

judgment that much of the strength of this country depends upon the continued independent legislative capacity of the States. One of the reasons for the long life of this Government—long in comparison with other governments in the world—is that our several States are free to make experiments which can be tried and cast aside if unsuccessful without detriment to the rest of the country, or adopted by other States if successful. To transfer such legislation from the Legislatures of the States to the Congress of the United States is to endanger one of the factors of safety in this country.

And yet a situation exists which requires a remedy. At present the State which protects its children by its laws is penalized. Neighboring States, less conscientious, less intelligent, and therefore more willing to use up their children for the sake of their goods, can undersell the State that has the better social conscience and understanding. The Constitution forbids the more intelligent State to levy a tariff on the goods which its less scrupulous neighbors offer for sale at lower prices because of lower labor cost. And the Supreme Court has decided that the power of Congress over inter-State Commerce does not extend to the protection of the more enlightened State against this unfair competition. It is useless to criticise the decisions of the Supreme Court in this respect, but the effect of those decisions has been, not to confirm and uphold the Constitution, but to stimulate a new attempt to change it. The philosophical may say that we must depend upon a gradual system of education to raise the standards of the more backward States. Meantime, however, children are subject to exploitation, and States that try to protect them remain handicapped.

If this Child Labor Amendment is adopted, there will probably be another amendment offered to protect wage-earning women, and after that other amendments providing for industrial relief for progressive States against the competition of the unprogressive.

If we are not to have a string of such amendments, Congress should provide a single amendment that would cover them all. We do not here suggest the form that that amendment should take. In general terms, however, it should provide that Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to set industrial standards to which every State in its social and industrial legislation must con-

form if the products of its industries are to be admitted into inter-State commerce.

Such a blanket amendment, granting to Congress explicit police power for the purpose of preventing backward States from profiting by their backwardness, should be carefully drafted; but, if its

language is properly guarded, it would conform to the other provisions of the Constitution as statements of principle rather than as legislative acts, and would make unnecessary the constant tinkering of which the Constitution at present is in danger.

“Damn-Fool Honesty”

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

Contributing Editor of The Outlook

ONE of the most picturesque and significant statements made before the Senatorial investigating committee, which is now conducting a gossip shop at the Capitol in Washington, has passed by comparatively unnoticed. “Al” Jennings, ex-train robber, ex-convict, ex-evangelist, and ex-candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Oklahoma, was on the witness-stand, if that term can be employed in proceedings during which the rules of evidence and the regulation of “he-sez-to-me” and “I-sez-to-him” testimony have been almost scandalously ignored. After Jennings had asserted that the notorious “Jake” Hamon, of Oklahoma, now dead, had claimed the doubtful honor of spending a million dollars to promote the nomination of President Harding, the following colloquy took place between Senator Spencer and the ex-bandit, as reported stenographically in the proceedings of the “investigation:”

Q. Well, Hamon started in for General Wood, didn’t he, for President?

A. No, sir. No; he didn’t like Wood. He said Wood was too much impregnated with the damn-fool honesty of Theodore Roosevelt.

In the mass of mud-slinging, innuendo, insinuation, and defamation that has blackened the records of this investigating committee, and has made the phrase “Senatorial dignity” a laughing-stock throughout the country, no truer words have been spoken than are found in this unconscious *obiter dictum* of the dime-novel hero who uttered them. The damn-fool honesty of Theodore Roosevelt! What a tribute! And it has been allowed to pass unnoticed because everybody has regarded it as a simple statement of an ordinary and accepted fact.

Roosevelt during his lifetime was accused, ignorantly or falsely, of displaying various defects of character—vanity, self-assertion, sensationalism, ambition, impetuosity, bloodthirsty militarism, disloyalty to party, and even untruthfulness

and drunkenness. But his bitterest enemies never breathed a word against his honesty. Those who would have destroyed him if they could apparently never even so much as thought that he used his unprecedented power for financial profit. This is worth recalling at a time when the very warp and woof of American political life seems to be eaten into by pecuniary corruption. And it ought not to be forgotten that the executive officer who makes money out of Government contracts or by the perversion of justice is no more guilty of pecuniary corruption than the legislator who seeks election and emoluments of office by stooping to slander or baseless sensationalism. Unfortunately, the methods and atmosphere prevailing in the Senatorial committee room at Washington have produced the impression that some members of the Senate are more interested in gaining partisan advantage on the eve of a Presidential election than in a revival of common honesty in politics. Perhaps, however, the committee has done better than it realized. It has started the country thinking, and my guess is that the great mass of voters have about come to the conclusion that they want their Government administered by men who belong to the damn-fool honest class rather than to the class of damn-smart pettifoggers or crooks.

The honest man must, however, not merely profess honesty, but really love it and live it. The American people, I believe, despise hypocrisy more than they do thievery. A genuinely honest man, however, need never be afraid of being called a hypocrite. Roosevelt certainly had no such fear. He once said, “Aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport the world affords;” and on another occasion he told me at Sagamore Hill that his advice to a schoolboy, in whom he was interested and who had expressed the fear that he might be taken for a “goody-goody” if he followed a certain course, was this: “Be always

ready to fight if necessary; if you are ready to fight, you can be as good as you please, and nobody is likely to complain." The trouble at Washington appears to be that some of our politicians feel that if they make a fighting bluff they can be as bad as they please and nobody will complain.

During his lifetime there were critics who sometimes tried to laugh a little at Roosevelt for being a moralist, but they never doubted his intense, active, and genuine interest in good morals. He gathered about him, in both important and subordinate offices of Government, men who shared his moral enthusiasms and followed his moral standards. The whole tone of political and social life in Washington during his Presidential Administration was high. This has been recently revealed in an interesting fashion by the intimate and informal letters of his aide, "Archie" Butt, which have been appearing serially in the newspapers.

Roosevelt once wrote from the White

House—to be exact, December 15, 1904—to the French poet Mistral a letter which it is appropriate and stimulating to recall at this time, when the shady side of American political life is being so unpleasantly revealed at Washington. In that letter he said:

All success to you and your associates! You are teaching the lesson that none need more to learn than we of the West, we of the eager, restless, wealth-seeking nation; the lesson that after a certain not very high level of material well-being has been reached, then the things that really count in life are the things of the spirit. Factories and railways are good up to a certain point; but courage and endurance, love of wife and child, love of home and country, love of lover for sweetheart, love of beauty in man's work and in nature, love and emulation of daring and of lofty endeavor, the homely workaday virtues and the heroic virtues—these are better still, and if they are lacking, no piled-up riches, no roaring, clanging industrialism, no feverish and many-sided activity shall avail either the individual

or the nation. I do not undervalue these things of a nation's body; I only desire that they shall not make us forget that beside the nation's body there is also the nation's soul.

The underlying honesty of Roosevelt, which is damn-foolishness to men of the "Jake" Hamon type, will be found unconsciously interwoven through all his voluminous writings. What we need in the coming Presidential election is a leader who will call the country back to common honesty of thought and action. It is, however, not surprising to find decency and honor regarded as foolishness, nor is "Jake" Hamon's pronouncement the first revelation of a sentiment of contempt for the plain virtues and common decency. Nearly two thousand years ago one of the very great philosophers of history in writing on life and conduct said that the gospel of the Golden Rule, which is the gospel of reverence, honesty, and fair dealing, was to the Greeks foolishness. But, with a touch of irony, he added, "The foolishness of God is wiser than men."

Whitfield—Apostle of Racial Good Will

By LESTER A. WALTON

DEMAGOGISM is on the wane in Mississippi. Blatancy has given way to temperate expression. Intolerance is being supplanted by tolerance. Vardamanism, symbolical of racial unrest, is on its last legs and has lost potency.

When Henry L. Whitfield became Governor of Mississippi in January, the event marked the dawn of a new era in race relationships in a commonwealth where the blacks outnumber the whites. Whitfieldism is the antithesis of Vardamanism. Instead of fomenting racial friction by making rabid anti-Negro speeches, Governor Whitfield and his followers are bending their efforts toward unifying the two races for their common good.

Mississippi's new chief executive clearly defined his attitude on race relations in his inaugural address when he said:

The Negroes still make up slightly more than one-half of Mississippi's population. Any plans for a new era, any change in our economic life, any reorganization of our agriculture or industry which leaves them out, is doomed to failure. There is a definite relation between their happiness and

prosperity and that of the State as a whole.

If we would hold these laborers in the South, we must compete with the Northern employer on his own terms. We must improve working and living conditions, look after the Negro's health, foster manual training and modern agricultural methods, and see to it that at all times the less-favored black man shall get a square deal in business relations and in the courts. Our own self-interest prompts it; humanitarian considerations demand it; our Christian duty as a more favored people enjoins this upon us.

It is encouraging to learn of a fifty per cent decrease in the number of lynchings in the past twelve months. . . . I recognize only the supremacy of the law and the equality of every man before the bar of justice. I call upon all the law-enforcing officers in the commonwealth to use every means within their power to prevent lynching, and thus eliminate a potent cause of race friction and ill feeling.

Wise leaders among Negroes must be encouraged in their splendid efforts to aid their own people. Points of agreement between the races must be emphasized and points of friction minimized. Every man and woman in the State must see to it that the laws

protecting Negroes in their lives and property are religiously enforced; that the occasional white man who seeks to profit through the ignorance of his tenants or laborers be forced by the overwhelming weight of an aroused public opinion to give a square deal to all whom he employs regardless of race or color, and that there be the fullest co-operation between the white man and the black to the end that peace and prosperity come to white and black alike through cordial co-operation in the agricultural and industrial upbuilding of the State.

Governor Whitfield's unusual and thoroughgoing pronouncement on race relations has attracted much favorable and widespread attention. Northern and Southern, white and colored editors have unreservedly commended him on his outspoken utterances.

Under the caption "Wholesome Talk" the Jackson, Mississippi, "Daily News" says:

Being a plain, matter-of-fact man who reasons from cause and effect, Governor Whitfield told the Legislature some wholesome truth on this subject. To some folks it is not pleasant reading, but it is the truth nevertheless, and should command our seri-