

of this man, truly "from Missouri," his free and easy style, his Western wit, and his dogged grit give to this work an individuality and atmosphere all its own.

The value of Mr. Francis's work is double—it is both reminiscent and suggestive.

As to reminiscence, he tells us, for example, of Germany's propaganda in Finland with a view to creating an uprising of the Finns. He realized, therefore, the importance of maintaining the Russian army intact there. Soon after we entered the war a credit was extended to the Finnish Government by the United States for \$100,000,000 on condition that the entire amount be expended in America. After the American Commission's arrival in Russia, "Senator Root and I joined in the recommendation that \$15,000,000 of this \$100,000,000 (and if the entire \$100,000,000 had already been obligated, an additional credit amounting to \$15,000,000) be extended in cash for the purpose of paying the Russian army in Finland." At that time the Russian soldiers in the former province were threatening to mutiny in default of their overdue pay. Our Government did place \$15,000,000 in the Bank of England to the credit of Russia, Mr. Francis tells us, in accord with an agreement made with the Bank of Finland, and the Russian soldiers were promptly paid.

Another "inside fact" is the revelation that the Milyukov Ministry was nearly overthrown a week after the Czar's overthrow, though the Ministry was able to right itself and last for several months. When President Lvov resigned, and Kerensky became temporarily supreme (the Soviet growing meanwhile from a decidedly lower house to an intolerable upper), a fatal error was committed, as the author well asserts, in not crushing the Revolution entirely. Mr. Francis says:

Whatever the immediate result, the consequences of executing Lenin and Trotsky would have been a benefit to Russia in the long run and would have produced less unrest than now prevails throughout the world. The Russian army was not then so demoralized as it became four months later. Kornilov and Alexiev and Brusilov and other brave soldiers were then living and the intelligencia and bourgeoisie had not been so decimated by famine and slaughter as they soon were. Furthermore, I doubt whether two more as strong characters as Lenin and Trotsky could have been found among the Bolsheviks of the entire world.

Still another is the story about the Czarevitch. During the Revolution of March, 1917, Kerensky was coming from a conference with the fallen monarch and found the late heir apparent waiting for him outside the door. The lad inquired whether Kerensky were the Minister of Justice in the new Government.

"Yes," said Kerensky, "I am."

"I want to know," remarked the Czare-

vitch, "if my father had any right to abdicate for me when he abdicated for himself?"

While Kerensky's reply is not recorded, Mr. Francis thus comments: "Another instance of children asking questions which learned and wise men were unable to answer."

There are also interesting disclosures concerning the Kerensky-Kornilov misunderstanding, concerning Kerensky's "fatal blunder in distributing arms to the workingmen of Petrograd," and concerning the sinister activity of John Reed at Moscow.

With regard to the change of government, Mr. Francis prophesied in 1916 that "if the Court Party does not adopt a more liberal policy by extending more privileges to the people and to their representatives in the Duma, a revolution will take place before even the lapse of a few years." The Ambassador had already seen the motive power towards a change of government. As he says: "For generations Germany has con-

tended for Russia; first, by commercial penetration; second, by war; third, by Bolshevism."

The chief victim of the World War is indeed Russia, Mr. Francis concludes. Not only did she lose more of her sons than did any other nation, but since the war her progress, unlike that of the other nations, has not been towards recuperation. Yet the present situation, notwithstanding the scandalous peace of Brest-Litovsk, might have been saved, thinks the author, "had President Wilson permitted me to return to Petrograd, accompanied by 50,000 troops."

As to suggestions concerning the future, and particularly with regard to trade relations with Russia, the author says that the Bolshevik Government's invariable rule is to have all foreign commerce "directly and absolutely under its control." Hence, as he justly adds, "it would be a grievous mistake and a stultifying crime for our Government to enter into trade relations with the Bolshevik Government." E. F. B.

## THE NEW BOOKS

### FICTION

**ARRANT ROVER (THE).** By Berta Ruck. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. \$2.

The "rover" of this novel is a male flirt of whom Ethel, "the red-haired handful" of the four girls he pursues in one summer, says: "You will philander with the nurse who takes your last temperature; you will flirt on your deathbed." As may be judged from the subject, the story is fluffy.

**LARK (THE).** By Dana Burnet. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. \$1.90.

This story has more plot interest and constructive plan than anything that Mr. Burnet has written hitherto. It is the romance of a foundling who sings like a lark and ultimately becomes a prima donna. Her love for one brother and marriage to another create a difficult situation.

**NIELS LYHNE.** By J. Peter Jacobsen. Translated by Hanna Astrup Larsen. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City. \$2.

This is a translation of the best-known work of a Danish writer who attained distinction in Scandinavian literature before his death, just after this book was written. It is probably self-interpretative in its portrait of a poet by nature who forces himself to play a man's part in the realities of work and social responsibility. There is delicate charm in the writing of the book, and its women characters are finely drawn. The tone is sad but not morbid.

**THEIR FRIENDLY ENEMY.** By Gardner Huntington. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.75.

Good stories for girls are rare. This should please those of high school age. Hardly are Marah and Halley out of school when they have an unusual opportunity to go into small-town newspaper work. But, when they innocently favor community and civic reform, they find the kindly and generous owner of the

paper obdurate, a friendly enemy. How they tackle the problem makes a readable story.

### HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

**MODERN EUROPE.** By Charles Downer Hazen. Henry Holt & Co., New York. \$2.50.

This work is one to be commended to those who wish to get a well-balanced idea of what modern Europe really means. The author writes from a large background of study and fact and well-digested opinion. A reading of his book must suggest further research and stimulate study.

**TURKEY.** By Talcott Williams. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City. \$3.

The author was born and educated in Turkey—his father was an American missionary. He knows Turkey at first hand and can appreciate the problems there, especially in Asia Minor. His solution for them is an American mandatory. Most readers, we think, will hardly agree to this. But they will, we are sure, gain valuable information by reading what Dr. Williams has to tell them concerning the racial divisions of Turkey and its economic, educational, religious, and social needs.

### RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

**DICTIONARY OF RELIGION AND ETHICS.** Edited by Shailer Mathews and Gerald Birney Smith. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$8.

This book, as the publishers accurately state, sets forth in compact form the results of modern study in the psychology of religion; the history of religions, both primitive and developed; the present status of religious life in America, Europe, and the most important mission fields; and the important phases of Christian belief and practice. It covers both social and individual ethics. About one hundred scholars have co-operated with the editors, including well-known specialists in their respective fields.



ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT. PHOTOGRAPHED IN THE OUTLOOK EDITORIAL ROOMS BY H. H. MOORE

MR. ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT's editorials on the background of the Arms Conference have received the approval of many of the closest students of international relations.

He will be in Washington during the opening weeks of the Conference and his interpretation of its progress will appear exclusively in these pages. His first article from Washington, "Illusionist or Idealist," is published in this issue.

## THE SOUTH, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE NEGRO

**L**AST week's issue of The Outlook contained four telegraphic comments upon the President's Birmingham address from leaders of Southern opinion. These telegrams from Mr. Bolton Smith, ex-Senator Le Roy Percy, the Right Rev. Theodore D. Bratton, and Major R. R. Moton have attracted widespread interest.

After last week's issue had gone to press telegrams were received which it was impossible to print in last week's issue. Two of these we print herewith.

The first is from James Longstreet Sibley, now Extension Professor of Social Work in the University of Georgia. Mr. Sibley was formerly Superintendent of Negro Schools of the State of Alabama, and in that office proved himself a most practical idealist. Several years ago a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook spent a day with Mr. Sibley in a tour of inspection of the Negro schools in one of the more backward country districts of Alabama. In one school he remembers seeing Mr. Sibley administer a kindly but well-merited rebuke in a manner which was typical of his whole attitude towards his work.

Entering the schoolroom, Mr. Sibley caught a glimpse of a picture of Abraham Lincoln hanging very much askew upon the wall because a battered hat had been thrown over a convenient corner of its frame. Mr. Sibley quickly called the class-room of colored children to attention and asked, "Who hung a hat on that picture?" An overgrown boy of some thirteen years shuffled forward. "Ah reckon Ah did, suh."

"Do you know whose picture that is?" The boy scratched his head and answered: "No, suh, Ah don't 'zactly know." "Well," said Mr. Sibley, "that is a picture of Abraham Lincoln, the man who set your people free, and I don't want ever to see such disrespect shown his picture again."

Mr. Sibley is a grandson of the Confederate Lieutenant-General James Longstreet.

**P**RESIDENT HARDING in his Birmingham address upon the race question probably goes further than any other President since Lincoln in attempting to offer a solution which will ultimately prove acceptable to the white South, the white North, and the Negro. His frank acceptance of the two main contentions of Southern whites—namely, social separation of the races and the prevention of political domination of local governments by ignorant Negro voters—will do much to forestall criticism from this section.

His plea for economic equality is already recognized as just in many localities of the South. Political equality will

eventually come to those Negroes who show themselves capable and worthy of exercising the franchise. This latter is a problem which will have to be faced by the intelligent leaders of both races of the next generation. It is generally recognized that our present disfranchisement laws are but a temporary expedient. In advocating the highest development of the Negro along racial lines, the President is but stating a consistent American policy, for each race can make a valuable contribution to American achievement. In sounding a warning that the Nation will not permit the South to keep the masses of the Negroes in ignorance, to be drained off to other sections of the country, the President is calling the attention of all to a very serious and very costly situation. He offers the South the co-operation of the Nation in working out the solution of the race problem, for he reminds us that the problem is no longer sectional, but is National.

It is to be hoped that the President's suggestions will ultimately be followed up by National aid to State Governments for the removal of illiteracy and suitable education for the Negro, for the South has had to bear the burden of Negro education almost alone for the past fifty years. Altogether the President speaks in a frank spirit of conciliation and offers co-operation in the solution of a most difficult problem.

JAMES LONGSTREET SIBLEY,  
Extension Professor of Social Work,  
University of Georgia.

The second delayed telegram which we publish was received from Dr. Bruce Ryburn Payne, President of George Peabody College for Teachers, of Nashville, Tennessee. Dr. Payne has had a long and interesting career as a Southern educator. He has taught at William and Mary College and at the University of Virginia. He is a member of many educational societies, and is the author of "Elementary Curricula of Germany, France, England, and America." He holds degrees from Trinity College, North Carolina, and Columbia University.

His criticism of President Harding's address we publish herewith:

**P**RESIDENT HARDING asserts that social equality is repugnant to all people. He agrees with the South on that economic quality the Negro was rapidly acquiring before and during the war, for he had abundant industrial opportunity and was gradually gaining consideration of his claims among all laborers. Had it not been for the delay in the reorganization of the world market incident to the rejection of the League of Nations

by Mr. Harding and his colleagues, the economic opportunity of the Negro would doubtless have continued uninterrupted.

Mr. Harding can himself promote the large economic opportunity for the Negro along with some millions of whites in America by helping to get some effective association or League of Nations, and so stabilize the world market in which the South normally sells its cotton. For the one supreme contribution which the Negro is competent to make toward the economic resources of the world is in the production of cotton. The availability of markets for this product can more than anything else advance the industrial opportunity of the Negro people. As a fact of practical government there is but one way for the Negroes to get a chance to vote in any considerable numbers, and that is by the demonstration of the sane use of the ballot by those Negroes who now exercise it. For a great many do now vote. These voters have the opportunity to render a large service to their race, a service vague words will not render. Demonstrated facts in this matter would carry conviction, for President Roosevelt was right in his enunciation on this point when he said that the brains and character of each community must determine who is fit to vote.

Mr. Harding says that it is a matter of the deepest National concern that the South shall not be encouraged to make its colored population a vast reservoir of ignorance to be drained away by the processes of migration into all sections. Mr. Harding's head and heart are no nearer right on this point than are the heads and hearts of the majority of good citizens in the South. We all regret that we cannot give the Negro more education, but we cannot do it without increased resources for schools, and we cannot increase the resources for schools without increased wealth to be taxed for schools, or a diminishing of taxes for Government purposes, or additional help from the Government or outside sources. If Mr. Harding would only tell us how to do either one of these things, he would make a great contribution to a problem that vexes the soul of those of us upon whose shoulders it falls more heavily than it does upon any one else not intimately and constantly in contact with the situation. It is expensive to conduct two systems of schools, the one for whites and the other for blacks. Schools are maintained by the surplus profits made in industry. That surplus is not as great in this region as expenditures for adequate education for the two races require. It is therefore a practical problem of deep concern to the Nation which the Nation really never has seriously considered and which the South is not financially able to solve.

BRUCE R. PAYNE,  
President George Peabody  
College for Teachers.