

Pseudo-Americanization

II

THE national policy and program of the Y. M. C. A. on Americanization is set forth in a book entitled *The Problem of Americanization*, by Dr. Peter Roberts, head of the Industrial Department of the Y. M. C. A., under which the Americanization work of the organization is instituted. In his introduction Dr. Roberts states:

The radicals have a well-organized speakers' bureau, a many-tongued press, and a fervency in attack which cannot be paralleled by any constructive and conserving agency interested in aliens. If Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism are to be successfully combatted, America needs a program of enlightenment, an army of volunteer workers, a wide awake press, and a zeal for American democracy akin to apostolic fervor. The radicals have long had the right of way in communities made of foreign speaking peoples. We should match this with a propaganda of enlightenment . . .

And now, through a very few samples let us see of what this *propaganda of enlightenment*, which comes under the head of Americanization, consists.

Their lives were spent in penury and stupidity. [This of the immigration from southeastern Europe.]

When we consider, however, the character of the home, and its furnishings, the care of the children, sleeping quarters, the comforts and conveniences the family ought to enjoy—the foreign born are far removed from American standards. The chief hindrance to better things is the penury of the foreigner.

How many of the rank and file of industrial workers of native born parents in America are qualified to exercise intelligently the rights of citizenship? . . . they go to the polls because the men interested in getting out the vote call on them and it is respectable to vote a certain way.

It is not unusual to find many families of immigrants living in a house built for one family . . . and a lecture given to the foreign groups upon the danger of congestion in tenement houses will help them.

Within recent years many foreign born men have organized clubs . . . if the free atmosphere of Americanism penetrates these clubs, largely made up of radicals, the dangerous forms of radicalism will disappear. They [i. e. the immigrants] break down and will continue to break down unless they eat more, wash oftener, dissipate less, and sleep in more sanitary quarters.

Many foreigners come to school in unique garments—women come with shawls or kerchiefs over their heads, and their garments are not of American make; men come in sheepskin coats, flannel shirts, boots and caps; some come with hair disheveled, dirty linen, faces and hands unwashed; these are unpleasant things, and yet for the great work of Americanization, the teacher will not be prejudiced against the pupils.

The gulf separating a refined, cultured and sensitive teacher from some of the most ignorant, illiterate and unpolished immigrants is often believed to be impassable.

Another erroneous idea is that the moneyed men in America are untrustworthy, and that the financial institutions of this country are not as sound as those in

the homeland. Many immigrants believe that there are more money sharks to the square foot in America than to the square mile in Europe . . . This suspicion should be attacked by the presentation of facts which immigrants cannot learn by themselves.

In speaking of the son of immigrants:

His home is cramped, his clothing scant, and the standard by which the parents were raised in the poverty and penury of the old world is the one by which they raise their children in the new.

To keep the overgrown son of the stolid Slav in school till he is sixteen or seventeen is not good for the boy or the parents.

If men work ten or twelve hours a day they must meet for instruction in the evening.

There is no more dangerous fallacy brought by immigrants to America than the expectation of making high wages without sacrifice, hard toil and persistent effort. When they in time find out their error they are disappointed, disgruntled, and rebellious. They become fertile soil for socialistic and anarchistic propaganda, and it is the road along which radicals of the reddest type come into America.

Now all of these statements are very foolish, and most of them entirely false. This is the sort of Americanization that is being read by hundreds of Y. M. C. A. secretaries spread broadcast over the country. This is the program which has the full endorsement of the American Legion, and the partial endorsement of the National Security League. It is evident that the reader who takes his information from this source will react against the immigrant, against the worker, and in favor of the employer. The whole onus is placed upon the victim rather than on the victimizer. This book of Dr. Roberts contains what is probably the most powerful Americanization program in the country, and it contains at the same time more inaccuracies and misstatements to the square page than one would believe possible.

An organization that had a well-developed Americanization program even before the war is the North American Civic League for Immigrants. The expressed purpose of this agency is "To protect immigrant and resident aliens and to interest and instruct them in American ideals and the requirements of American citizenship." Excellent enough. But on the other hand the League keeps a mobile staff of workers on hand which will be sent to any industrial centre during an emergency providing their expenses are paid. By whom? Not by the strikers we may be sure. In fact one of the agents of the League when asked what good purpose the work of the League served in an industrial centre during a crisis, replied that they were quite non-partisan, and that their efforts simply "Took the workers' minds off the strike." This comes under the Industrial Committee of the League. Mr. Chauncey Brewer in speaking for the North American Civic League for Immigrants remarked that he believed in:

. . . the complete regulation of the foreign population. This will provide supervision of the laborer who is in this country to seek employment, with no expectation of naturalizing himself . . .

Now this sort of thing gives one to think. A subsidiary of the League is the Order and Liberty Alliance.

The Inter-Racial Council under General Coleman DuPont and the more active leadership of Miss Frances Kellor is less well masked. Here are a few items from its own statement:

That this association in the procuring and placing of advertising will be a connecting link between the advertiser, the advertising agency and the foreign language press, acting as advisor in the foreign language newspaper field, and guaranteeing certain standards in the editorial, news, and advertising columns . . .

It will undertake to sell Americanism to the foreign language press by giving it American advertising . . .

Both these statements are made in connection with the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, a subsidiary of the Inter-Racial Council. Mr. William H. Barr, the recent president of the Council, contributes the following:

We have seen the ultra-radicals spreading their doctrines of violence and revolution, while American business men have been going placidly about their business not realizing that they were sitting on top of a volcano. Revolutionary agitators have been boring from within the labor organizations; they have been running magazines and papers in English and in foreign languages. It is conservatively estimated that the I. W. W. sells \$300,000 worth of literature a year. What has the American business man been doing besides giving inspirational addresses and besides playing with amateurish experiments in Americanization? The foreign born can be reached effectively in several ways—through their organizations, through the press, and through the individual plants. Recognizing that fact, a number of business men formed The Inter-Racial Council a little over a year ago. The Council today is composed of more than eleven hundred of the leading industrial establishments in the country and conference groups from among thirty-two of the races in the United States. These two elements in the Council have been working together in the interests of good, wholesome Americanism, and they have been directing their efforts through these channels:—

First—Through the foreign language press, with news and advertisements relating the impracticability of Bolshevist theories, and the real meaning of American democracy.

Second—Through the English language press for the purpose of eliminating racial antagonisms which are fertile soil for the seed of Bolshevism.

In a pamphlet issued by the Inter-Racial Council, under the heading Aims and Purposes we find:

To stabilize industrial conditions.

To apply American business methods to the foreign language press by building an American advertising base under it. . . .

Further there are specified types of service to be rendered members under these heads—Industrial Members, Mercantile Members, Banking Corporations, American Institutions, and Racial Members. Truly Americanization makes strange bedfellows! The results to be attained by all this are thus outlined:

Reduction in unrest and disorder, as a result of plant analyses, which point out conditions that create industrial unrest. . . . Decrease of radicalism through information and counter education in the foreign language press dealing with attacks upon American institutions, law and order, and industry.

Without going into the matter any further, though there is plenty of material, we are compelled to doubt the authenticity of that Americanization which proceeds from an organization largely made up of employers of foreign labor, the expressed purpose of which is to "stabilize industrial conditions," and to influence the foreign language press through its advertising.

The National Security League, now engaged in suppressing socialism in our colleges, does not attempt to hide its light under a bushel. Besides endorsing in part the program of the Y. M. C. A., and joining with the American Legion in calling the National American Council—of which more later—the Security League has a few opinions of its own on the foreign born. As for instance:

The great majority of these foreigners see nothing in the United States except a national boarding place where they shall give as little as possible and take all they can. We Americans have blindly neglected to make it a home for them, and have blindly permitted them to develop undue influence and power.

In a further statement of purpose the League says:

We are sending volunteer speakers daily to fight Bolshevism and preach Americanism before all sorts of audiences.

Fighting radical tendencies among college undergraduates.

Actively cooperating with government agencies in the anti-Bolshevist fight.

Doubtless it was that last statement that inspired late Attorney General Palmer to say, "I am in entire accord with the purpose of the National Security League . . .", and to pay twenty-five dollars for a life membership.

Just what kind of Americanization are we to expect from this? It was the National Security League along with the American Legion, the other endorser of the program of the Y. M. C. A., that called a meeting of some sixty-seven organizations interested in Americanization work in Washington during the past winter. The object was to bring these organizations together under the name of the National American Council, which council would coordinate the work of Americanization throughout the country. This object has not yet been attained, nor has it yet been frustrated. If it is eventually accomplished under the tender guidance of the National Security League, which originally instituted the movement, it is rather clear that the immigrant group can hope for nothing better than a continuation of the Palmer campaign.*

The Loyal American League which is an outgrowth of the American Protective League is not backward either in showing its hand. It remarks:

What is capital?

* As this article goes to press we find the National American Council has again met and organized on the following basis: President, David Jayne Hill; Vice-Presidents, Charles D. Orth of the National Security League, Frederick W. Galbraith of the American Legion, Albert E. Shiels of the Inter-Racial Council; Honorary President, Warren G. Harding; Honorary Vice-Presidents, Calvin Coolidge, Mrs. Finley J. Shepard.

Among the organizations included in the membership of the Council are Constitutional League of America, Inter-Racial Council, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of 1812, American Defense Society, Constitutional Defense League, National Security League, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and many others.

E. H. B.

It is plainly evident that an attempt is being made by certain groups to destroy the industries of America. They use as one of their means a false picture of "Capital." They constantly cry "Down with Capital and Capitalism" until the unthinking laboring man is likely to get the idea that "Capital" is a bad thing. Nothing could be more untrue, as capital is the most necessary thing in the world for the success of labor. . . .

42. *The True Meaning of "A Slacker."*

Today the Nation needs every able bodied man to be at work, producing to his full capacity every working day. Due to strikes, the Nation is behind in the movement of freight; the production of coal and many other commodities. The nations of Europe need both food and clothing. The weak, the sick, the aged and little children cry out for production, production.

As a consequence of all this, should not the finger of shame be pointed at a man who loafes off the job, or who loafes on the job. No matter what his position may be in life, all are equally guilty of being a slacker who do not produce up to their full maximum capacity today.

43. *The American Creed.*

I shall repel any attempt at revolution through industrial strikes as wholly unwarranted.

41. *Some Plain and Sane Truth About the Foreigner.* The radical "Reds" are spending a lot of time in an endeavor to convince the foreigner that he is being mistreated in this country. They want him to hate our institutions.

38. *America and Americans.*

America must be made safe for—Americans. Our children must get the spell of pride that we got. Every man and woman who will not get in line must get out! These pregnant fields of ours hold sacred blood. And the memory of those who gave all that they had to make life glorious shall not be despoiled by those whose minds reek with poison and anarchy.

The Loyal American League is Americanizing busily!

Here is a statement from one of the posts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars:

Resolved:—That this organization endeavor to bring about the speaking of the language of our country at all times and in all places within the boundaries of the United States.

Resolved:—That this organization emphatically favors the publication of all newspapers of our Country in the language of our Country, and positively discourages as an act of disloyalty the publication of any newspaper in the language of any other race or country.

Resolved:—That this organization use its utmost efforts through legislation and other means to insist that the Alien population of this Country prepare to become citizens or else prepare to leave the Country, and furthermore that all Aliens who for cause have been refused Citizenship be at once deported.

That is Americanization as is Americanization!

Let us cast an eye over the origin of the United Americans of which organization President Harding has accepted the honorary Vice-Presidency.

. . . a number of leading men representing many states conducted a quiet, but energetic and thorough investigation early in 1919 of the activities of various revolutionary organizations and the efforts of these activities. These men with others who had become interested, held a meeting in Chicago, June 11th, 1919, at which they formed the nucleus of a national organization which they named United Americans to cope with the conditions revealed by this investigation.

For instance, the minds of the growing generation are being poisoned by books and tracts teaching free love and anarchy sugar-coated under alluring names. Many teachers have been led to advocate unsound precepts, so have many university professors and school superintendents. Again radical news and editorial writers have infiltrated into newspaper offices everywhere, ever on the alert for a chance to spread their insidious propaganda. Many publications more or less openly preach sedition. Another committee will render useful service by studying proper means to neutralize this source of contagion.

The bulletin of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has an account of the launching of the California campaign of the United Americans. A resolution was adopted to form a state body and to raise \$50,000 to carry on the work. It was further explained by one of the national officers present that the United Americans had been fully developed in twenty to twenty-five states, and that thirty-eight states had chosen national committeemen. In addressing the meeting Frederick J. Koster, Vice-President of the national board stated:

You all know that there are forces at work, and they seem to be very well organized, tending toward the destruction of our government, tending to bring about revolution. It is time that we should unite as Americans in defense of our institutions. . . . In America one thing must never happen—there must never be permitted a fixation of class. This is not a nation in which classes dare to be established.

Frederick V. Fisher, assistant national director, remarked:

There is at present a dangerous tendency toward class expression that must be removed.

It would be enlightening to know whether the United Americans intends to start its missionary work with the class that harbors Judge Gary, who is rather intimately associated with the welfare of some hundreds of thousands of foreign born in this country, or with that containing Mr. Debs. The slogan of the United Americans is "We believe in the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule and the Constitution of the United States." Well then—"sic transit gloria mundi!"

We may detect a certain angle on the subject in the Daughters of the American Revolution, for one of their spokeswomen said:

We are strangely affected by the clothes we wear. Garments create a mental and social atmosphere. What can be hoped for the Americanism of a man who insists on employing a London tailor? One's very food affects his Americanism. What kind of American consciousness can grow in the atmosphere of sauerkraut and Limburger cheese? Or what can you expect of the Americanism of the man whose breath always reeks of garlic?

What indeed, Madam, what indeed!

The Sons of the American Revolution are not wholly without an opinion on the matter either, inasmuch as the District of Columbia branch gave their official endorsement to a statement made by Mrs. George Maynard Minor, president general of the D. A. R., the sister organization. This statement had to do with the danger of radical movements and propaganda in this country. At the same meeting of the Sons at which endorsement was made of Mrs. Minor's warning, an address was given by Wade Hampton Ellis, the speaker of the evening. This is what Mr. Ellis thinks about it:

There is no denying the fact that the number of reckless agitators and fanatics who are openly and defiantly preaching the doctrine of force and violence in the de-

struction of all government is growing every day. There are 250 daily, weekly, and monthly publications in the United States which are boldly advocating armed revolution right here in America. . . . In spite of all this the representatives of transatlantic steamship companies which operate into the port of New York alone have announced that there are 15,000,000 Europeans clamoring for passage to America. . . . There is a very quick and effective remedy in existing laws for them [i. e., the aliens]. If they are unfit they may be excluded. If they are dangerous after they get here they may be deported. These laws must be rigorously enforced. They must love the country or leave it. They must get out or get under—get out of the country or under the flag.

Would it be an error to believe that neither the Sons, the Daughters, nor Mr. Ellis whose address they applauded have much sympathy with those immigrants they are about to Americanize?

The American Legion presents a problem of a somewhat different nature. There is a wide divergence between what the Legion says and what it does. In its public statements, in its bulletins from national headquarters, the Legion seems sound on Americanization, though it is very vague. On the other hand, and in spite of this, the foreign born groups have no confidence whatever in the Legion and are more than likely to regard any Americanization issuing from this source with a deep and cordial suspicion. Why is this? Probably for a variety of reasons. In the first place the American Legion has, forgive the repetition, given its endorsement to the Americanization program and policy of the Y. M. C. A.; in the second it has openly joined hands with the National Security League, which is thoroughly tainted with Palmerism, in calling the National American Council. More than these, however, is the fact that individual Legion posts have appeared to regard Americanization more as super-police duty than as fraternal understanding. It is difficult to mob Kreisler's concerts, break up meetings being held by Poles and Lithuanians, refuse Louis Post permission to speak, threaten German societies with rifles when they try to hold a tag day for starving women and children, and endorse a plan by which Legion members are to be mobilized for active duty during times of strikes by "radicals," and still have it believed that you are doing unprejudiced Americanization work. The faults appear to be chiefly with individual posts, but unless national headquarters takes public and stringent action against such posts the Legion must expect to be misunderstood. Certainly the foreign born have no doubts in the matter. To the mass of them the Legion is, rightly or wrongly, anathema. There is nothing to be hoped for here.

The actual Americanization work of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is carried on by its Committee on American Ideals. Just how much this will eventually amount to it is difficult to predict, but a few excerpts from some of the Information Sheets sent by this committee to its members, and carefully marked *Not For Publication* will serve to show a certain slant.

Personnel Work.—Information has reached the Committee on American Ideals that there is in existence an association whose members are trying to obtain employment as personnel administrators with large corporations, with the object of recreating management along radical lines. The reports received indicate that some of these people have obtained positions in army arsenals, with steel companies, and with other industrial concerns, and that they will carry on their proposed activities in accordance with a definite plan.

Police Work.—Superintendent of the Public Safety,

Mills, of Philadelphia, announced recently that the Police Department will hereafter have a camera squad which will be sent out on all riot calls and take photographs of persons engaged in causing riots and similar disturbances. It is anticipated that moving picture cameras will eventually be employed for this work, and that the police will be enabled to study, within a few hours, photographs of riots which permit them to determine to a degree who the leaders of the disturbance were. 'The importance of having photographs as evidence where large masses of people are involved is obvious,' said Superintendent Mills.

The Committee on American Ideals suggests that in communities of considerable size, where riots may take place, the attention of the local police authorities be called to this suggestion with a view to providing in advance for the use of cameras as suggested.

Americanization conducted along these lines is going to be highly dangerous for someone, but whether the doctor or the patient it is impossible to say. We may be sure, however, that so far as the immigrant is concerned the intention is either to kill or cure. And one is able to perceive a certain bias. The organization that has been most popular with the United States Chamber of Commerce is the United Americans but just how far this interest extends I am unable to say.

The Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Boards of Commerce and the like throughout the country are all more or less interested in Americanization, some of them being most actively engaged in the work. Their points of view and their programs vary greatly, and while many of them appear to be doing excellent service some are perhaps just a trifle less excellent. It is to be remembered that when so much Americanization is simply a slight mask for anti-radicalism and anti-labor campaigns these commercial and trade organizations naturally fall under suspicion. It is so natural to expect them to do the wrong thing, to take sides definitely, that one has the right to insist that they be not only clear in their statements, but even that they lean over backward in order to avoid any trace of partisanship.

The Americanization Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh includes the following in its Statement of Principles and Tentative Plan.

The labor turnover problem has become and is becoming increasingly vital to the continued prosperity of our community. A well conducted, constructive, unified Americanization program, while not advocated as the panacea for all industrial ills, will, beyond question, materially save in dollars and cents by cutting down on this item of great loss.

The Americanization Committee of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to the business houses of the city in which the following was given as the desirable result to be attained through Americanization.

Decrease of friction and disorder among the workmen; decrease of labor turnover; increase in production; decrease of spoiled material; better care of tools and machinery; decrease of accidents and strikes; increased intelligence and alertness of the workers, and stabilization of attitude toward employers.

Yes, but what does the foreign worker get out of it?

It is a hard proposition to solve. Are the Chambers of Commerce, and organizations of a similar nature to be barred from Americanization work altogether? They should not be, for some of them have splendid programs

which are being carried out in excellent fashion. There is a natural bias, however, that must be taken into consideration and duly accounted for. One is likely enough to look for an unprejudiced point of view from a wholly non-partisan agency, though one does not always get it, but where there is the slightest possibility of prejudice on either the one side or the other one must not only look, but look with suspicion. The burden of proof is with the presumptive offender.

We have seen in the course of these papers how stupidity, ignorance, and prejudice have all played their parts in Americanization. It is to be regretted that neither our purpose nor our space allows us to show the other side of the shield, how much is really being done in Americanization that is worth while. On the other hand our case, even as we have made it, is by no means complete. It is merely an indictment by suggestion. More might be said about the organizations and agencies with which we have dealt, and there are other organizations no less worthy of dishonorable mention. But if the reader has been awakened to a danger, if he has been moved to inquire for himself and to select or reject, not only by the actual evidence, but by that subtler standard by which each one of us must judge ourselves, the task is well justified. And now for one last word on which the whole issue depends—what is Americanization?

To Americanize is an active, transitive verb, that is the trouble. It implies, as we have said, something done to somebody by someone else; it suggests an action which involves going from one point to another. What it should mean, what we must make it mean, is a mutuality of action by which those at either end of the space separating them meet at a central point. When they meet there we shall have true Americanization, for that central point is the one too often left out of consideration, the spirit of America itself. He who tries to substitute for it a selfish end, he whose mind is not open and whose hands are not clean will never reach the goal though he may lead others astray along the by-path of his own particular endeavor.

Most of the foreign born get their only preconceived idea of American democracy through two things, the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights. They come here expecting that the principles enunciated in these documents are living forces which dictate the policy and procedure of our national life. They are disappointed. There is not a single dogma in either of these declarations that we have not violated wantonly, frequently and openly against our immigrants in the past twenty years. Until the phrase, Law and Order, has been revised to read Law, Order and Justice it will constitute nothing but a menace. The code by reason of which liberty in this country was brought into being has been well nigh demolished, and the foreign born seeks for another code to guide him. He finds the god of material success hailed as that which made America great, and he either succumbs to this doctrine or struggles on in the hope that the liberty he has not found may be granted to his children. In his struggles he may perchance fall into the pitfalls digged for the discontented, but if he falls it is by reason of his strength, not of his weakness. It is we who have forgotten, and it is he who has remembered.

There have been many quotations in these pages, so let us quote once more. It was Thomas Jefferson who said during the War of Independence:

The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot

may become persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated that the time for fixing essential right, on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest, ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort to the people every moment for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will be heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion.

Jefferson's prophecy has been fulfilled, and the fact of that fulfillment constitutes the only real barrier between us and those who have come to us seeking that *essential right* which we have let slip in our *sole faculty of making money*. Nine out of every ten immigrants who come here with any political or social ideal in mind come expecting and searching for the Americanism of 1776 only to be met with the 100 per cent variety. One hundred per cent Americanism of the twentieth century is a bitter mockery of that Americanism on which this nation was founded, and we must either return to and realize again the fundamental principles and rights of our forefathers or openly repudiate them in favor of other principles and rights which may be far different. Unless both native and foreign born work shoulder to shoulder toward the actual accomplishment of that democratic ideal to which today we pay only lip-service, Americanization will continue to be what it too often is, a mask behind which is concealed selfishness, prejudice, intolerance, and the desire for that power which is realized in terms of money. If Americanization is ever to become a sincerely constructive force in our national life it must begin with the Americans.

EDWARD HALE BIERSTADT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Railway Wages and Guild Socialism

SIR: I note on page 324 of your issue of May 11th, 1921, that your protest against the contention of the railways in the wage controversy was not against the plea for a wage reduction as such but was against the principle of basing wages on what individual roads or the railways as a whole could afford to pay. You favor the principle that wages on the railways and presumably in all industry should be based upon a decent standard of living, other claims upon revenues being residual claims only.

I believe the objection to such a principle is (1) that it does not insure such efficiency among employees as will provide a decent standard of living for society as a whole or even for themselves as a group and (2) that if the employees were to participate in the management in any effective degree their definition of a "decent standard" would insure neither the upkeep and necessary increase of plant facilities nor a contractual return to those whose sacrifice in the past contributed some part of the equipment we now enjoy. Only by public subsidy could a "decent standard" be guaranteed to the workers in the less productive manufacturing plants and to the farmers working the less productive soils; and it would be a rank injustice to subsidize the workers in one group as the railway workers are now being subsidized indirectly through excessive rates, without subsidizing the less fortunate workers of all other groups at the same time.

Of course the Guild Socialists believe that employee-management will solve all problems of inefficiency, of provision of equipment and especially of conflicts of economic group-interest which now underlie the most important battles of "politics." It seems likely that Guild Socialism would do little or nothing to solve such problems, as Dr. Beard in his memorable book-review in your issue of December 8th, 1920, seems also to imply.