



## That Third Term

### *Republicans Take Up the Cudgels*

*The open letter to President Coolidge with which THE FORUM, following its traditional procedure, began a series of articles on the third term was, of course, a rhetorical question so far as the President himself was concerned. It needs no great familiarity with the political situation to discern the considerations which at the present moment make a reply of any kind risky tactics from a strictly political standpoint. But the President's own strategic silence has not prevented other Republicans from answering the series of pertinent and respectful questions which Mr. Carter asked last month.*

*Our most significant letter is from the well-known Washington correspondent, Mr. Carter Field. The whole subject of the third term will be discussed in a debate in the August number.*

*Editor of THE FORUM:*

From end to end of this country the business man, and in many instances his employees, are so eager for a continuation of the present prosperity that they wave aside the third term bugaboo as utterly insignificant and academic. Disregarding the great mass of voters who always vote for the same party, and considering only the independents who swing from one label to the other and frequently split their tickets, there is a very much larger proportion of pocketbook voting than is generally suspected.

Most of the country is prosperous, and very eager to stay so. Older business men

remember that generally boom times such as the country has been enjoying since 1922 have been followed by very hard times,—usually starting with a panic when inflation was somewhere near its peak. A few assert that the creation of the Federal Reserve Board has made panics impossible. But the business man, whatever he may think about that, knows there were pretty hard times for a while after the post-War boom and he remembers that not until the Harding Administration was in the saddle did times get back to anything like normal.

The country voted heavily for Coolidge in 1924 because it believed that Coolidge in the White House would mean a continuation of prosperity, whereas the throwing of the election into Congress would, or at least might, spell economic disaster. As this is written, the country wants four more years of Coolidge for precisely the same reason. So far, there is no such threat as there was in 1924, but fundamentally there is no difference. With Coolidge still in the White House, business profits will go on, wages will continue to be paid, and the country will generally be prosperous and happy,—or at least so most of the country believes. With Al Smith, or McAdoo, or any one else defeating Coolidge and succeeding him in the White House, there is at least risk.

Now, most business men who have studied the effect of elections on business

conditions know perfectly well that it does not make so much difference what the real facts about a candidate or a party are. It is what the people believe that makes the sensitive barometer of good or bad times leap about. Very few would suggest that if John W. Davis had been elected he would have done anything which would have seriously hurt business. His whole training was against it. His connections had been with corporations, and, indeed, William Jennings Bryan, arriving in New York just before the Madison Square Garden convention, declared that "we might as well nominate J. Pierpont Morgan himself".

Yet when the election returns were in, showing the overwhelming defeat of Davis and the election of Coolidge, Wall Street started on a bull movement which is still remembered. Buying orders poured in from the West. There was complete confidence that business was going to boom, and therefore no one held back to wait for lower prices or to take advantage of some one else's distress. There was prosperity.

It may be that the very poor showing of La Follette's third party, much poorer than even the Coolidge people had anticipated, demonstrated that the radical movement in this country was not so dangerous as had been suspected. But the important thing is that Coolidge was supported in the campaign because it appeared to the business element of the country that his election would encourage business, and his defeat would discourage it. I am not saying there were not other reasons he was supported; but I firmly believe, — after constant traveling and inquiries all over the country during that campaign, — that the desire for prosperity was overwhelmingly more important than any other simple issue.

There are those who seem to believe that the business man is always on one side, and his employees on the other, politically and economically. They can cite plenty of instances, of course, but it is an interesting fact that this very seldom, if ever, works out in an election. In presidential elections, especially, the factory workers and the traveling salesmen, the clerks and stenographers, seem to be influenced by the same intelligent selfishness which affects their employers. Con-

fidence is the one thing the business world wants, and uncertainty is the thing it fears more even than adverse conditions, if they are known thoroughly in advance. To business men, four more years of Coolidge mean four more years of comparative certainty, — four more years of administration along the same lines as those of the last six years. There has been prosperity during those six years, and the country wants more of it.

The antipathy of the average business man to politics helps rather than hinders this tendency. He wants to make big profits for his firm or corporation. He wants to continue paying wages to his help. As a rule he regards what happens at Washington as of only academic interest, save as it may or may not affect his own line of industry. But he knows that the election of a new President *may* destroy the present confidence in continuance of the business boom which has been going on for nearly six years. So he does not want a change.

It is possible to trace closer connections between some lines of business and the Federal Government, but I am speaking of the average business man, big and little, all over the country. Of course, in certain tariff-protected interests there is intense fear of a change in the schedules on their products. The mere thought of a Democratic tariff sends cold chills down these business men's backs. They remember the Underwood-Simmons law, — the last until the present act. They remember that hard times seemed about to clamp down on the country in 1914, when the War intervened and erected an artificial barrier against foreign goods higher than any conceivable tariff.

I am not going into the merits of the protective tariff system now. This is no occasion for that. I am merely trying to emphasize the things which, rightly or wrongly, have had a profound effect in bringing about the present utter indifference to the question whether Coolidge's stay in the White House shall exceed that of Washington or Lincoln.

To the sentimental objection to Mr. Coolidge's being thus honored, — if one should put it that way, — more than the Father of his Country or the Great Emancipator, I have heard no answer. To the more logical argument that to give any

man more than eight years in the White House is running a grave risk of self-perpetuation in office, there is an answer.

But the curious fact is that neither objection to another term for Mr. Coolidge is apparently going to swing more than an insignificant percentage of the total vote if Mr. Coolidge runs again, — as there seems very little doubt that he will run. Self-perpetuation in office is a very grave issue in Latin America. But it never occurs to the average American that if a man stayed in the White House longer than two full terms he might so organize the political machinery, or the army, or what not, that it would be impossible to eject him at the next election. Despite all the clamor about election frauds and the corrupt use of money at elections in this country, there seems to be no real fear of a dictatorship.

While indifference to this aspect of the third term issue is due largely to the intelligent selfishness of those who want business conditions to continue good, there is also a very considerable element of trust in President Coolidge. The country is thoroughly convinced that President Coolidge has not only a very definite sense of right and wrong, but that he is extremely scrupulous about exceeding his legal powers. He has leaned over backwards from his first day in public office to avoid short cuts to results which he desired but which might have been regarded as extra-legal. It is difficult to imagine, for instance, Mr. Coolidge's following the example of President Roosevelt in the Panama Canal problem. The same tactics, applied to the Mexican situation, would have long since ousted President Calles, but Mr. Coolidge has not thought it the proper thing to do, and he has stood the criticism of extremists on both sides.

It is difficult to conceive of a dictator's appointing cabinet members and then letting them virtually run their own departments under general supervision only, and allowing them practically a free hand so far as appointments under them is concerned. It is difficult to imagine a dictator's not playing favorites, — refusing to pay off the obligations involved in his own climb to power or continuance there at the government's expense. Mr. Coolidge has withstood the

amazed anger of leaders of his party on whom he might have to depend for renomination and reelection and has permitted Secretary of State Kellogg to promote service men to heads of legations and embassies. For years such appointments have been recognized as the proper legal tender with which to reward heavy contributors to campaign funds.

It is interesting to note that there was no jealousy on Mr. Coolidge's part to accomplish this reform, — if it is a reform. It was the idea of Mr. Kellogg, whose own appointment by the President had been almost entirely personal. The interesting fact is that Mr. Kellogg, — whom no one accuses of being an astute politician, whatever his abilities or lack of them in other directions, — has been given a free hand by the President, so far as appointments are concerned. This is true of almost every other government department, bureau, and commission. There has not been the slightest trace of building up a big Coolidge political machine. It may be, if there were evidences all over the country of the construction of such an organization, there would be resentment, and fear of self-perpetuation in office, — which of course is the fundamental objection to any man's staying in the White House longer than eight years. But it is obvious that the country has no such fear, and is far more interested in the full dinner pail than in the precedent that no man shall serve in the White House more than eight years.

It has been urged that Mr. Coolidge should make a statement now saying whether he is or is not a candidate for another term. It would be extremely unwise for him to do so, and he is not addicted to making unwise statements. As he once dryly remarked to a friend: "I never heard of a candidate's being defeated by what he didn't say."

To say that he was a candidate would mean criticism of every move and its motives. Of course, this criticism will come anyhow, but it would be given more point, — and certainly more weight with the country, — if the President had come out, announcing his candidacy. Such a statement would be virtually a bid for support. It would interfere seriously with non-partizan consideration of various measures the President has in contempla-

tion for the next Congress. Imagine the criticisms, for example, should he advocate tremendous internal improvements with a view to preventing the recurrence of the Mississippi flood disaster! It would be said that he was attempting to bolster up a fading prosperity by pouring out the Government's money. For him to say that he was not a candidate would interfere just as seriously with his influence on Congress. As a matter of fact, this is the private opinion of most Democratic as well as Republican leaders, not one of whom really expects a statement from the White House on this question for a long time to come.

There is no real doubt among most of the leaders of both parties that Mr. Coolidge will be a candidate to succeed himself, and so far as one can now feel the political pulse of the country, the people are very well satisfied with the prospect.

CARTER FIELD

New York City.

## An Open Letter to Mr. Carter

*Scarcely had it become evident that President Coolidge would, for the present at least, make no reply to Mr. John Carter's questions when Mr. James Francis Burke, a Pittsburgh Republican who is General Counsel to the Chamber of Commerce, dashed to the defense with an open letter to Mr. Carter. We quote the most salient paragraphs:*

Dear Sir:

Frankly, I do not believe the President should engage in the controversy you invite, despite your high standing in the journalistic world. To use your own phrase, he would "infringe the dignity of the Presidential office" by doing so. But there need be no uncertainty about the correct answers to your several questions.

You first ask, "Do you believe American Presidential tradition hostile to a substantive third term?" The answer is plain. If the American people were mere slaves to tradition we would still be riding in stage coaches by day, reading poor print by candle light at night, and Ben Franklin's Almanac would still be our calendar. For a century and a quarter tradition forbade many things we have to-day. The election

of Senators by the people violated tradition; the collection of Federal Income Tax violated tradition; woman's suffrage violated tradition; National Prohibition violated tradition; travel by air, the transmission of voice by wireless, and piercing the seas in submarines violated tradition. Still we have them all and the world survives. The fact is, we are moving onward.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES FRANCIS BURKE

Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Public Comment

*Press opinion is widely divided on the third term question, varying usually, as one might expect, with the party to which the writer belongs. We cull a few samples from wide editorial comment:*

Involving as it does a principle hitherto strictly regarded by the American people, it is a wholly pertinent question to ask of Mr. Coolidge. It is a matter of regret that the White House door has been shut upon a question which any American has so clear a right to ask of any public man and, most particularly, of any President. — Dayton (Ohio) "Journal".

THE FORUM letter to President Coolidge, which "challenges" him to declare his attitude toward a third term, has the flavor of sensationalism and impertinence. — Cincinnati "Enquirer".

As we understand it, this was not a more or less impertinent demand for the President's personal intentions as a candidate. He was asked to give his views on the precedent set by George Washington and hitherto strictly adhered to, which restrains any one man from occupying the presidency for more than eight years. — Dayton (Ohio) "News".

The presidential office should be above and beyond approaches such as this. — Marion (Ohio) "Star".

Really it isn't unreasonable to ask the President of the United States whether he thinks Washington and Jefferson were right on this question. It is a public question, it is timely, and promises soon to be lively. — Omaha (Neb.) "Herald".

A foolish as well as an uncivil question.



The dignity of the presidential office can best be maintained by ignoring such impertinences. — Beloit (Wis.) "News".

The "Ask Me Another" epidemic has spread to the magazines. . . . The sign is good. The magazines are not only making detached scholarly comments; they are in the field with banners. — Richmond (Va.) "News-Leader".

Since open letters can lead only to pain and bickering, the less we have of them the better. — Philadelphia "Evening Public Ledger".

Thanks to pussyfooting politicians, the discussion of public matters has been almost wholly abandoned in this country. . . . It may be, as we have said, impossible to smoke out President Coolidge. His political advance has been made by the system of avoiding issues rather than facing them. But a brave effort like that of Mr. Carter should be commended nevertheless. — Baltimore "Evening Sun".

There is certainly no obligation resting on the President or any other public man to reply to every inquiry made of him. Though it may be true that a wise question is half of wisdom, it is also true that even a fool can ask questions which a wise man can not answer. — "New York Times".

There are some questions which require an answer and in this instance the answer can come only from Mr. Coolidge himself. It is to be hoped that he will give this answer frankly and boldly. — Asheville (N. C.) "Citizen".

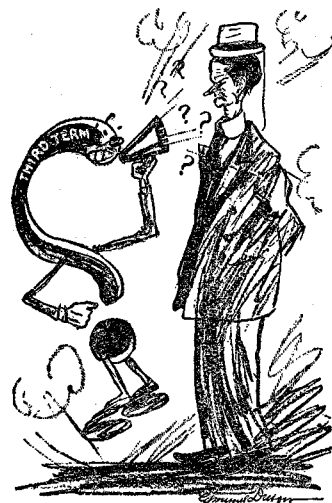
There are three courses which the President can justifiably follow with respect to the letter lately sent to him by Henry Goddard Leach, of New York, editor of THE FORUM. He can answer it by declaring whether or not he contemplates running again in 1928, he can leave it unanswered, and he can say, in effect, "I dunno." He would be justified in following any of these courses. — Springfield (Mass.) "Union".

The last thing Mr. Coolidge wants to say anything about just now is the third term issue. That he wants to be sent back to the White House next year is taken for granted by those best qualified to know his mind. Shrewd politician that he is, the President knows well that he would gain nothing and might lose a great

deal by a statement at the present time. — Providence (R. I.) "News".

Should Mr. Coolidge consent to answer the challenge that will be directed at him by THE FORUM magazine, a new order in politics may be said to be definitely established. Whether its effect ultimately will be to clarify political situations or to foster endless debates is problematical. — Flint (Mich.) "Journal".

Why should the advocates of removing the tenure limit not welcome and them-



DUFFY IN THE BALTIMORE "SUN"

selves ask the views of the President on the subject? — Brooklyn "Eagle".

As to the President's intentions, nobody has any right to demand a statement from him until he gets good and ready to make one. He has the privilege of changing his mind, and also of taking his time to make it up on this question. The views the President holds on the third term are a fair subject to inquire about. But it does not follow even if he has scruples against breaking the two-term precedent that any time is a good time to say so. — Topeka (Kansas) "Capital".

Mr. Coolidge's future plans are of course public property and it is not conceivable that the President can expect to keep silent on this subject indefinitely, leaving the nation to conjecture. . . . The atmosphere would be greatly clarified if President Coolidge would tell the nation whether he expects to be a candidate again. — Saginaw (Mich.) "News".

## "Awaiting The Last Word"

Thanks to THE FORUM, I am getting much clearer ideas about birth control; but I am not going to adopt a final line of conduct until I shall have heard the words of all who are still to speak through your columns.

A PHILADELPHIA BACHELOR  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## When Did They?

*A "Life" editor scores one for this quip on Lord Astor's article on Prohibition in the February FORUM.*

"One reads with interest Lord Astor's observation that the American people are not likely to resume the general use of intoxicants. His lordship might enlighten us further by telling, for instance, when they stopped."

## On Pedestrians

*Mr. Curtis is the youngest member of the Harvard Corporation.*

Editor of THE FORUM:

"Never a man's thought in the world keeps the roadway better than" the Pedestrian's. Moreover, he can "walk and not faint", a far more difficult thing to do, as Professor Munro of Harvard once said in Appleton Chapel, than to mount with the eagles of evangelism or even to run without weariness as does the Roman Church. But walking is unfortunately considered too common an accomplishment to get excited about, and the Pedestrian Protestant cause lacks the stuff that leadership feeds on, an element of exaggeration. He is too humble. For he protests only his wish to be let alone: "I may not be right; I may be doing it all wrong; you may even know better than I. But let me be as I want to be."

However, the issue is not in religion alone. It is in politics. Over the heads of these protesting footmen ring the shouts of the Radicals against Mussolini and his gang and the screams of the Fascists against Lenin and his crew. Both these have causes and both know it, but neither seems to know that theirs is a fratricidal war. They are political brothers and their causes clash only in their purposes. For they both want to rule, in their own way and to their own ends, the vast multitude

of Pedestrians who are courageously and patiently and hopefully walking along the roadway up the valley between. The issue is not whether Fascism or Bolshevism will win, but whether "liberal" democracy will survive.

CHARLES P. CURTIS, JR.

Boston, Mass.

## Strong Words

*This clears the New York "Daily News". Evidently, in the case of faked composite photographs, as in most things, "some do and some do not."*

Editor of THE FORUM:

At this writing I have the good fortune to be functioning as editorial writer on the New York "Daily News", pioneer tabloid. I have just read the debate on tabloid newspapers in your April issue, between Messrs. Villard and Weyrauch. I note that in your Rostrum department Mr. Roy W. Howard, of the Scripps-Howard chain, is allowed a column in which to shake his skirts free of any tabloidian dirt which might have been thought to adhere thereto, and I am wondering if you won't let me do something of the sort for the "Daily News". You will? Many thanks. You won't? Why, you poor palooka!

My moan about Mr. Villard's article traces to this passage, lifted from page 486 toward the bottom: "The indictment of the tabloids has nothing whatever to do with the fact that they print pictures, — about every daily in the English-speaking world now does that. It is the character of those pictures, — the unblushing admission that they are so frequently 'reconstructed' after the event or drawn by 'our special artists after the description of eyewitnesses', — that they serve no other purpose than to lure the pennies," etc.

Mr. Villard refers here to the "composite photographs", i.e., posed fakes, invented and carried to their nauseous nadir of perfection by a tabloid which is not the "Daily News". If he has made that detailed study of the tabloid press which he should have made before debating the subject in THE FORUM, he knows that the "Daily News" does not brew composite photographs. Yet he fails to clear up this point throughout the stately course of his philippic, and so manages to heave a large fistful of undeserved sauerkraut at the

"News". Why a man of Mr. Villard's established reputation for fairness in argument should permit himself such a caper is beyond the power of this correspondent to make out.

REUBEN MAURY

*New York City.*

## From the Farmers

*We have had many reactions from farmers to "Agriculture and Moneyculture", and this solution of the "agrarian gordian" comes from the far West.*

Editor of THE FORUM:

The fatalism pervading "Agriculture and Moneyculture" by Mr. Virgil Jordan in the March FORUM mars what might be otherwise characterized as a fair literary effort. The word "literary" is used advisedly for the writer is evidently unsympathetic if not unfamiliar with rural life and rural problems.

This is the doctrine of the Middle Ages whence this manifest intellectual's inspiration springs. It has the tang of John Locke's constitution for the Carolinas and harks back to the time when producers of food and raiment were villains, peasants, serfs, or peons and lived by sufferance of feudal lords.

Let us consider a few cross sections of this melancholy diatribe of Mr. Jordan's: neither Rome with her Caesar nor Hellas with her Pericles and her Socrates solved the agrarian gordian, hence how can we? No, neither did Xantippe ever listen in on a party telephone line to the gossip of her neighbors, nor did Pericles ever strike a lucifer match on the sole of his esthetic sandal, nor yet did imperial Caesar ever flip the ashes from a fragrant cheroot, but we achieve it all immeasurably. And they never rode on steamships, railroads, trolley cars, automobiles, or aeroplanes, but their failure did not act as a bar sinister to our success.

Mr. Jordan is evidently appalled to see all of these epoch-making devices for man's delectation and convenience democratized to the level of a "hayseed". They should be the exclusive possession of "urban culture". Fresh air, song birds, and sunshine should suffice "yokelism". Symphony orchestras and grand opera for the Lord's anointed! Now look at this

oracular utterance: "Farming has never been and can not be more than a home and a job."

With one stroke he puts the farmer in the same class with his work animals, for Dobbin has both a home and a job, but still there is a difference; Dobbin will, but the farmer *will not* stay put.

Once more: "Current agrarian agitation is not an effort to save agriculture so much as to help industry and the city." Mr. Jordan's logic it seems is incapable of conceding it may be good for both.

P. T. ANDERSON

*Cherry Patch Ranch, Mont.*

*Another versatile farmer takes a shot at Mr. Jordan!*

Editor of THE FORUM:

I have just read Virgil Jordan's article on "Agriculture and Moneyculture". I think I perceive his one idea, — that American agriculture should sink to European peasantry, that twentieth century civilization would ruin country folk. I was born on a farm about the middle of the nineteenth century, 1862, and now own and operate a farm but teach school to get money to educate my children. Friend Jordan better read Lincoln, "A house divided against itself. . . ." Nineteenth century civilization for Agriculture, twentieth century for City.

His "one unpardonable sin" was dragging in poor old Socrates to prove that sauce for the goose is sure poison for the gander.

H. C. MCCARREL

*Nebo, Ill.*

*Here is a riddle to solve.*

Editor of THE FORUM:

In debating whether to continue our subscription to THE FORUM through the summer season, it was not the desire to read it that I feared might be lacking, nor yet the wherewithal, with which you no doubt have heard it rumored the farmer is not overly blessed; but that scarcest rural commodity of all, under the present rigorous economic system, — time. Yes, time even like I used to have; jostled by commuters on the crowded trolley, one could at least scan the headlines then. But I have seen no scheme yet devised whereby one

may read his favorite magazine while guiding team or tractor across his mortgaged acres, or whereby at eventime, when seated precariously by some none too gentle milch cow, he may note down the noble thoughts which rustic meditation brings.



I have just read Mr. Jordan's brilliant article in the March FORUM. I submit this query: How, if the farmer is not economically stable enough to earn the necessary surplus cash or find the necessary leisure time, is he going to reap the spiritual blessing or experience the intellectual quickening which only a reading of THE FORUM gives?

WENDELL S. CLAMPITT

New Providence, Ia.

*This letter to the author from another farmer sheds a different light.*

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Beyond doubt you have made a great contribution to thinkers all over the world in "Agriculture and Moneyculture" in the March FORUM. The writer (now seventy-two) for thirty-five years has foreseen the trend and the great disadvantages under which the farmer has labored. There never has been a fair representation in National or State Agricultural Departments or a Congress that had the vision to see the whole matter from an economical standpoint. The tragedy is that the farmer has lost confidence in his government and is submerged into a petty grafter himself. He is certainly entitled to some of these luxuries after all his years of sixteen hours of labor for himself and family for a mere existence, a new pair of boots for himself, and calicos for the others. Stop his efforts and let the money gougers feed on their gold awhile and see where they land.

HORACE ANDREW KEEFER

Linglestown, Pa.

## A Cause for College Suicides

*Is it inadequate and faulty preparation in school?*

Editor of THE FORUM:

One reason I have seen put forth as a possible cause for suicide among college students is that the courses are too difficult. Does not the fault lie back of this? Our big system of education, after all, is our public school system. The sum of money spent annually is stupendous and the preparation for college is, in most cases, inadequate.

How many high schools can show a decent percentage of graduates who can successfully pass college entrance examinations? I know of heart-breaking efforts made in college by boys who were most successful in high school.

Unquestionably one great fault lies here: inefficiency of our high school system, the system on which a very large majority of our boys must depend.

HELEN W. MARCY

Cape May, N. J.

## Sonnet to S —

*Parke Cummings is a frequent contributor to the "New Yorker". We take pleasure in welcoming him to the company of Our Rostrum, where he makes his debut with more or less of a love sonnet.*

I am indifferent to your lips and eyes  
(To some extent). I *was* sublimely free.  
Alas! I sing of Wisdom's sad demise.

You scored when you stuck out your  
tongue at me.

And so I make this point, till now deferred:  
A woman's tongue, methinks, is like a child.  
To wit: Most often better seen than heard,  
In action bitter, but in silence mild.

Permit another simile, fair maid.

(A poet's fancies ape the shifting weather)  
A tongue, like lovely Venus, is displayed  
To most advantage in the altogether.  
Your wisdom and your beauty stay  
unsung.

— Not so the magic of your out-thrust  
tongue.

PARKE CUMMINGS

Westport, Conn.



## High Time

*The former American Vice-Consul in Mexico and in Cuba starts the ball rolling in a discussion of our Latin American policy, which will, we hope, be continued with other articles later.*

Editor of THE FORUM:

For the past several weeks the newspapers and periodicals have devoted considerable space to the matter of our relations with Nicaragua and Mexico. All of the accounts have been very obscure as to our exact relations with those countries and have given the reader a very confused idea of just what our policy is toward the Latin American countries. In fact, the more one reads, the more is one forced to the conclusion that we either have no Latin American policy at all, or that what appears to be something of a policy is no more nor less than camouflage on the part of our State Department to keep the American public in ignorance as to the real motives behind our dealings with the Latin American countries.

All of the countries of Latin America are united as one in declaring that we are imperialistic, and judging by the actions of our State Department quite recently, they would seem to be fully justified in making such an accusation. If they were not somewhat convinced that ulterior motives ever lurk behind our constant meddling in their internal affairs, under the guise of protection of American rights, preservation of the Monroe Doctrine, and other equally absurd mockeries, they could not be so unanimous in their denunciation of America's policy toward them.

It is high time that the American public be fully informed regarding our Latin American policy, and that it know whether our warships, marines, and sailors are sent to Latin American countries for the sole purpose of protecting American interests against actual danger, or if they are sent there with the idea of forcing our "interests" upon unwilling peoples. It is time that our State Department change its policy toward Latin America, if it have any, and adopt one based more upon terms of friendship, justice, and equality.

HARRY W. PASCOE

New York City.

## Two Kiplingites

*The joy of discovery is all the pleasanter when one can share it.*

Editor of THE FORUM:

The joy of discovery must eventually pall unless it comes to be shared. Therefore the Pedestrian's appreciation of Kipling comes most opportunely to fan into still brighter flame the fires that burned in honor of my private discovery and enjoyment of Kipling.

The amazing thing is that more of Kipling has not been set to music, for his verse almost sings itself. Perhaps I shall be considered an improper parent if I mention the fact that I chant "A Song to Mithras" to my children. But is there a song to the Christian God to compare with it, not in piety or devotion, but in color and romance? The children listen with shining eyes to "The Feet of the Young Men" and ask for it again, though I don't suppose they understand the words at all.

Never, I think, have I felt as if the wings of adventure have beat so closely as when I lost myself in *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies*. Charmed chapters of a magic past, they move as lightly as fireflies, and yet they represent a wealth of research. I have not yet, in an earnest search for local Indian lore, discovered as much about Red Jacket as Kipling knew.

MABEL GILLESPIE

Glenolden, Pa.

## A Thing of Beauty

Editor of THE FORUM:

What a pleasure it is to read *Death Comes For The Archbishop* by Willa Cather, now running in THE FORUM. Each section is like colored wine in a delicate glass, held up and shining clear against the sunlight. I believe Rebecca West has said *A Lost Lady* is the best thing of its kind in generations. Of its kind, — it is not a new subject. But *Death Comes For The Archbishop* is a thing apart, there is nothing like it, and I am indeed happy to have found anything so manly, yet written by a woman, and so beautiful and unique.

P. B.

Yonkers, N. Y.

# Religion In or Out of the School?

*Last month's debate on the question of religious education in the public schools has aroused interest quite as great as did the instalment buying question in May. We print below a symposium of the opinions that have reached us. The question was: "Shall We Force Religion into the Schools?" Answers are evenly divided:*

## YES

Personally I grew up on the Bible and it was the reader for the Fifth Reader Class. My father, Brigham Young, founded three church schools; and in the deed of trust he provided that the Bible, Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants should be text-books of these schools. The schools would become godless if our children felt that we were afraid of man-made interpretations of the word of God. Let us read the Bible in our schools.

SUSA YOUNG GATES

(Genealogical Society of Utah)

Salt Lake City, Utah

I would agree with those who say that religion should be taught in the home and the church or by them, but it seems to me it should be taught by the school where an emphasis can be given which can not be given in the same way elsewhere.

CHARLES L. CANDEE

Wilmington, Del.

The Bible should, of course, be studied in school along with similar records of other primitive peoples showing the historic development of the human mind. It need not be made a compulsory study, because if properly presented it can be one of the most fascinating courses in any curriculum.

CYRUS LE ROY BALDRIDGE

New York City.

I would not think of training these boys committed to our care without the use of the religious element in our life.

FREDERICK S. CURTIS

(The Curtis School)

Brookfield Centre, Conn.

The plastic age with God left out in the modeling is given only clay feet. The Bible should at least be an elective study, — the course mapped out without any denomination's chart.

BONNIE BUSCH

Miami Beach, Fla.

If Religionists will not cooperate in teaching these elements in which all believe, then it would appear inevitable that the responsibility for the appalling ignorance growing at a ghastly pace among young and old rests with the religious people, and the theists, and not with the irreligious and the atheists.

ALBERT GLEAVES

(Rear Admiral, United States Navy)

Washington, D. C.

There would be very little scepticism, materialism, or bigotry in our colleges or schools if the Ten Commandments artistically framed be placed in a conspicuous wall space in every class room.

CORNELIA GAFFNEY

New York City.

## NO

Nothing should be taught in our public schools that would infringe upon religious liberty, diminish religious tolerance or interfere with the attempts of parents to give religious guidance to their children.

HEBER J. GRANT

(President, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints)

Salt Lake City, Utah

I would suggest, however, that in so far as any outside group is allowed to encroach on school time for its pet hobbies, the Anarchists, Communists, Socialists, etc. ought to demand that such children as they control should likewise be turned over to their tender mercies for a suitable indoctrination.

ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

(Director of Studies, Brookwood Labor College)

Katonah, N. Y.

I do not see how "religion" could be introduced into the schools without dogma, — or how dogma could be introduced into the schools without running counter to the intention of the first amendment of the Constitution.

RALPH BERGENGREN

Scituate, Mass.

I am unqualifiedly opposed to the invasion of the public schools of this country by religious instruction.

J. E. JENKS

(Editor, Army and Navy Register)

Washington, D. C.

Absolute separation of Church and State and a public school system free from religious domination is the only hope for our country.

ANTHONY FIALA

New York City.

Compulsory religious training in any form in schools supported by taxpayers seems to me to be contrary to the highest ideals of American democracy.

EDGAR RICE BURROUGHS

(Author of "Tarzan of the Apes")

Reseda, Calif.

So long as there is no general agreement upon even the essentials of religion or the meaning of the Bible, there can be no compulsory study of the Bible or of religion in the public schools. Such enforced study would violate the historical principles of America. But I think that elective study should be encouraged.

VIRGIL L. JONES

(Professor of English, University of Arkansas) Fayetteville, Ark.

## YES

I am in favor of voluntary religious instruction in connection with the public schools.

NORMAN F. COLEMAN  
(President, Reed College)

Portland, Ore.

We have reached a stage in American life where the supremely necessary thing is more character rather than more knowledge. If the home and church can not give this to the people then to insure the nation's perpetuity, the State must accept a share of responsibility for the task.

CARL G. DONEY  
(President, Willamette University)

Salem, Ore.

I should like to see the use of the Bible and other religious literature in the schools if it could be used as literature, subjected to criticism and comparative study, and not regarded as a basis for dogma; but I consider that as impossible at present.

ARTHUR R. CURRY  
(Librarian, Texas Christian University)  
Forth Worth, Tex.

I am in favor of week day religious education and believe that it should be entirely administered by the churches, and that the children should be excused during school hours for one hour a week, or such time as may be agreed upon, to attend such instruction.

C. EDWARD JONES  
(Superintendent of Schools)  
Albany, N. Y.

The antibible teaching crowd would take away something for which they offer absolutely nothing in its place. In the final analysis the teachings of the Bible are a matter of morals. If there exists a better book from which to teach morals, let them name it.

WILL C. BARNES  
Washington, D. C.

Under prevailing conditions in this country, and our existing educational system, it is not practical to force religion into our public schools, and yet I believe that religion should be a part of every child's education.

THOMAS ROBINSON DAWLEY, JR.  
New York City.

Granted that religion is an affair of the home and the church, it would appear to be, under our system, an affair of the school also. This does not imply that methods of presentation should not be modified to suit changing conditions; nor does it mean that sectarianism should intrude.

GEORGE S. BRYAN  
(Author, "Edison, The Man and His Work")  
Brookfield Centre, Conn.

Religion, in its Arnoldian phase, as "morality touched with emotion", should be taught in the schools as a basis for conduct. But neither creeds or sectarian views should be taught there.

MARY D. CHAMBERS  
Boston, Mass.

## NO

I am firmly of the opinion that religious teachings should be excluded from the public schools.

JACOB GRAMMER  
(Managing Editor, "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung")  
New York City.

I would regard it as a dangerous departure from our national principles if we were to include the teaching of religion in the regular program of our public schools.

EDWIN BRANT FROST  
(Director, Yerkes Observatory)  
Williams Bay, Wis.

If I were desirous of destroying the public school system and substituting for it a dozen or more independent systems of schools supported by different sectarian groups, I would be a strong advocate of the proposal to force some plan of religious instruction into all of the public schools.

J. B. EDMONSON  
(Director, Division of University High School Inspections)  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Bible study as literature should find a place in our public schools; but Bible instruction as religion would be a veritable trouble-breeder. Such a move would be a pitiable pedagogic blunder.

THEODORE HEYSHAM  
(Author, "The Birth of the Bible")  
Norristown, Penn.

Why not begin now by having in the schools instruction in a philosophy based on scientific truth, instead of the instruction the churchmen want?

JOHN FLANAGAN  
New York City.

Religious freedom is usually accepted as one of the foundations of our country's institutions. It is difficult to conceive of any scheme of religious instruction in the public schools which would not violate that principle.

J. L. EDWARDS  
(Vice-President, Atlanta, Birmingham and Coast Railroad Company)  
Atlanta, Ga.

The school should not be a party to narrow indoctrination of any sort; it should rather provide the child with that basic experience from which he might derive in some degree his own religious faith. All sectarian instruction should, in my judgment, be reserved to private agencies.

GEORGE S. COUNTS  
(School of Education, University of Chicago)  
Chicago, Ill.

In general I suspect that because of our poor human intolrances we not only have to leave religious instruction as such out of our school programs; what is stranger still, we can't even include the Bible simply as one of the immortal literatures.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL  
(Editor, Advocate of Peace)  
Washington, D. C.

## Are We Instalment "Sold"?

*The debate on instalment buying in the May number of THE FORUM provoked comment far and wide. Bankers, automobile manufacturers, and other business men have exercised the reader's immemorial privilege and "written to the editor about it," some of them echoing Senator Couzens's proposal to stop instalment buying, but most agreeing with Mr. Hanch that it is, on the whole, a good thing. To the question, "Shall We Stop Instalment Buying?" they answer:*

I am afraid, if instalment buying is allowed to expand in the way it seems it is now being rushed, that ere long it may become a curse to the purchaser instead of a blessing, as well as a bad thing for the country at large.

J. CLARENCE RASBACH  
(President, First National Bank)  
Canastota, N. Y.

We believe the instalment buying in this country has brought about a condition that will take its toll in the next few years, as the result of its abuse. It is necessary, but it must be curbed in some manner.

DON HOGAN  
(Don Hogan, Inc.)  
Denver, Colo.

There is no denying the fact that the extension of instalment credit to people not deserving it, or the extension of credit to individuals, who have obviously obligated themselves to pay more than their income justifies, is an abuse of this system. However, this ill carries its own remedy: it *spells loss for the lender*. Therefore, these abuses eliminate themselves.

JOHN E. DAVIS  
(President, National Guarantee and Finance Company)  
Columbus, O.

About one-third of our Packard Sales are on this basis and we have not lost a cent or found a case where our customer found it burdensome to meet his obligation.

F. M. MITCHELL  
(President, F. M. Mitchell Motor Company)  
Jersey City, N. J.

I think instalment buying must be all right, for at our church for several years we have been following a practice of paying for our religion on the instalment plan. We have a yearly budget of more than \$50,000.00 paid in weekly pledges. And never at the end of the year have we ever been in debt since we tried this plan. If this is a good way to pay for religion it surely is the right way to pay for other necessities.

J. T. CRONKHITE  
(President, Empire Securities Corporation)  
Wichita, Kans.

A good deal of hysteria has been noted by conservative, orthodox, financial writers on the subject of instalment selling, but I am wondering if any one of them would care to eliminate deferred payment buying in its entirety, going back to the old order of things, to smaller productions, contraction of volume of sales and the unsatisfactory

conditions characterizing this country some twenty-five years ago.

G. G. SELWIG  
(General Manager, People's Discount Company)  
Detroit, Mich.

Where would the automobile business have been to-day if it weren't for the instalment plan?

W. L. HUGHSON  
(W. L. Hughson Company)  
San Francisco, Calif.

It is reasonable to assume that the great mass of men who are using the instalment plan to better their sphere of living and to provide themselves and their families with the comforts and some of the luxuries of life are not going to commit themselves to carry out obligations that are going to bring discomfort and unhappiness to themselves or those who depend upon them.

WILLIAM L. COLT  
(President, Colt, Stewart and Foy, Inc.)  
New York, N. Y.

I am firmly convinced that the great American tendency to live beyond our means and attempt to keep up with the Joneses has been one of the biggest factors in the amazing prosperity of America.

DAVID R. ERWIN  
(Assistant Director of Advertising, Cadillac Motor Car Company)  
Detroit, Mich.

The prosperity of the automobile industry is in no danger from credit inflation from this source, in my opinion. While a high percentage of sales is made on time payments, losses are extremely small and credits are extended on a sound basis.

A. R. ERSKINE  
(President, The Studebaker Corporation)  
South Bend, Ind.

We can rely and depend upon the American merchant's good horse sense to keep him within the bounds of safety as concerns instalment selling.

WILLIAM SCHMIDT  
(Merchants' Securities Corporation)  
Newark, N. J.

It has been the selling efforts put forth in behalf of such agencies as those in which Senator Couzens, protestant, is interested, the low priced auto, which made him millions, that has led the public to abuse of the privilege of instalment buying.

GUY FLENNER  
(Idaho State Editorial Association)  
Boise, Id.



# OPINIONS ABOUT BOOKS



JOHAN BOLL

They swayed about upon a rocking-horse, and thought it Pegasus. — *Keats*

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*In this department there will appear each month a signed review by at least one member of THE FORUM BOOK REVIEW BOARD, reviews by special assignment, and an occasional unsolicited review. The last are paid for upon publication at the rate of fifteen cents a line. They are limited to 300 words.*

## Democratic Lord Bryce

**I**N the generation that is now passing away, Lord Bryce had no peer among writers on the science of government. His pen worked overtime for almost sixty years on the long stretch of political experimentation from the imperialism of medieval Rome to the democracy of modern America. Meanwhile, and in addition to all this, he was an active parliamentarian, a public administrator, a diplomat, a professor of civil law at Oxford, an incorrigible traveler to the ends of the earth, and an assiduous correspondent with many friends on several continents. Assuredly a man of parts and of patience.

It is no wonder that H. A. L. Fisher's *LORD BRYCE* (2 vols., Macmillan, \$8.00) begins with an assurance that the reader is being let off easily in these six hundred pages. The story of a life so long, so versatile, so full of interesting contacts, could have been spread over twice that space without padding. Let us begin, therefore, by rendering thanks for the literary restraint here exemplified. In a day when the lives and letters of men are being regularly sprawled into tomes of pitiless bulk,

such an expression of gratitude is by no means out of place.

Good biographers know what to omit, but not all of them have the courage. Mr. Fisher qualifies. He is a master of condensation. Though he writes of a man who spent twenty-seven years in the House of Commons, he does not use twenty-seven pages in telling about it. This phase of the Bryce career gets little attention, and rightly so, for it was in no sense outstanding. Profundity and depth of political erudition have never made much impress upon the mother of parliaments, not even from a regius professor. Nor was Bryce a conspicuous success as a member of the British cabinet. His flair was not administrative or forensic. He was just a political philosopher, with a pragmatic turn and a literary touch which gave both concreteness and distinction to all he did. Bryce might readily have become a good American, had the fates permitted, for he had the earmarks in embryo. And as a matter of fact he understood America and Americans far better than did any other Briton of his day. It was this understanding that made him an international figure and entitles him to a biography in two volumes.