A Magazine for your Reading Table
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS PAGE

HEN considering the question of Disarmament with its handmaid Arbitration, in the various forms sug-

gested for adjusting international disputes, men are apt to look upon War as a fortuitous evil, regardless of its being a manifestation of deep seated causes, which must be removed if the effect is to be obviated. Clearly recognizing that in many cases arbitration cannot remove the causes underlying war, the statesmen responsible for the welfare of nations persist in continuing or enlarging armament, as the only certain means of maintaining peace. It is an irony of the present situation, that

one of the most noisy and self-advertising advocates of disarmament and arbitration has admitted that the chief effective champion of peace is the War-Lord of the greatest army and of the second largest navy now existing.

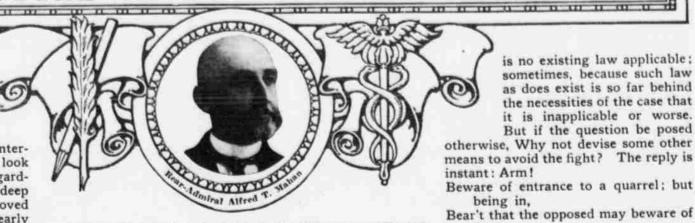
Armament is the organization and consecration of force as a factor in the maintenance of justice, order and peace. It is the highest ex-

pression of that element in civilization—force—which has created and now upholds society; giving efficacy to the pronouncements of law, whether by the legislature or in the courts. Organized force, alone, enables the quiet and the weak to go about their business, and to sleep securely, safe from the assaults of violence without or within.

HAT parts of New York City are esteemed unsafe at times to the ordinary citizen, is due to inadequacy of organized force for his protection, to whatever that inadequacy be attributed. This social assurance has become so essential that mankind will submit to much restriction of liberty, if continued security for life and property can be had by no other means. The despot follows hard on the heels of anarchy.

Nations have the same need for quiet that the individual feels; and the necessity is the more urgent by so much as the welfare of millions exceeds that of an in-dividual. Although under imperfect police conditions many are exposed to violence, the sufferers are comparatively few; while, if the incidents be frequent, the community becomes aroused and suppression fol-lows. But War not only affects many directly by death, but, through the complicated network of social and economical relations, involves indirectly all members of the state.

Why then not arbitrate, in-stead of fight? Because arbitration in a large minority of instances, if not in an actual majority, is incompetent to pronounce upon the conflicting claims of nations. It is incompetent, sometimes because there



THE FOLLY OF THE HAGUE

Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan The Statesman of the Navy

Take, for example, the late conflicts in the Balkans. What were the causes? The political incapacity of Turkey — permitting or inflicting hideous social outrages in her territory; the wrath of neighboring kindred peoples over these sufferings; and the incompetency of European diplomacy during thirty years to induce or compel Turkey to institute adequate reforms, contemplated by the Treaty of Berlin. Simply study the history of Young Turk gov-

thee.

the past decade.

ernment in the provinces through

is no existing law applicable;

sometimes, because such law

as does exist is so far behind

the necessities of the case that

it is inapplicable or worse.

But if the question be posed

For, if thus made aware, he will not at-

tack. This is the whole theory of Ar-

mament, which has kept the peace in a

half dozen quarrels in Europe during

the years 1909-1912.

[]NHAPPILY, the Powers, having acquiesced in the miseries of the Turkish prov-inces, intervened with a peaceful arbitrament on their own account, in their own interests.

The Council of the Ambassadors in London was an extemporized Court of Arbitration. It preserved European peace because, in view of the universal armaments, each nation feared above all — war. Armaments secured peace. The arbitrary interference which adjusted Albania could with equal right - or unright - have gone further and settled all the territorial results; but it stopped short because no law warranted action, and to intervene might have provoked dissensions which only fear of. existing armaments could allay. So the Powers followed their old policy to let anything happen in the Balkans if thereby they themselves risked nothing. Arbitra-tion broke down when most needed.

A condition analogous to the Balkans obtained in Cuba in 1898: oppression of a people by an alien rule. Armament put an end to this; the United States rejecting arbitration in any form. From time to time, frequently, wretchedly disturbed social conditions recur in and about the Caribbean. Our Monroe Doctrine imposes a veto upon inter-position by non-American states. Arbitration cannot uphold the Doctrine because it has no legal status. Armament alone can sustain our position, and to do it bloodlessly the armament must imperatively be adequate.

A. 7. Mahan

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