is a pity that modern war, which has so many earnest advocates as a regenerator of nations, cannot be adapted to drawing-room requirements, the game being played on a small scale, but with sufficient blood on the carpet to indicate the complete exhilarating exhibition. If nations can only be regenerated by sending the pick of their manhood to the shambles, the regeneration would seem scarcely worth while, and internationalism might be given a trial.

It is impossible to disguise the seriousness of the Austrian and Servian preparations for a winter campaign, particularly the appointment of General von Hoetzendorf to succeed General Schemua as the Austrian Chief of Staff. Russia, of course, is mobilizing; and it would need only a small incident to precipitate a conflict of gigantic proportions. This, then, is the time for the apostles of the regenerative influence of slaughter to come forward and do their best to inflame national animosities. The rostrum is at present vacant. Will any militarist step forward—or perhaps Colonel Roosevelt would like to encourage at least a rehearsal of Armageddon?

The Terms of Peace

THE terms of peace proposed by Bulgaria would have staggered the world before the recent successes transformed exaggeration into moderation. The suggested frontier of Turkey in Europe will run from Enos, a port east of Dedeagatch, to Midia, on the Black Sea. The lower reaches of the Maritza and the line of the Ergene would provide natural boundaries.

This would still leave Turkey a considerable portion of Thrace,—a regrettable contingency. The work that has been almost done might well have been completed. Turkey as an Asiatic empire would have a chance of justifying herself; as a European excrescence she presents merely a problem for future surgery.

The disposition of the conquered territory will be decided by the Allies, subject to the approval or bickering of the Powers. The question of Servia's "little window" on the sea should not prove insoluble. Unfortunately, however, a powder magazine in which anyone is liable to drop a match is not the most suitable place in which to discuss differences of opinion.

In the meantime, Greece is quietly picking up unconsidered trifles, and in the end she will probably retain Crete and all the islands she has conquered, together with part of Epirus as well as Thessaly. Bulgaria will try to assimilate all of Thrace that is not allotted as a consolation prize to the Sultan, and as she will have to adjust frontiers with Roumania, she will probably seek additional compensation. Servia's share will depend on whether her outlet to the sea is to be between Albania and Montenegro on the Adriatic, or on the Ægean. Albania, no doubt, will be converted into a principality, perhaps on a federal basis and under the guarantee of the Powers.

These are the probabilities—apart from the distractions of diplomacy and the threatening attitude of Austria-Hungary. It would be amusing—as amusement is taken in diplomatic circles—if Europe were to be plunged into a general war for the sake of thirty miles of rocky coast-line coveted by Servia.

An Emperor of Byzantium

THE idea of an Emperor of Byzantium reigning over a new Christian Empire extending from the Bosphorus to the Danube, and from the Ægean almost to the frontier of Hungary, however fascinating both to the mediævalist and the modernist, seems destined to pass unrealized. A Balkan Federation stretching from Crete to Belgrade, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, would naturally be the seventh Great Power—but

it would also be the eighth Wonder of the World. There are too many jealousies to be placated, and Europe has become accustomed to the possession of the City of Constantine by an Asiatic race. Every effort will be made at the Peace Conference at London to leave the Sultan as large a strip of territory as possible on the European side of the straits. It is undesirable to revive religious animosities; but the century which witnessed the fall of Constantinople would be astonished at the attitude of the diplomatists of to-day, bolstering up a decayed power and an outmoded régime because of their inability to agree as to the disposition of the spoils.

A Trial of Strength

WE shall all watch with interest—and we shall probably be watching for a considerable time—the progress of the different proceedings that have been instituted, or will be instituted, to postpone and if possible avert the penalty to which Becker and the convicted gun-men have been sentenced. We hold no brief for capital punishment. It is unpleasant, as murder is unpleasant. It is tragic, as murder is tragic. The system that produces Beckers, and the slums, saloons, dives, and administrative incompetence that produce gun-men, are more vicious than their individual products. A really civilized community would devote its rigorous attention to the conditions that foster criminality, and provide remedial rather than punitive measures for the victims. But the Rosenthal case must be taken as it stands, in relation to existing conditions. A supreme principle is involved—whether the commercialization of vice is to be permitted or exterminated. Mr. Whitman has done fine work, in the face of extraordinary obstacles. That work cannot be nullified. Whatever remains to be done must be done quickly. must not become the tool of the underworld that flouts it habitually, but makes the fullest use of legal technicalities and evasions when the flow of "easy money" for graft and murder has been cut off, and the police bully and the slum bully are in the toils at last. This is a test case—a clear trial of strength between decency and intolerable indecency. Every effort has been made to belittle or confuse the issue—but the underworld is not under any misapprehensions. It is fighting for the immunity that corrupt or incompetent administrations have tried to establish as the special privilege of organized criminality. If the underworld succeeds in this instance, decency may prepare for a long hibernation—for which it will deserve little sympathy.

The English Insurgents

THE civil war in England has been dwarfed by the Balkan situation, but the latest advices from London show that the campaign is being assiduously carried on. Several letter boxes occupying strategic positions were captured by the insurgents, and their contents destroyed, though the Government forces by a flank movement subsequently regained possession, which may prove only temporary. The country is in a critical condition in consequence of so many women having been withdrawn from their peaceful avocations; the marriage rate is falling; coal is dearer; the plate glass insurance companies are charging prohibitive premiums; and it is confidently expected that the whole trade of the kingdom will be paralyzed and its prosperity permanently destroyed. In spite, however, of the uncompromising attitude of some of the insurgent leaders, there will probably be an interval for refreshments at Christmastide; but hostilities will be renewed on Boxing Day, and some intercepted despatches from headquarters indicate that the next point of attack will be the candy stores, sufficient vitriol having been secured to destroy all the candy in stock. By thus bringing pressure to bear upon the children, deprived of their customary consolation, it is hoped that the justice of the insurgent cause and the moderation with which it has been prosecuted will be made indisputably clear to public opinion.

Criminal Outrages

At the conference of governors at Richmond, Virginia, Governor Cole L. Blease of South Carolina declared publicly and emphatically that he approved of lynching in cases of criminal assault by negroes on white women.

For two things, and for two things only, in this connection, Governor Blease may be commended: he has the courage to make his position quite clear, instead of resorting to evasion; and he has the intelligence to perceive that constitutions are not rigid cages, within which nations and individuals must be content to grow as best they can, even though they may be unable either to stand upright or to lie down at full length. When he exclaimed "To hell with the constitution!" he was expressing, if somewhat impolitely, a profound principle, which we should do well to consider more attentively. Though the wisdom of the Fathers may have been remarkable, the wisdom of the sons need not be petrified. Certain guarantees of order and stability we must have; but the parrot cry that what has been done once has been done forever, that the eighteenth century must mould and dominate all its successors, is merely an irritating nuisance. Society has too long been devoted to its straitjacket. We need more elasticity, in political, industrial and social life. The men who can transcend tradition, defy convention, discard routine, and bring initiative and new force to the solution of new problems, are the natural leaders of a nation. The letter of a law can never be more sacred than the spirit, all the pharisees, ancient and modern, notwithstanding. The Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath—though the sabbath was proclaimed in Genesis and hedged with all the sanctities of the centuries.

So much for digression. With regard to the open advocacy of mob violence, there must be complete condemnation. The subject of the "black peril" is a painful one, not easily discussed, and certainly not easily settled. It is not a problem for America alone; in certain districts of South Africa white women have learnt to carry and to use revolvers. One cannot consider the question in an academic spirit, or deny full comprehension of the attitude of those who face an ever-present menace. There are some issues of life and death that cannot be brought within the limits of any code of normal conduct; there are conditions under which any man living would throw theory to the winds and carry all the statutes of all the nations in one clenched hand. But no man may be allowed to stand up and say that as the responsible Executive of a State he will support and encourage

the substitution of mob violence, with its constant possibilities of mistakes that can never be remedied, for the proper and effective processes of law. If a man has to die, and the law cannot kill him swiftly or painfully enough, alter the law; blazon it out that there is boiling oil, or whatever may be chosen, for the negro, and a careful trial for the white man. But let us, here as in other cases, have done with hypocrisy: the hypocrisy that proclaims equal citizenship and equal rights—subject to the impartial discrimination of lynch law.

A House of Mystery

THE world and his wife are notoriously attracted by a mystery, whether in a story, a woman, a man or a house. The mystery of the Man in the Iron Mask—so ingeniously used by Dumas père; of Glamis Castle, with its gloomy secret revealed to each heir as he comes of age, but tenaciously withheld from the public; of the little Dauphin whose memorial is a formal numeral between the sixteenth Louis and the eighteenth; of Napoleon's strange and fateful indispositions; of the treasures of the Incas and the lost ransom of Montezuma; of the Letters of Junius; of Fiona Macleod; of the Wandering Jew; and, in later fiction, of a Hansom Cab and the Yellow Room;—solved or unsolved, these and their thousands of parallels have provided fitting food for curiosity.

One more mystery, with the sap extracted, has now been added to the list of those that have surrendered to Time their power to baffle and perplex. The house of Dr. Phené, the recluse of Chelsea, has been explored and its contents put up for auction. A man of great learning and the owner of a good deal of property, Dr. Phené lived for many years in a fantastic and unfinished house in Oakley Street, Chelsea, London. The house had extensive grounds, and at the further end of these was another building, long left deserted. Legend ran that the houses were stored with amazing treasures. They were decorated outside with stucco statues of all kinds of deities, and people peeping over the walls could see vast masses of stonework and odd collections of statuary in the grounds. There were

many speculations as to what would be found when Dr. Phené died, an event which occurred last March. And last week prospective buyers were admitted to the houses to examine the collection of—rubbish. The grounds were heaped up—so that it was scarcely possible to find pathways through—with stonework, broken statues, innumerable stucco casts, chipped and battered figures taken from old churches, blocks of unhewn marble, piles of tiles of hideous designs—everything in hopeless disorder. The rooms themselves were full of broken furniture, broken statues, piles of engravings—and dirt everywhere.

So one more illusion is shattered—and no one is much the wiser.

Single Terms

MR. TAFT's advocacy, at the Lotos Club, of the six-year Presidential term, without re-election, brings again into momentary prominence a proposal that may well be dropped. The existing four years is already too long for a President who has proved that his election was a mistake, while it would be wrong to deprive the country by a rigid rule of the services of a President to whom a second term would be gladly conceded. There is neither danger nor disadvantage in a single re-election, unless the President is able to use the leverage of his position to remain in office against the general desire of the public. It is contended that the last election disposed finally of this argument; but it would be unwise to try to draw conclusions from an election conducted under unprecedented conditions, with one of the great parties disorganized and demoralized. The remedy for abuses of power lies, not in the single term restriction, but in placing the nomination and election of the President in more suitable hands than those of State bosses and machine-voted delegates to disorderly conventions.

Procurers and the Lash

A BILL dealing with the "white slave" traffic has passed through all its stages in the British House of Commons, and through its second reading, without a division, in the House of Lords. Flogging is provided for procurers and—at the second conviction—for men who live upon the immoral earnings of women. A first conviction should be quite sufficient to earn the reward of the lash. Lord Willoughby de Broke referred to the commercialization of vice. The real thing at the bottom of the question, he said, was the love of money. During one single year the profits from the trade of the procurer in Chicago amounted to something like \$15,000,000.

Yet Chicago has had a police force for some time.

Legal Lunacy

In his article *Prison Bars* in this issue of THE FORUM, Mr. Donald Lowrie draws attention to some startling contrasts in the administration of the law in California.

"I know," he states, "a professional 'crook,' a man thoroughly familiar with court procedure, who was sent back to San Quentin for his tenth offence with a sentence of one year. He had served nine previous terms for felony. I know another man who came back the seventh time with a sentence of two years. I know five youths, all under 21 years of age, who were sentenced to serve 50 years each for their first offence. A particularly atrocious robbery had occurred in the community, and they, the subsequent and minor offenders, were used as 'examples.'"

"Do you wonder," Mr. Lowrie adds, "that I advocate the indeterminate sentence?"

Scarcely.

But we may wonder how long it will be before a judge who could sentence a boy to fifty years for his first offence will be certified as legally insane and provided with his proper environment in a criminal asylum.



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NEW day seems to be dawning for the American drama and stage. The quality of the plays winning public approval has been steadily improving. The play-reading habit, formerly almost wholly missing, has been growing with astonishing rapidity. This tendency toward better things has brought with it a desire for acquaintance with the best dramatic production of other countries. Much has been done in a few years to meet this desire, but the greater part of the necessary work remains still undone. The Modern Drama Series aims at accomplishing it in a systematic way and under circumstances promising equal satisfaction to the scholar and the layman. Much that is desirable, or even great, may, for various reasons, have to be left out of the series, but nothing will be included that is not worthy of intelligent attention. While chiefly made up of translations, the series will find a place for English and American plays of a high order. It will deal primarily with the contemporary drama, but may also, for the sake of the historical background, include certain plays from earlier periods. The editor of the series, who is well known both through his studies in modern literature and through his English version of August Strindberg's plays, will contribute translations from the three Scandinavian languages and German. From those chosen to assist him, three essential qualities will be exacted: familiarity with the language of the original, artistic command of the English language, and ability to grasp not only the letter but the spirit of the work to be transplanted. Translations from the Russian will be made by Thomas Seltzer; from the French, by Freeman Tilden; from the Italian, by Allan and Edith Updegraff. Two or more volumes will be published during the coming Spring. Each volume will contain three plays by the same author, together with introduction and bibliography. Further announcements concerning the series will be made as the plans for it mature.

Contributors to the February Forum

- George Bourne has contributed before to The Forum. He is the author of *The Bettesworth Book, Memoirs of a Surrey Labourer*, and *Change in the Village*,—a succession of quiet, pregnant studies of life and the philosophy of life as they may be found "far from the madding crowd."
- Walter Lippmann was born in New York City in September, 1889. He graduated from Harvard in the class of 1910, and then spent a year in post-graduate work in philosophy, holding an appointment as assistant in philosophy under Professor George Santayana. At Harvard, he was editor of The Harvard Monthly, president of the Harvard Socialist Club, and member of Phi Beta Kappa. He was connected with The Boston Common for a short time, and was then taken on to the staff of Everybody's. For almost a year he assisted Lincoln Steffens in an investigation of the "money power." In January, 1912, he was appointed Executive Secretary to Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, but resigned in May, subsequently publishing a criticism of the socialist administration in The New York Call. He has contributed articles to Everybody's, The Times Book Review, and other periodicals.
- Cosmo Hamilton was born in London, England, and has English, Irish and French blood in his veins. While he is a Tory by inheritance, he is by conviction intolerant of convention. He was the third editor of the London World and started and owned the well known Tuesday Review at Oxford University. He has written many novels and many plays, and has been unusually successful. He recently came to this country to observe the reception of his latest play, The Blindness of Virtue; to read some of the notices of his latest novel, The Outpost of Eternity; and to explain to Eugenists his views with regard to the teaching of sex hygiene in schools and colleges. He is still in the early thirties, plays golf for exercise, enjoys work, and is a complete optimist, with many friends and one enemy.
- ARTHUR STRINGER was born at London, Ontario, in 1874. He was educated at Toronto University and at Oxford, England. He is the author of several books of poems and prose, including The Loom of Destiny, The Woman in the Rain, and Irish Poems.
- EDWIN DAVIES SCHOONMAKER was born in Scranton, Pennsylvania. He was educated in the public schools of Ohio and Kentucky, and then at Kentucky Wesleyan College and Kentucky University, graduating from the university with the A.B. degree, and later receiving the honorary A.M. degree. For some time he filled the chair of Latin and Greek in Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois, but resigned to take up post-graduate work in the University of Chicago. He is the author of *The Saxons*, and of *The Americans*, a remarkable drama which will be published shortly.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FEBRUARY FORUM

- HILDEGARDE HAWTHORNE was born in New York City, but at the age of three months was taken to Germany. She remained abroad for twelve years, spending most of the time in Germany. Returning to America, she soon left again for Jamaica, W. I., where she lived for two years, followed by another year in Europe—chiefly in France and Italy. Since then she has remained in her own country and for the past three years has been successfully engaged in literary work in New York. She is devoted to the country and to all open-air pursuits—walking, riding, tennis, sailing, canoeing. She is a competent farmer and can milk a cow and plough a straight furrow.
- Charles L. Buchanan was born in New York in 1884. For some time he was connected with *The Hartford Courant* as book reviewer, and afterwards was dramatic and musical critic for the New York *Globe*.
- MARIAN Cox was born in Missouri, but resides in New York when she is not travelling round the world. She is the author of Crowds and the Veiled Woman, and of Spiritual Curiosities. Several of her short stories have appeared in The Forum.
- James Marie Hopper was born in Paris in 1876, his father being Irish and his mother French. His father dying in 1887, the remainder of the family came to California, settling in Oakland. Mr. Hopper was educated in the public schools there, and at the University of California. After graduating he took up newspaper work, but in 1902 went to the Philippines, where he wrote the first of his Philippine stories. He is the author of several books and many short stories.
- E. E. Miller was born in eastern Tennessee in 1879, and has spent most of his time in farming and in writing about farming. He has contributed country-life and agricultural papers to the leading periodicals. Since 1908 he has been managing editor of *The Progressive Farmer*.
- L. L. Bernard was born in Kentucky in 1881, removing to West Texas at the age of eight. He was educated at the University of Missouri and at the University of Chicago, receiving from the latter institution the degree of Ph.D. in sociology in 1910. After teaching sociology for one year at Western Reserve University he was appointed to the chair of history and the social sciences in the University of Florida, which he now occupies. He is vice-president of the Florida Conference of Charities and Correction and a member of the executive committee of the Southern Sociological Congress.
- W. B. Trites was born in Philadelphia in 1872. He was educated at the Philadelphia Episcopal Academy and the University of Pennsylvania, and is the author of two novels, *John Cave* and *Life*.

The Forum for 1913

AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

- One of the leading features of The Forum for the next few months will be a series of articles on The New Abolition Movement, by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer. In these papers the social evil and "white slave" problems will be considered fully and without reservations. It is already becoming clear, even to those who glibly repeat that the evil has always existed, and always will, that a new science of human development is coming into being. Eugenics has done much; it has shown that the sacrifice of the essential beauty of sex-relationship to greed and lust can no longer be tolerated. In spite of all the stereotyped arguments of those who preach the gospel of outward decency and inner corruption, the balanced investigations of scientists and the daily efforts of educators are crystallizing the issue and bringing nearer the inevitable result: the wiping out of the traffic in womanhood and the extinction of the commercialized brothel. But eugenics must be supplemented; the new science of human development must be born.
- All that is implied in this new science will be made clear in Mrs. Spencer's articles. The old position that ignorance constitutes virtue has already been abandoned. Men and women have discarded the stupid superstition that conditions that vitally affect hundreds of thousands of both sexes every year should not be discussed, but should be allowed unchecked to drain the life-force of the nation. The new movement demands knowledge as the preliminary to action; and the finest women and men of the day are preparing to take a part in the discussion that has too long been left to the settlement of those directly interested in the commercialization of vice, or irrevocably bound by the prejudices of the generations which tolerated the intolerable, in the name of false modesty.
- In addition to Mrs. Spencer's articles, there will be four papers by Darrell Figgis on the subject of A Nation in Ireland. These will be of exceptional interest to all Irishmen, and to all, of whatever nationality, who wish to understand the true nature of the Irish question and the real position of Ireland to-day.
- In the present number, there is a paper by Walter Lippmann on The Taboo in Politics. This will be followed by several others, in which the whole philosophy and practice of politics will be subjected to the analysis of a searching intellect. The originality and freshness of these contributions will be found to be as distinctive as their clarity and effectiveness.
- There will be other special features, including a new serial. So far as possible, the articles will be shorter and more condensed, so that a wider range of topics may be covered each month. Poetry will continue to receive a conspicuous position, and it is hoped that the poets of America will send in their best work, abandoning more and more the conventional and traditional, and giving to the Time-Spirit what it has not yet received—adequate expression. The Factory, a long poem by Harry Kemp, will appear shortly. Spring odes and out-moded moralizings are not desired. It is better to fail with an idea that was at least worth while, than to succeed unimportantly by following worn—and worn-out—grooves.