

He did not mention that the same lack of humor which permitted him to use these words had made it possible for him to endeavor to work the Pope into his scheme, and to secure from Rome a dispensation by which he hoped to reconcile the faith he has always held with the faith to which his son is now, by an ironical use of the phrase, said to be converted. If Ferdinand had had the honesty to say that for reasons of state he had concluded to change the faith of his family, the world would have at least respected his courage and frankness.



## Is Arbitration Practicable?

It is practicable to constitute a permanent tribunal for the settlement of all disputes between the United States and Great Britain. If not, why not?

Are there not questions that cannot be submitted to arbitration? No more between Great Britain and the United States than between New York and Massachusetts. A hundred years of success have demonstrated that there are no questions which cannot be more safely, justly, economically settled by the judgment of a court than by wager of battle. The argument that there are questions of national honor which cannot be arbitrated is a reproduction in a new form of the old argument in defense of the duel. But the duel has been abolished, and the honor of gentlemen is better secured than by the pistol and the sword. The argument that a nation cannot leave to arbitration the protection of its own citizens is a revival of the argument that a husband cannot leave to the courts the protection of his wife and his children; and the answer is that their rights are better protected by law than by war. We are asked if we would leave to a court the question whether the purchase of Louisiana was legitimately concluded. Certainly, if that question were raised: as every individual leaves to the courts the question whether his own title-deeds are adequate or not. In fact, such a question would not be raised. The mere existence of an honest and impartial tribunal prevents fraud or force from assailing rights which but for such a tribunal might be assailed. No international court would have transferred French Alsace to Germany against the will of its inhabitants.

How could the decisions of such a tribunal be enforced? Exactly as the decisions of international tribunals are now enforced. For a century, question after question between England and the United States has been submitted to arbitration. There has been no sheriff to enforce the decisions of these tribunals, and none has been needed. National honor has sufficed. National honor will continue to suffice. The people of neither country would go to war to resist the decree of a tribunal of their own choosing. For evidence is the fact that neither country has resisted such decree in the issues of the past.

Is force never to be used? There are two cases, and only two, which justify resort to force. The first is when there is no law; the second, when law is defied by the lawless. In a newly settled territory, before courts of justice are established and police are organized, each man must protect himself by force when attacked. In an old, settled State, if a mob undertakes to set law at defiance, it must be resisted and quelled by force. What is now proposed is to abolish the first occasion of war between civilized nations, as it is abolished in all civilized communities; to provide law where none now exists; to leave as the only justification for war a refusal by the nation to submit to the law which it has itself invoked. In fact, between England and the United States there would never be another war,

or rumor of war, if once a tribunal were created to which controversies could be, as matter of course, submitted.

Is an international tribunal practicable? Let the questioner ask and answer another question: Is war practicable? Is wager of battle between nations any better than between individuals? It substitutes might for right, and gives victory to strength, not to justice. And with what result? Ask Marengo and Austerlitz, Magenta and Sadowa, Metz and Paris; ask a population decimated by the long Napoleonic wars; ask the widowed, the orphans, the childless; ask the European peasantry, impoverished by the burden of an intolerable tax—one-third going to pay the interest on debts incurred in past wars, one-third to pay the cost involved in preparation for possible wars in the future. Imagine, reader, that one-third of your income was pledged to pay interest on money you had borrowed and sunk in fighting your neighbors on either side of you, and one-third more in keeping your home and factory armed against anticipated attacks from them—how would life prosper with you? That is the condition of Europe to-day. That is the condition into which the military spirit is unconsciously seeking to plunge the United States.

And war is as inefficacious as it is costly. There is one question, and only one, that it ever settles: the question of authority. It determines that the authority for the Colonies is vested in the Colonies, not in the English Parliament. It determines that the supreme authority for the United States is vested in the Nation, not in the State. But other questions settled by war remain unsettled. Waterloo determines that France shall be monarchical—and it is a Republic. The Crimean War determines that Russia shall have no foothold on the Mediterranean Sea—and she never was so near the consummation of her patient ambition as she is to-day. For one purpose, and for one only, is war legitimate: to enforce law. One question, and one only, can it determine: where resides the authority to make law. The substitution of law for war as a means of settling all controversies between these two great Nations would be a splendid consummation of a splendid century, and would lead on by rapid processes to an international tribunal for all Christendom.



## The Salvation Army Troubles

The division in the Salvation Army is the inevitable result of the attempt to organize and maintain absolutism in a democratic age. The Salvation Army is by the very principles of its order an autocracy. Its Commander-in-Chief is an absolute despot, though he may be a consecrated, conscientious, and benevolent despot. In our time, and certainly in our country, such a despotism can be maintained only in case he who possesses the authority exercises such discretion in wielding it as to allow large liberty to departmental and other subordinate heads. Local self-government is inherent in American institutions. It has in this country modified the Roman Catholic Church, revolutionized the Mormon Church, and affected even the Jesuit Order. The Roman Catholic autocrat and the Jesuit autocrat have been wise enough to perceive the necessity of flexibility in organization, and have allowed it. General Booth has not been wise enough to perceive the necessity of such flexibility, and therefore his organization has suffered fracture.

We say suffered fracture, for this is the fact, however strongly on the one hand the English representatives of the autocracy deny it, however strongly on the other hand Commander and Mrs. Booth disavow any intention or desire to produce it. They had the practical sagacity to

adopt American methods and adapt themselves and their work to the American spirit. They saw that there were no caste lines in America, and ignored caste, as the Salvation Army does not, and probably cannot, in England. They saw that drums and fifes and salvation parades did not gather people together in American cities as they have operated to gather men together in English cities, and they allowed the Salvation parade to drop into the background. They perceived quite as clearly as General Booth that there is a social as well as a personal salvation, and set themselves quite as vigorously to accomplish the first as the second. In doing this they recognized the difference between American and English society, and adapted their methods and their work accordingly. They found it possible to interest men and women of the highest social standing, of the greatest literary culture, and of considerable wealth, and attached them to the Army in an auxiliary organization which does not require of its members any such unquestioning allegiance as is required of Salvation "soldiers." In short, in a country where there is an American Catholic Church they organized an American Salvation Army. Its marvelous growth, its great achievements, and the almost universal respect which it has won from all classes, constitute the best possible witness to the wisdom of their methods and the consecration of their spirit.

Unfortunately, however, the headquarters at London fell into the error too common in all ecclesiastical organizations—that of measuring work, not by the results produced, but by the methods pursued. It was resolved to re-Anglicize the Army, and for this purpose its American commanders were recalled. Into the newspaper disputes on questions of fact which have ensued it would be profitless to enter. The public must measure this unhappy controversy, not by doubtful information respecting details, not by contradictory gossip, but by the official action of the parties, and that official action leaves no room to question that the fracture which has taken place in the Salvation Army, and which nothing now can probably avail to mend, is due to the endeavor to extend an autocratic organization by autocratic methods over a democratic community. We publish in another column the official statement of Commander and Mrs. Ballington Booth to the American people. To this statement we ought to add the report of their affirmation that they have not left the Salvation Army "because of unwillingness to surrender our command or leave this country;" that they were quietly taking their farewell, although, "for certain reasons, we could not feel free to enter upon another command," when the requirement instantly to hand over their authority to another officer came to them; and that they also affirm concerning the property that "we intend, as soon as we can legally and properly deed this over, to do so, upon the understanding that it be thoroughly secured for the uses and purposes of those who contributed the money and for the rank and file of the Salvation Army. We do not want it."

The hisses with which Eva Booth was received at the Cooper Union meeting on Sunday night indicate, unhappily, in the rank and file a spirit less gracious and Christian than that which Commander and Mrs. Booth have shown. There is little doubt that there will be a new American Army growing out of this separation, and organized on principles more democratic than the English autocracy. There is little doubt, either, that the future is with the American rather than with the English branch. All Christians, yes, all true philanthropists, will do what they can to secure peace and co-operation between these two organizations, to expel from both the unchristian spirit which showed itself

in the Cooper Union meeting, and to promote the spirit which is seen in the statement issued by Mr. and Mrs. Ballington Booth to the American people.



## Saleswomen and the Factory Law

For several years we have reported the efforts of an earnest body of New York citizens to secure from the Legislature for women and girls in stores the same protection against overwork and unwholesome surroundings as is now given to women and girls in factories. Each year the bill has been "killed," but each succeeding year it has been urged upon the Legislature with a stronger force of public opinion back of it. This year many of the merchants who have hitherto antagonized the measure have decided that it is better for them to compromise than to continue the battle. They have, therefore, given their approval to a new bill providing, like those that have been defeated, against more than sixty hours' work a week from any boy under sixteen or any woman or girl under twenty-one, and requiring certain provisions for the health of employees to be made in every mercantile establishment. The bill now before the Legislature differs from those defeated in the past in that the responsibility for the enforcement of its provisions is left with the Board of Health instead of with the Factory Inspectors, who in the previous bill had naturally been made responsible. The bill, however, in its amended form is invaluable, and its passage seems to be secured. The support which has carried it through has not been distinctively that of the trades-unions, for there are no trades-unions among salesmen and women in stores. It has not been due to the demands of these employees, for while they will say in private that they desire such a measure, they fear to urge it in public, believing that their situations would be endangered thereby. The effective support for the measure has come from such bodies as the Consumers' League, the Workingwomen's Society, and the Social Reform Club, consisting of men and women having no selfish interests at stake, but urging the cause of the saleswomen from motives of humanity and religion.

The wrongs that the Mercantile Inspection Bill seeks to set right are not fancied or theoretical ones. Those who have made careful, thorough, and impartial investigations know that a state of things exists in some of the great New York department stores that is no less than brutal. Dr. W. S. Rainsford, the rector of St. George's Church, of this city, gives over his own name, which is a sufficient guarantee of accuracy, the following examples of cases of which he personally knows:

"*Saleswoman*, twenty-four years old, works at Macy's, receives four dollars per week; worked for ten week-days before Christmas from 8 A.M. to 10:30 P.M., and on Sunday from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.; received sixty-seven cents for Sunday work, but no extra pay and no food when kept late during the week.

"*Sales-girl*, sixteen years old, works at Ludwig's, receives three dollars per week; worked nine days before Christmas from 8 A.M. to 11 P.M., and on Christmas Eve until 12:30 midnight; received no extra pay for overtime and given no food.

"*Cash-girl*, fourteen years old, works at Ehrichs', receives one dollar and seventy-five cents per week; worked two weeks and two days before Christmas from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M., and sometimes to 12 midnight; received twenty-five cents per week for extra work and a cup of tea each night."

Dr. Rainsford adds: "These are young girls. Such work as this simply destroys their youth and prepares them, aye, and many thousands like them, for a faulty and decrepit womanhood. What are we going to do about it?"

One thing to do is to let such abuses be publicly known,