

DEMOBILIZATION AND STATE POLICE

BY KATHERINE MAYO

"WHAT do you think? Have you heard how it is over there? Say, will there be jobs for us when we get home?"

These are the invariable questions fired at any civilian newcomer to the A. E. F. Embarkation Camps in France. Yet, give the eager-eyed lads who put them a moment more, and almost as invariably they will add:

"But I don't want my old job back, though."

"Why not?"

"Oh—I don't just know—But I don't. And indoor work would kill me for fair."

They don't want "the same old job." They want, they don't know what, but something new, something free, something alive with the savor of life.

It is simply the normal reaction of the hour. Our Civil War bore the same fruit in hosts of young men whose first essay into the world had been so highly emotionalized—so crammed with strange, extreme experience as to make all former channels of activity seem blank and dead. Some had the grit to see and overcome their crisis. Some lounged aimlessly through the rest of life. Some spent a costly interval eating husks with swine. And not a few went utterly to the bad for lack of that protection that a wiser State might have thrown about their paths.

Week by week, now, day by day, the human flood is sweeping back upon America. The old order has passed, though some of us will never find it out while yet its shrivelled corpse knocks about, unburied, in the road. What do we mean to do for the young men that come home to us? Give them a welcoming parade or two and then a chance to drop back into ancient harness? Unsettled as they are, in reaction, mental and nervous, from the long

strain so gallantly endured, do we toss them blindly into the old life and leave them to drift as luck may guide? Those who have been with the colors overseas know all too well what such a course will cost in wasted life—in delayed restoration of the civic equilibrium.

"I don't want the same old job!" says the lad. No doubt the day will come when that same old job will look good to him. But meantime, through no fault or choice of his own, his thoughts stray, groping. And meantime the Bolsheviks in the land, striped every kind of yellow, make their hideous secret war upon him. Vice in every form, under every mask, goes hunting him. And this in his own home—in the house of his friends.

"But," it is urged, "the returning soldier is no weakling, to be coddled. He will stand on his own two feet, protected by the law that protects us all alike."

That depends entirely on where his two feet rest. Laws protect nobody unless they are enforced. Certain States in the Union, honorably accepting their duty, have equipped themselves with means to carry the respect and protection of the law throughout their territory, even to the remotest parts. In our remaining Commonwealths, however, no such thing exists as a law everywhere equally enforced—a law that equally protects all people.

As applied to such governments, the term "Sovereign State" is grandiose nonsense. A State that continues to enact laws, yet provides for itself no sufficient means to exact obedience thereto, is like some old gabbler crone scolding unheeded in the corner, mumbling toothless jaws.

Pennsylvania, fourteen years ago, earned the respect and gratitude of the nation by the creation of a State Police Force whose spotless record through succeeding years not only has won it world-wide fame but has established the priceless truth that a fearless, close-knit, single-purposed and incorruptible body of men may attain, as public servants, practical perfection.

New York, after long and careful study of Pennsylvania's example, demanded of her legislators the same service that her sister State enjoys. And in 1917 New York's creative act, almost exactly copied from that of Pennsylvania, became law. Since that time five Western and Southern States have followed the two great Eastern leaders, making a total of eleven States now possessing

State Police Forces. In ten other States the establishment of State Police Departments is under active consideration.

Michigan, it is interesting to observe, created her Department as a War measure. But so essential has its work proved to the general welfare that the State Legislature of 1919 has now erected Michigan's State Police into a permanency.

On March 22, 1919, Tennessee papers printed an appeal to the Governor and Legislature of Tennessee that their State Police Bill, then pending, be made law. This appeal was presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Says one journal, in referring to it:

It is stated in the memorial that lynching in the South has reached a climax; that it would appear that the law had lost its sanctity; and it charges that the confession of the citizens that lynching cannot be prevented is but to say that the people are incapable of self-government. The memorial concludes by appealing to Governor Roberts to give his support to the Police Bill.

The appeal is made in the name of 200,000 black people of Tennessee, "in the name of righteousness, justice and fair play; in the name of the honor of the State, and in the name of the soldiers who bled and died to make the world a better place to live in."

That the State provided with an efficient State Police is a better place for the returning soldier to live in, as well as a safer place in which to leave his family while he serves his country overseas, may safely be deduced from the mere arrest figures of the New York State Troopers as shown in the annual tables for 1918. The New York State Troopers, having taken the field only in September, 1917, are, as an organization, yet in the formative period. And they number only four troops, or two hundred and thirty-two men. Yet their records for the year ending with December, 1918, show 3,750 arrests, for 67 types of offense, with 84 per cent convictions, 10 per cent of the cases pending, and only 6 per cent discharges.

While the creation of the New York Department of Police was still a matter of debate, much contemptuous humor found voice, here and there, as to the possible usefulness of two hundred and twenty-odd mounted patrolmen spread over a State 47,620 miles square. Such humor

will scarcely again raise a laugh. Even in the great areas of the Empire Commonwealth, 3,750 arrests for offenses against the law, almost all of which were committed outside of any city or borough jurisdiction, can be no indifferent matter. And when these offenses include ninety-nine cases of assault, fifty-eight of burglary, twenty-five of carrying dangerous and concealed weapons, one hundred and thirty-six of common gambling, thirty-five of malicious mischief, eighty-three violations of the Agricultural Law, and two hundred and thirty-three cases of larceny, it will be seen that the State Troopers know no favorites among their only logical opponents.

The Pennsylvania State Police, the pioneers, although originally of the same number as the New York Force of today, were increased, by act of the Legislature of 1917, to number 330 men. During 1918, however, the Force lacked from fifty to seventy men of the full quota, owing to the difficulty of recruiting material of the Pennsylvania calibre during a war-period. As a matter of fact, a perilously high percentage of the Pennsylvania Force, old soldiers as they were, harked to the voice of the trumpets and went to France. And their immediate appreciation by the Army may be measured by the fact that, of the first five privates who signed up from one troop, four presently sailed as Regular Army Captains and the fifth as a First Lieutenant. And the Captain of that same troop was to earn a regular army majority for distinguished service rendered as Provost Marshal of the City of Paris.

Meantime, the organizing and administrative skill of Colonel John C. Groome, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania State Police, had been demanded by the High Command in France for a succession of problems greatly differing in their difficulties. From straightening a colossal tangle in an intelligence department to the elevation of the Prisoners of War scheme to a fine working system, from the setting of the Provost Marshal General's Department, with its Military Police pendant, in such order that anyone with wit enough to leave it alone could thereafter have successfully run it; from housing some thousands of officers daily in Paris to another task which may not yet be made known, Colonel Groome's achievement in France has been worthy of his fame and Pennsylvania may feel that she has given a rich gift in loaning him to his country.

Meantime, that half of the Pennsylvania State Police officers and men who stayed at home, gritting their teeth to do it, performed a patriotic service beyond all computing. Filling with something of their own fires the new recruits added to them, they faced a battle stiffer, in its way, than any that in all their stern career had before confronted them. Pennsylvania during the War was one huge manufactory of munitions, one huge depot of steel, iron, fuel, the very bone and sinews of the Allied armies in France. A bridge blown up, a track wrecked, a chain of mines or factories destroyed, and the vital stream of supplies of men and guns—of support to the front line trenches—would choke at its very source. The State teemed with spies and secret agents, and its towns and mining patches swarmed with alien peoples easily worked upon by those who spoke their tongues to deceive them. One power alone they feared, whether spy or agent or hostile alien—one power they respected—dared not defy—the Pennsylvania State Police. Twelve years of unvarying experience had taught them that, till they felt it all through their shivering souls.

So once more the Pennsylvania State Police, shoulder to shoulder, faced the people's enemies—a tiny handful against a great and sinister horde. It was a giant task, admitting, man by man, not a moment's lapse of vigilance, not an instant's lapse of wit. But—"they can do it," their commander had said, when his own call came from across the sea. "My men can do the job. Why, *they never learned how to fail!*"

Did they fail? They made 10,017 arrests in this one last year, the little handful of them. And they secured therefrom 90.4 per cent of convictions. They held down the enemies of the Nation by the throat. They saved the industries of the State, which were the very blood of the army in France. And they preserved the lives, the peace, the liberty and happiness of the 8,000,000 people of Pennsylvania.

The whole A. E. F. knows about the State Police Forces of the two great Eastern commonwealths. "I am making all my day-dreams center on the Pennsylvania State Troopers," runs the recent letter of a Sergeant in khaki now "somewhere east of Berlin." "This life has plenty of thrills, but I am very anxious to get back to the States

and try myself out in what I believe is the best body of the men in the world. Do you think I can make it?"

And the growing lure of the New York State service casts its spell, too, upon the minds of the boys "over there." To feel a horse between your legs, to take the open road over the hills, to watch like a poised hawk over all the countryside for chances to help in every sort of way where help is due, for chances to pounce where harm is meant; to live in the pride of military discipline, yet free because "obedience to law is freedom"; to know that all good men and women will respect and welcome you so long as you make good, because you bring to their defense a willing arm, a quick, true mind and the whole power of the State; and to realize with it all, that many-masked adventure, taxing all your wit and nerve and will, lurks always just ahead—all this appeals as few things could to the young soldier so lately a world crusader, whose brain is as full of restless thought as his body is full of health and vigor.

Both will find expression—both mental and physical energy. Give the lad means for a right, natural and sufficient expression or, through no fault of his own, he will give himself, the world and you much costly trouble. He is no jinn, stay corked down in the bottle.

Both the eastern State Police Forces have long waiting-lists of demobilized soldiers. Both have their pick of the best men back from France. And the other commonwealths that have adopted or are so actively urging the adoption of the State Police principle will have no difficulty in selecting superb personnel.

Meantime, what have the State Police done for the soldiers? Speaking from personal observation, the mere knowledge of their existence has been an invaluable reassurance to our men in the service overseas. From rural homes the vast majority of the Army was drawn. Mails have been very slow, irregular, sometimes shut off. Especially during the influenza epidemic men's minds turned with devouring anxiety toward the lonely farmhouse or the little wayside cottage whence no word came. And soldier citizens of such States as have had a care for those little homes knew a comfort impossible to the rest.

The Pennsylvanians "over there" spoke with deep appreciation of the tried and trusty defenders of their own

homes. "I'll say so," they cried, when the newspapers of their State brought them tidings and praise of the tireless devotion of the "Black Hussars" to the needs of the plain people.

An article in the Philadelphia *Ledger* said:

"Since the beginning of the war these men have been in active cooperation with the Department of Justice, the Military Intelligence Bureau, the United States Attorney and Marshals. But no cessation of the regular police work of detecting and arresting criminals has been permitted while carrying on the business, the depleted ranks having worked only the harder. The men have declined their leaves of absence and stuck fast to the task in hand * * * During the influenza epidemic they have been in the thick of the fray in the worst pest holes in the State * * * Saloons have been cleared of sodden foreigners in the settlements where the law has been openly defied * * * The State Police have driven ambulances for emergency hospitals and rushed doctors about from place to place in an effort to save more lives, and in many cases have remained with the sick, administering medicine and acting as nurses."

Federal officers of the various departments added their public acknowledgments of peace and order brought out of panic, of obedience to sanitary laws, otherwise dead, enforced; of drug and vice holes wiped out; of illicit liquor dens abolished.

Meanwhile in France, in England, in Scotland, on the Rhine, New York men were insisting that their State Force, young though it was, was already as good as the famous Pennsylvania model,—that the rural homes of New York had champions second to none.

Meanwhile, too, in New York State, the Troopers were hard at work, steadily broadening and strengthening their record. They, too, drove ambulances, sought out the helpless, hidden sick, brought doctors and enforced the health laws everywhere in the rural State. They, too, with a vigor, rapidity, justice and fearless disregard of persons hitherto unimagined as a possibility by the people whom they served, weeded out from the communities and the countrysides every unlawful evil thing that their sharpening eyes and wits could detect. Their patrols, too, fought fires that must otherwise have meant grave loss, yet which none but the far-reaching patrol would have discovered in time. They, too, stopped on the road to chock up a hole that might wrench some horse's leg or to patch a broken bridge that might ditch a wagon.

And the Acting Director of Military Intelligence of the Chief of Staff, Col. John M. Dunn, taking occasion under date of December 21st, 1918, to thank the Superintendent of the New York State Troopers for constant cooperation and for the able assistance rendered the Government in the work of locating and investigating enemy suspects in the State of New York, added that "the aid thus given has had no negligible part in the successful prosecution of the war."

All the State well knew not only this but many other things beside. So that when, early in January of the current year, a public suggestion was made to abolish the New York State Police Force on the ground that its usefulness did not balance the expense involved, such an outcry of spontaneous protest rang forth from every quarter of the State as to set completely at rest any doubt of the real mind of the people.

From the great dailies of New York, from those of the up-State cities and from the smallest of the country papers, far and wide, rose the warning, "Hands off our State Police!" The State Grange defended it. The State Agricultural Society came out for it. The State Motor Federation took aggressive ground. The Rochester Chamber of Commerce summoned all its allied organizations to an organized defense. An important up-State newspaper syndicate served public notice that it would fight. And finally, most significant of all, the country women all over the State, whether by their clubs, by letters to their legislators or to the press, or even by personal visits to Albany, showed that they knew the cause of the State Police to be their very own.

But other elements enter into the relation of the State Police to the soldier. In a conscript Army, we took some very able natural rascals to France. These, not always the tamer for the experience, and somewhat quicker in the use of weapons than before, are now being brought home and turned loose upon the land. Further, our breakdown in keeping our soldiers paid, often for many months on end, has practically forced upon thousands of honest men a habit of looking to dubious means for necessary funds.

Cut a man off from any possible way of earning money; take him to a far, strange land; shut off his mail from home, together with any possible relief that might have

reached him through that avenue; and then keep him a half-year, more or less, without one cent of pay,—and what do you produce?

We are going to have an epidemic of tramps, of thieving, and of crime, as demobilization goes on.

Already the State Police Force of New York, the great debarkation area, has met this development. Already an intense vigilance on its part, both separately and in stimulation of, or assistance to local police officers, is the price of continued security in the rural parts. Already their accomplished action in sweeping away haunts of vice impregnable to pre-existing powers, has powerfully protected the wandering demobilized soldier from dangers and temptations specially designed to fleece and ruin him or to start him amuck.

Every Trooper riding his patrol on country roads and byways with the knowledge in his mind that experience has brought, examines the casual wayfarer on foot or on wheel with a trained and critical eye. He may mean mischief: the Trooper forestalls him. He may have done mischief; the Trooper, whether suspecting or knowing it, gathers him in. He may want work; the Trooper, who knows all the countryside, knows what work needs doing, and where. He may be sick, or broke, or helpless—he may need a friend; and then the Trooper comes into his very own. For that is his long suit—never to turn a real need down, never to be duped, and yet to be, first and last and all the time, the friend indeed of all the world.

KATHERINE MAYO.

THE LYNCHING OF PUBLIC OPINION

BY GEORGE ROTHWELL BROWN

A SUBSERVIENT press can prosper only under personal government, and it survives and flourishes then only when the manipulators of one-man power confuse the public mind with the dangerous doctrine that loyalty to an individual is synonymous with loyalty to the country. This cult can be maintained and spread only by a constant policing of public opinion, principally through the press.

During the past year and a half, there has been apparent at the fountain-head of government an autocratic assumption of responsibility for public opinion, so that we have come at last to the inevitable consequence—government by organized opinion. As a result of this system the American people today are generally in ignorance as to the conduct of the war, which they fought and for which they paid an extravagant price.

The lowering of the American press to idealize an individual, cloud an issue, and befog opinion, has been, from the point of view of American institutions of liberty, the most sinister development of the war. It has bred subserviency, disguised failure, and has clothed incompetency with the borrowed plumage of efficiency. Behind the wall of secrecy and deceit reared by the agile manipulators of public opinion throughout the war, blunders were made without exposure, and repeated at frightful cost because of that very lack; gold was dissipated without detection, fictitious personages were created out of nothingness and pigmies magnified to the stature of giants.

To understand what happened to the newspaper press of the country after our entrance into the war it is necessary to consider the state of public mind both before and after that date. With the outbreak of the war in Europe American public opinion was divided into three classes. There was a powerful minority opinion, clear-eyed as to the funda-