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The Week

THE European situation at the moment is unquestionably brighter than it has been for many months. Chancellor Marx has proved himself a master politician by his skill in making those terms with the Nationalists which brought about the acceptance of the Dawes plan by the present Reichstag. What these terms were is not yet known but they undoubtedly included a reorganization of the cabinet to bring in one or more Nationalists. They also included the formal repudiation by the German government of that sole responsibility for the World War which was written into the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Owen D. Young has accepted the post of Agent General of Reparations and Gates W. McGarrah, Chairman of the Mechanics and Metals National Bank of New York, will become director of the new German bank which is to be created. The "economic evacuation" of the Ruhr by France and Belgium has already begun and should be completed in a short time. The military evacuation must be finished in not more than one

year from September 1. Plans are being completed for the new international loan of \$200,000,000 to be made to Germany, part of which will be turned over to France at once on Reparations account. Not the least important aspect of the situation is the new lease of life which the victory over the Dawes plan has given the MacDonald and Herriot governments, and particularly the latter. For the first time there is now some real evidence that Europe is getting down to the work of restoration which should have been done in 1919 but instead was made next to impossible by the terms of the treaty then signed.

WHILE we heartily welcome a breathing space of a year or two for Europe, on almost any terms, we have already recorded our opinion that the Dawes plan in its present form is unworkable—an estimate which we believe is shared by some of the experts responsible for its terms. It requires a degree of effort and economy for which there is no precedent, and an increase in Germany's export trade which the Allied nationals will be the first to protest and combat. Most of all, it continues the virtual enslavement of the whole German nation for a term of years on the theory that she was alone responsible for causing the War. Even if this theory were to be accepted as regards the German government, it would ignore that distinction between the Kaiser's government and the common people on which President Wilson insisted; but in point of fact the Germans recognize it neither for the former government nor for the nation as a whole. They have just made an official and emphatic denial of this theory. True, they signed the Treaty of Versailles; but they did so with a pistol at their heads; and an admission of guilt obtained under such duress has and should have no standing in court.

THE Paris *Matin* rebukes the Germans for raising this question again. "There is a possibility," it says, "that an understanding could be reached [between the two nations] but that is possible only on one condition—that we talk business, talk realities, talk about the future, not that we talk past history." To Germany, who has already made payments in cash and kind to the amount of more than \$5,000,000,000 and sees herself under an obliga-

tion to pay at least \$5,000,000,000 more, the question of that moral responsibility which after all is the sole basis for these payments, for the loss of all her colonies, the abolition of her armies, and for all the spiritual and physical suffering to which her population has been subjected, is far from being mere "past history." To her, the statement of the *Matin* will seem to say: "We have beaten you and are taking from you everything you possess that we can get our hands on. Kindly do not now raise the academic question as to whether this is just."

AS we go to press, President Coolidge continues to be silent on the Ku Klux Klan issue. The accepted theory among political reporters is that he has waited for the Maine election to be safely out of the way before coming out with a mild "denunciation." Such a policy in our government would be as unwise politically as it would be dishonest; the people have short memories, but not as short as all that. Meanwhile, General Dawes is having increasing reason to regret the fashion in which he "praised the Klan with faint damns" in his August speech. In a new fight between Klansmen and the sheriff at Herrin, Illinois, six men have been shot. It was of the Herrin Klan, you remember, that General Dawes said that the mob which marched to the sheriff's office were "brave men." He added: "If a secret organization to uphold law and order is justifiable anywhere in our country, it is justifiable there." Does the General still maintain this view? And if so, just how many dead men in the town morgue are necessary to convince him that after all law and order come closer to preserving Anglo-Saxon ideals than does his policy of condoning mob violence, provided only the mob feels itself to be in the right?

THE same week which sees our citizenry hugely excited over the arrival of the Prince of Wales and the virtual completion of the round-the-world flight by U. S. Army aviators finds them only mildly concerned, if at all, about an outbreak of civil war in far-away China, where a hundred thousand men are mobilized around Shanghai ready to do battle in support of the conflicting claims of two provincial governors. Lack of interest in the situation is at least partially justified by the fact that it has been a long time foreseen. For years the federal government at Peking has had only the shadow of authority. Real power lies in the hands of the military governors of various provinces, men who in personality and position are not unlike such Mexican rebel leaders as Pancho Villa. Over these in a general way are the three strong figures of Sun Yat Sen in the south, Wu Pei Fu behind the Peking group, and Chang Tso Lin in Mongolia. Under such conditions a resort to armed force is almost inevitable. For China's chaotic state foreign influences are, of course, partly responsible, since for eighty years the great powers have been weakening

the authority of the Chinese government and supporting for their own ends every possible variety of factionalism. But the Chinese character is also to blame. China is not ready for an Occidental republican government founded on the assumption of a literate, politically responsible population; and it will be a long time before she reaches that point.

A LITTLE more than a year ago the twelve-hour day in the steel industry was officially "abolished," chiefly as the result of increasing pressure of public opinion which terminated in a letter of protest against the conditions in the mills written by the President of the United States. What has happened during the past year? Judge Gary, as we know, has recanted the prophecies of disaster; he could hardly do otherwise in view of the financial showing of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Social and other conditions existing after eight months of the experiment are now interestingly recorded in a special survey made by the Cabot Fund of Boston and published a short time ago. The fund's investigators report a unanimous belief on the part of managers and men alike that the change was for the better, and that the twelve-hour day is gone forever.

PROBABLY the average man, stopped on the street by an inquiring reporter, would say that the steel worker is now on a three-shift basis of eight hours a day and six days a week. The Cabot Fund report shows that this is far from true. The United States Department of Labor last January said that among the blast furnace men less than 8 percent work forty-eight hours or less, and 75 percent of the laborers work more than sixty hours. In the open hearth departments, about 4 percent of the men work forty-eight hours or less and 55 percent of the laborers work more than sixty hours. In April, 1924, the seven-day week prevailed generally even in the steel corporation plants, though the announcement has just been made that it is now entirely abandoned. Judge Gary used to make much of the theory that foreign-born men preferred the twelve-hour day because it gave them a chance for larger earnings; but little complaint has been made about reduced hours from these or any other individuals.

THE investigators report that in the mill towns the pressure of life has obviously been lessened. Men may be seen on the streets not in their working clothes—a phenomenon formerly very rare. As a rule, men reduced from twelve to eight hours have had their pay cut from a twelve-hour to a ten-hour basis, the company and the worker sharing the loss. The hysterical predictions by representatives of the steel industry that they would be unable to secure the additional labor necessary have proved as false as their threats that the cost of steel would be enormously increased. Partly because the men work harder during the shorter day, the average increase

in employes has been only about 10 percent. The actual increase in cost of steel is said to be about three dollars a ton. The chief social problem of the steel industry at present has nothing to do with the twelve-hour day, but arises from the influx of Negroes and Mexicans due to the immigration law.

WHILE the report of the Cabot Fund does not mention it, a comparison of present fact and past prediction can only leave one with lessened respect for either the honesty or the intelligence of the guiding minds in the steel industry. For years reformers had harked upon the inhuman cruelty of the twelve-hour day. For years the high-salaried big officials had replied blandly that the reformers didn't know what they were talking about and that what was asked was economically impossible. Now it turns out that the high-salaried officials were talking through their hats. Either they were grossly ignorant of the elementary facts about their own business affairs, or they deliberately deceived the public for private ends. The situation suggests two interesting questions: Just what do these gentlemen do to earn their salaries? And is it a fair supposition that the spokesmen for big business in other lines are equally uninformed or equivocal? How about the statements that the South needs child labor, that New England manufacturers would die without a high tariff, that government operation of railroads in peace times would cost the country more than private operation does now? Shall we find eventually that the experts who make these statements are as ignominiously wrong as the steel men?

THE policy of British India has been for several years a stumbling block which has helped to prevent the League of Nations from adopting the American plan for suppressing the opium traffic. It has been argued that the government of India did not dare concur in the plan to limit the world production of opium to medicinal and scientific needs because the habit of using the drug is so firmly entrenched among the native population that existing discontent would be hugely enhanced. An interesting side light is thrown on this question by a recent action of the All-India Congress Committee. At a session at Ahmedabad it passed a resolution condemning the opium policy of the government of India as being "altogether contrary to the welfare of the people of India." It is further of the opinion that the people "would welcome the total abolition of the opium traffic for the purpose of revenue"; and it authorized a special inquiry into the habits of the natives of Assam in regard to the drug. While resolutions of committees are not to be taken too seriously, there is good reason to believe that in this case the action really does represent the best judgment of the enlightened native leaders. They quite properly regard the opium traffic as an unmitigated evil and one of the strong forces which help to keep India in chains.

THE War Department, responsible with the Navy for America's defense, wants no more war and expects no more war," says the Indianapolis Star. "It believes that the best cure for war is preparedness, a knowledge on the part of other nations that this country is ever ready to take care of itself and must not be attacked." For confirmation of the success of this plan apply to Germany, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, et al.

ON the other hand, Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Scott, Reserve Corps executive officer in the District of Columbia, told an American Legion post recently that "Defense Day is a test of the country's preparedness for war," and that "war today is as sure as death." Indianapolis Star, meet Lieutenant-Colonel Scott. You boys ought to get together.

NO acknowledgment of the frankly militaristic attitude and policy of the American Legion could be more complete than that contained in Commander Quinn's recent letter to the President General of the D. A. R. The Legion is behind the mobilization, says Mr. Quinn. That is natural. He conceives the War to have proved the waste of unpreparedness, thinking, no doubt of the famous mobilizations of Russia and Germany in July, 1914. This also is scarcely unexpected. But the commitment of the Legion is based on more than history. "The government now has a military policy for which the Legion feels partly responsible." Fortunately, however, government is no one's monopoly. Friends, Methodists and Student Volunteers feel equally responsible with Mr. Quinn.

WE agree entirely with Miss Alice Paul and the recent conference of the National Woman's party in wanting "a better position for women in the United States and all over the world." We have several times disagreed with the Woman's party's uncompromising advocacy of the Equal Rights Amendment as sure to impose heavy penalties on women workers through the annulment of protective legislation for their benefit which such an amendment would make inevitable. Accordingly the Woman's party's decision to try to send to Congress a bloc of women who will put the amendment above everything else does not arouse our enthusiasm. A narrow, extreme feminism is just as discouraging as its opposite, which has ruled the world so far; and we see very little difference between voting for women who will put the Equal Rights Amendment ahead of everything else, and therefore women always ahead of men, and voting for men who have insisted on putting their own sex first so long that part of the other sex is not unnaturally in a belligerently feminist mood.

THE conduct of schools among workmen who are on strike is a rather interesting idea for adult education. The experiment, which was the subject of

considerable discussion at the recent summer session of Brookwood Labor College, is actually being tried in District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers where 35,000 workers are on strike. Seven classes have been formed and the attendance is growing rapidly. Obviously this is not an experiment in which any public agency can very well participate. It would not do to put a premium on striking. But the establishment of a tradition requiring unions to provide schools and workers to attend them systematically during a lay-off could be only beneficial to the men and to the public. The principle might well be extended to seasonal industries. There the employers and public could reasonably be expected to share responsibility for an educational program during the slack season.

THE law's delay" and "the insolence of office" have acquired a new connotation since Shakespeare's time. Here is Joseph Baltrusaitis, the last of the federal prisoners under the Espionage act, just released from Leavenworth prison and transferred to the county jail to await deportation. But Baltrusaitis as a prisoner was born out of his due time in every sense. He was arrested in Saint Louis, November, 1920, two years after the signing of the Armistice. He was tried eight months after the Espionage act had been suspended by Congress on the quaint charge that by distributing a Communist leaflet he was interfering with military service. President Coolidge shows a sense of decency beyond his immediate predecessors in extending clemency in this case.

IN a remarkable despatch from the best of the Russian correspondents, in the New York Times, Mr. Walter Duranty describes the trial and sentence of Boris Savinkov by the Soviet's Supreme Military Tribunal. The trial, at which this most daring and implacable enemy of the November revolution admitted his tireless plots, and the sentence—one of death immediately commuted to imprisonment—should prove more clearly than any incident so far the fact, which some people still refuse to believe, that the Soviet government has come to stay. If there was anyone the Bolsheviks had a right to condemn to death, it was Savinkov. More hateful than the armed opposition of Tsarist generals was the scheming of this ex-revolutionary and terrorist, the "incarnation of murderous conspiracy." His talents once directed to the killing of the Tsar's ministers, were deftly turned against former comrades. As Kerensky's Minister of War, he inspired the Kornilov and Kaledin revolts; as a fugitive he raised insurrections and instigated the attempt on Lenin's life, so nearly successful, in 1918.

WITH an extraordinary display of what the on-lookers found difficult to name sincerity or histrionic genius, Savinkov frankly recounted his en-

deavors, and as frankly admitted that he had gradually come to think he was wholly mistaken. The admission of his error in thinking the Soviet régime infirm enough to be worth trying to break open by murder we leave to the consideration of those who are still of that mind. The confession of his plottings is worth more consideration, and should not be allowed to sink into the limbo of recent Russian history unexamined. In particular, we should like to have a good deal more light on Savinkov's admission that President Masaryk in 1918 contributed several thousand dollars toward a plot against the life of Lenin, Trotzky and other Soviet leaders, and that in the same year the French, British and American military attachés in Warsaw "collaborated in his schemes for launching partisan raids on Soviet territory." They must indeed feel sure of themselves now to spare his life.

SENATOR SIMEON FESS, Republican of Ohio, has indulged in some interesting arithmetic upon a theme where the best arithmetic is still a guess. The outcome of his tentative calculation as to how the states will vote is that Bryan is not unlikely to be the next President. He supposes that Coolidge will capture twenty-two states, with 247 electoral votes; Davis twenty states, with 200, and La Follette five states, with 39 electoral votes. From this calculation he omits New York, with which Coolidge could be elected on the above basis, but without which he could not unless he stole three states from La Follette. Thus New York seems to be the crucial state, and Governor Smith the crucial man, since his campaign would obviously swing into the Democratic column many votes which without his candidacy for governor might not go for Davis.

THE Senator clearly contemplates the possibility of the election going to the House, which would be deadlocked. An election in the House, where the vote is by states, would require a majority of twenty-five votes, of which the Democrats are likely, he points out, to fall short by five and the Republicans by six (five states being unable to vote because no party within their delegation to Congress has a majority). Thus the vote would be thrown into the Senate, which would choose as individuals, not as states, between the two highest vice-presidential candidates, presumably Dawes and Bryan. A further presumption that the La Follette group would turn to Bryan brings the Governor out the winner after a chain of interesting guesses. The truth is that nobody knows. What's your guess? It's as good as ours.

MRS. O. J. HAMMELL, who is president of the Atlantic (New Jersey) County League of Women Voters, would like to see every voter who fails to go to the polls fined \$100. Further, she has observed that "women are much swayed by the personal appearance and appeal of candidates." Why not save

the women who stay at home that \$100 fine by publishing the portrait of each candidate as he personally appeared and appealed on his wedding day?

A SHARP issue of veracity is raised between Senator Wheeler and George Remus, the convicted bootlegger who is now serving his term in Atlanta prison. On the witness stand, last spring, before the committee investigating Daugherty, Remus told of making payments aggregating hundreds of thousands of dollars to friends of the gentleman from Ohio. It was his understanding that he bought not only the favor of onlookers like Jesse Smith, but the favor of the entire department including its chief. He now not only repudiates this confession, but accuses Senator Wheeler of having failed to make good on a promise that if he told a convincing story he would be pardoned. This fantastic tale the Senator denies in toto. If Mr. Remus's present story were true, it would throw an ugly light on his own character, for it would reveal him as having tried to lie his way out of prison by swearing to an outrageous series of falsehoods. It is perhaps lucky for his own reputation that no one will take his current statement seriously. As between the Senator from Montana and the convicted bootlegger it is easy to decide whom to believe. What has probably happened is that some of the members of the Ohio gang, realizing how damaging were Remus's admissions, have threatened him with great harm if he did not recant. But the record still stands; and will be stronger still before the Senate has finished.

H. W. Massingham

IN some circles it has become the fashion to say that these are evil days for liberalism; and to an extent current conditions on the continent of Europe justify this view. The heightened passions of the war and post-war period have tended to drive men into the Conservative or the Radical camp. All human experience, however, confirms the view that this development is a temporary one and abnormal in so far as war itself on the huge modern scale is abnormal. Liberalism, not as a party but as a principle, the principle of seeking to secure the greatest possible amount of real happiness for the greatest possible number of people over the longest possible period of time, the liberalism which seeks to introduce into public affairs the moral and intellectual standards which an honorable, intelligent man displays in his private life—such liberalism cannot be destroyed for all time merely because the balance of power in a number of countries has for the moment tipped violently to the left or right and placed final political authority in the hands of a Trotsky or Mussolini.

Even at the present moment a man with sufficient force of character can make himself heard above the din of the fanatic extremists. No better

example of the power of an individual thus to stamp the impress of his own personality on the thought of a generation not conspicuously sympathetic with it could be asked, than the career of the late H. W. Massingham, whose death at the age of sixty-four took place last week at Tintagel, Cornwall. Massingham had spent his life in journalism. During virtually the whole of his long professional experience he was, as are almost all journalists today, associated with papers which he did not own, whose editorial policy he was, in theory at least, unable to control. Yet it would be the testimony of anyone who read his work as it appeared day by day or week by week that his was a pen completely uncontrolled by any influence save his own passion for justice and truth. A vigorous crusader with a fine and biting scorn for those whom he regarded as enemies of the common good, he never struck a blow nor withheld one at the dictate of anyone other than himself. In an era when journalism was becoming steadily more commercial, the editor counting for less and less and the business office or the personal ambitions of the capitalist owner counting for more and more, Massingham was the exception which proved the rule, the solid rock in the river by which the increasing speed of the current can be recorded.

It was, of course, as editor of the *London Nation*, a post which he held for sixteen years and left only about a twelvemonth before his death, that he was best known on both sides of the Atlantic. The *Nation* never attained a large circulation; its best total was far smaller than the mere variation in sale from week to week of such a journal as the *Saturday Evening Post*—smaller, in fact, than the decrease which a stormy day brings in the number of copies sold of the *New York Evening Journal*. Yet the *Nation* had and has an influence out of all proportion to its number of readers, and greater than that of many journals with two hundred readers to its every one. Probably in no way could a new idea be disseminated more quickly to the quarters where new ideas matter, than in its pages. Despite the huge circulations and the enormous revenue and profits of the commercial press on both sides of the Atlantic—or because of this fact—its editorial integrity is very widely discredited. The views put forth by Mr. Upton Sinclair in his famous work on "The Brass Check" have had a wider circulation and have sunk deeper into the popular mind than even their author probably realizes. For this reason in more than one country the journal which avowedly rejects the effort to accumulate an enormous circulation or a vast advertising revenue, and tries instead to draw an intelligent picture of our changing world for intelligent readers can and does make a place for itself in contemporary thought of real significance.

Of this type of journalism H. W. Massingham was for some years a chief exponent. He had imperfections as editor and writer; but they were out-