

serious discussion of it difficult. Attempts to parody Klan language and Klan custom were scarcely, if at all, more amusing than Klan language and custom themselves.

For two years, however, the Ku Klux Klan has been growing rapidly in membership and in power. The very fact that it has been hard for many people to take it seriously has deprived opposition to it of much of its vigor. No one apparently knows what its total membership is now, but estimates, which seem not extravagant, place it in the neighborhood of three million. If this number is near the truth, the Ku Klux Klan constitutes an army half again as large as that which the United States sent to France. The Ku Klux Klan has appeared in power in States as widely separated as Texas and Oregon. It is a political power in such populous and important States as Indiana and Ohio. Those who have despised it can afford to despise it no longer. They may hate it, they may fear it; but they cannot treat it safely with contempt.

It is because the Ku Klux Klan has become a serious factor, not only locally, but Nationally, that we asked Stanley Frost to make a study of the organization and to report his findings in the articles which are now in the course of publication in *The Outlook*. We did not commission him either to defend or to attack the Klan. We commissioned him to ascertain the facts and report them. He has reported alike facts which seem to be in favor of the Klan and facts which seem to be against it. He has reported its strength and its weakness. Wherever it seemed to have served a useful purpose, he has been as ready to tell what it has done as where it has proved to be a menace.

Mere indignation and denunciation will not serve those who wish to restrain or destroy an organization of this sort. In order to deal with its undoubted dangers Americans must know something of its purposes, its methods, and the extent of its success, and must understand the circumstances which have not only called it into being but given it its power. As we said in introducing Mr. Frost's articles, not only for those who wish to defend the Klan, but for those also who wish to fight it, the only ammunition that will serve consists of facts.

By presenting these facts to our readers we believe we are doing them the greatest service we can render in respect to the Klan. Upon these facts each

reader can base his own opinion. But we believe that there are certain points which our readers should bear in mind as they read Mr. Frost's articles.

In the first place, no movement of this sort can arise without a cause. It is not within the power of any man or group of men to foist an organization of the Klan's dimensions upon the public. The Ku Klux Klan has spread in response to a demand on the part of a large proportion of Americans for some expression in protest against alien influence. The same phenomenon appeared in Italy. There an alien influence had started to break down the nation. It had disintegrated industry; it had paralyzed government; it was non-Italian, for it was destroying the power and morale of the Italian people. Whether we like the Fascisti or not, we must recognize that their rise into power was in response to a need which no one else was ready to fill. The result is that Italy has again become Italian. There is likewise a disintegrating force in America, or rather there are disintegrating forces. We have been importing not only alien persons, but alien ideas. Many of the very people who come to this country because it is great and rich and strong and free have done their utmost to belittle all that has made it such, and some of these have agitated and organized to destroy the institutions on which the present strength and freedom of America rest. It is because the Ku Klux Klan has been the only organization that has given Nation-wide expression to the protest against these disintegrating forces that it has gained its power. The American Legion might have led, but it has thrown away its opportunity by seeking a bonus for its members. Political leaders might have made an issue of it, but they have been prevented by their fears or the fears of their followers. Condemnation of the Klan, no matter how well deserved, will not check its growth until something better and saner will meet the need which it has undertaken to supply.

In the second place, whatever its service, the Klan is essentially a dangerous organization for any civilized community. Whether it is lawless or not (and that at present is at least debatable), it is so organized as to be useful for lawless purposes, with a minimum of danger to itself. As Mr. Frost pointed out in his last article, it can strike in the dark and leave no clue. There have been times in America when the only method for securing order was that of the Vigilance

Committee. It is unfortunately true that in some regions to-day where highjackers and bootleggers flourish lawless criminals seem to create a demand for equally lawless suppression. The cure for lawlessness, however, is not through more lawlessness, but through the development of public opinion upholding the law. Those who wish to see the Ku Klux destroyed had better put themselves to work in restraining the evils which the Ku Klux professes to avert or to check. A masked organization whose very membership is a secret ought not to be tolerated in America.

In the third place, whatever provocation there has been for protest against the alien spirit in America, there can be no permanent place in this land for any organization that judges men by race or religion. The greatest weakness of the Ku Klux Klan lies in the fact that in its very attempts to preserve the American spirit it denies it. To put all Jews in one class because some Jews have corrupted the theater and the moving-picture industry, to denounce all Roman Catholics because the Catholic Church has exercised such political power in New York as it did when it broke John Purroy Mitchel because, for the sake of orphan wards of the city, he defied the hierarchy, to ban all Negroes because some Negroes are disorderly or ignorant or arrogant, is to make sport of the very institutions and ideals which the Klan professes to uphold.

Why Not Wait and See?

THE treaty between Turkey and the United States negotiated at Lausanne last summer is before our Senate, and can become law only through the advice and consent of that body. A debate has been going on through newspaper articles and circulars between those who would and those who would not have the United States ratify this treaty.

It is well to bear in mind that there is no immediate necessity for this country to act. It is hardly contended by any one that by immediate ratification we should materially advance American interests and rights in Turkey unless it might be through the promotion thereby of a friendly and generous feeling on the part of Turkey towards this country and the effect of such a feeling upon American religious and educational interests in Turkey.

The simple fact is that to all intents

and purposes the Allies at Lausanne in concluding their treaty with Turkey made it impossible for us to make any agreement with Turkey other than that already concluded by them. It would be quite out of the question, for instance, for America to insist upon a continuance of the rights of Americans to go before an extritorial court in Constantinople when no other nations are to have that privilege. The Allies settled once and for all the acceptance of Turkey as an independent nation by their unwillingness to unite in demands to be enforced if necessary by arms. Turkey to-day is a sovereign and independent nation, and nothing that we may or may not do can in the least alter that fact.

Whether we sign or decline to sign this treaty, unless we are prepared to make demands and enforce them by ourselves and without allies, we must for the present submit to the superintendence of American institutions by the Turkish Minister of Education, to the loss of the extritorial rights we have so long enjoyed, to the control of the Straits by Turkey, to the absence of satisfactory guaranties for Turkey's treatment of her minority populations—now tremendously reduced by the wholesale murder of Armenians and the exile of the Greeks. Whether we like it or not, the Allies have settled all that for us.

This, however, does not mean that we are under the least obligation to conclude now a treaty with Turkey. We may very properly take our own time. It is an axiom of international law that, as Oppenheim's great work puts it, "No new state has a right towards other states to be recognized by them, and no state has the duty to recognize a new state."

We not only have the right to refrain from action, but we have exercised it in numerous cases, as have other nations. Just a few months ago we formally recognized Mexico diplomatically after ten years of non-recognition, yet American life and American interests were not all that time left unprotected, nor were commercial relations suspended to any large extent, nor were we without representation in that country, although there were no fully recognized diplomatic representatives there. On the cessation of American diplomatic recognition of Mexico for a year after Diaz came into power, President Hayes said in a Message: "It is gratifying to add that this temporary interruption of official relations has not prevented due attention by

the representatives of the United States to the protection of American citizens, so far as practicable. Nor has it interfered with the prompt payment of the amounts due from Mexico to the United States under the treaty of July 4, 1868, and the awards of the joint commission." Many other instances of periods of non-recognition between countries might be cited. It seems to us, therefore, that Dr. C. F. Gates, the President of Robert College in Constantinople, who has put forth the ablest and best plea for immediate recognition we have seen, is mistaken when he says: "Any kind of a treaty is better than no treaty, for no treaty means a closed door and any treaty means an open one."

But, it may be asked, after all, why wait if everything has already been settled as regards Turkey's future? That is just it; there are grave doubts whether things have been permanently settled. We remember the history of the Young Turks party, their claims to be reformers and the era of wholesale assassination and financial corruption that followed. We find a well-informed writer saying to-day that Kemal's party (he is President of the party as well as of the country), called the Popular Party, is composed largely of men who were in the Young Turks movement and that the Young Turks, supported by prominent men opposed to Kemal, really dominate the situation in Constantinople. This writer says of the Popular Party, "It is founded upon his [Kemal's] personality, and will naturally disintegrate with his death or with the decline of his fortunes." We find also such eminent authorities on Turkish matters as Oscar S. Straus, formerly our Ambassador to Turkey, ex-Ambassador Gerard, Mr. A. D. F. Hamlin, and others joining in a published Memorandum against ratification of the Lausanne Treaty and adducing cogent reasons therefor. This Memorandum, which is signed by one hundred and ten public men, including diplomats, editors, travelers, international authorities, and students of Eastern affairs, denies that resumption of relations by America with Turkey would promote either peace or justice. A study of the facts thus presented leaves one with the feeling that the proposed treaty is valueless even if we do not go so far as to agree with the Memorandum when it says:

It is morally an indefensible Treaty. It is an utterly humiliating and purposeless Treaty. It surrenders all and

every American right in Turkey. It renders impossible the continuance of American educational and philanthropic enterprises in that country. It ignores our solemn pledges to Armenia. The economic concessions which it purports to secure for a few Americans are now admitted to be of dubious value, and have already been transferred into alien hands.

The point that we would make here, however, is that this is a case, if ever there was one, where time should be taken to learn what kind of nation the new Turkey is to be, whether it is or is not one that we wish to indorse and trust. The doctrine of "watchful waiting" is not as popular as it once was, yet there are occasions where it is the best course. It may be that Kemal's Republic will be one in effect as well as in name; it may be that it will last and be worthy of recognition. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the prediction that Kemal's Government will fall in the near future may be fulfilled, and quite possible also that it will show itself to be not a real democracy but a narrow autocracy. In the latter case, we shall not regret a reasonable amount of delay in picking up the new treaty with Turkey which the Allies have kindly left at our door.

A Builder of America

SHE wrote no books; she painted no pictures; she carved no marble.

She served on few committees; she held no public office; her death passed unnoticed in the daily press. Yet when she was gone those who knew her and loved her spoke her name as they would speak the name of one who had triumphantly completed a great career.

Harriet Bristol Stone was the wife of the head master of a small private school. To the generations of schoolboys that came under her guardianship she gave of her courageous spirit joyfully and gladly. She practiced without preaching a religion of service which seemed to well from her spirit without the compulsion of creed. The creed was there, but its outward manifestation needed no more formal expression than the words of Micah: "Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

Such women are truly the builders of America. They are busy, not with the making of things, but with the making of men. It is of little concern whether modern industry can create a thousand