

The Outlook

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The Political Steeplechasers Take a Hurdle

PRIMARY elections recently held in various States present, by their results, a crazy picture, the meaning of which mortal man cannot guess. Here and there a figure stands out prominently, almost in high relief, meaning in an isolated way something quite definite. But the canvas as a whole takes on a broad incoherence past the power of cubist to equal.

One of the clear-lined figures is Gillett of Massachusetts. The Speaker of the National House of Representatives, against able opposition, secured the Republican nomination for United States Senator by an impressive majority. He had the support of Chairman William M. Butler of the Republican National Committee, the friend and political manager of President Coolidge. Tacitly, Speaker Gillett had the support of the President. Beyond doubt this result shows the President to be master of his own State. It strongly indicates that the President is master of New England and of the East generally. It gives the Republicans of Massachusetts as their candidate a typical son of Massachusetts, a man of large achievement and of strong character. It appears to contain the well-grounded hope, for Republicans, that David I. Walsh, the present Democratic Senator, may be defeated and that Gillett will sit with Lodge in the Senate.

The result in Michigan is less encouraging to the President and to Republican prospects generally. Senator James Couzens, one of the most active of insurgent Republicans in the present Senate of the United States, was renominated by the Republicans, receiving a substantial majority over Judge Arthur E. Tuttle, his nearest opponent. Couzens was the leading figure in the movement for an investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue and the Prohibition Unit of the Treasury Department. The investigation was not dropped, but was allowed to lag, largely because of the illness of Senator Couzens. It will be resumed within the next few days. Senator Couzens has offered to pay a "prosecutor" out of his own pocket, and, if he does not do so,

it will be because of the opposition of his fellow-committeemen. Both President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon vigorously protested against employment of counsel by a member of the committee, but the Senator did not abandon his purpose.

Apparently there was little involved in the race except the record of Senator Couzens, a record decidedly not friendly to the National Republican Administra-



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**Cole L. Blease, former Governor of
South Carolina**

tion. The Ku Klux Klan is said to have been nominally opposed to Senator Couzens, but it is generally admitted that the Klan took no active part in the Senatorial contest, devoting its energies to the contest for Governor and other State offices.

It is asserted that a large Klan vote was cast, but no candidate said to have Klan indorsement won, and several of them fell considerably short of second place. In the contest for Mayor of Detroit a run-off primary is necessary, but it will be between two anti-Klan candidates, the candidate indorsed by the Klan being in third place.

The only State in which the Klan appears to have held the balance of power is Colorado, where the men said to be Klan candidates, Rice W. Means and Clarence J. Morley, won the Republican nominations for United States Senator and Governor respectively.

In the Southern Field

PRIMARY elections were held in three Southern States—Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana. Their significance is as much mixed as that of the Northern and Western primaries. They probably, however, mean less to the Democrats in relation to the National campaign than the Massachusetts and Michigan results mean to the Republicans.

In Georgia, Senator W. J. Harris was renominated by the Democrats by a large majority over Thomas W. Hardwick, former Governor and former United States Senator. The Klan undoubtedly supported Harris. It is not at all certain that the Klan threw the victory to Harris. The Georgia political situation is complicated almost beyond the understanding of an outsider. The Tom Watson bloc, which has dominated Georgia elections for more than a decade, still holds together though Senator Watson is dead. Hardwick suffered, too, from enmities he incurred both as United States Senator and as Governor. His war record was unsatisfactory even to men who had always been his supporters. His Democracy was not exactly "on straight" from the Georgia view-point. His opposition to Wilson policies and particularly to the League of Nations might appear to constitute no issue at this time, but it is to be remembered that a month ago in the adjoining State of Tennessee General L. D. Tyson defeated Senator John K. Shields on that issue alone. A very large percentage of Southern Democrats do not yet look with complacency upon what they regard as official disloyalty to President Wilson during the war or in the days following it. That feeling played its part in Hardwick's defeat.

The Klan will claim credit for the Harris victory, but it is as certain as any political supposition can be that Harris would have defeated Hardwick had there been no Klan issue.

The most astonishing—and the most disappointing—result was the nomination of Cole Blease by the Democrats of South Carolina for United States Senator. The Republicans could have wished nothing worse for the Democrats in the long run, though it will have little effect

on the present National campaign. Blease is of that type of demagogue which sometimes has humiliated the South in the Senate of the United States. True, there have not been many such Southern Senators. But one of them, like a bullfrog in a marsh, can make enough discordant noise to uproar the universal peace.

The victory of Blease over Representative James F. Byrnes is inexplicable on any theory except that an electorate occasionally goes wild. Blease's strength lies in his appeal to the passions of the people and, to some extent, in the fact that he is a member of practically all the fraternal organizations except the Masons. He was twice elected Governor of South Carolina and has been twice defeated for the nomination for United States Senator.

Blease's majority is extremely slender—apparently less than two thousand on the face of incomplete returns—and it may be overturned. Almost certainly, it will be contested.

In the Louisiana primary Senator Joseph E. Ransdell was renominated by the Democrats by a substantial majority. There is apparently no special significance in the result beyond indorsement of a Senator satisfactory to his constituents.

"Bloody Williamson"

THE recent outbreak of violence in Herrin in which half a dozen men were killed has not only recalled the savage warfare between union miners as against strikebreakers of two years ago, but has also called attention to the fact that this region in southern Illinois has been subject to feuds, lawlessness, and group murder at intervals during a long history. In fact, the town of Herrin had rather more than its share of the blame for the atrocities that marked the fighting of 1922, for the mine was not in Herrin and strikers who were guilty of excesses in that labor war came from all over Williamson County armed with guns and with murder in their hearts. Williamson County was "Bloody Williamson" right after the Civil War, when political enemies fought one another in feuds and vendettas, while long before that time the settlers of the county, so it is said, "began by killing Indians and ended by killing one another." All this, and also the history of the recent disturbances in Herrin, is told by Mr. W. L. Chenery in the New York "Times" of September 14.

In these troubles the basic cause is

plainly disregard of law. The fighting last month had nothing directly to do with the labor riots of 1922. But there was this connection: public sentiment—that is, the feeling of the majority of the people in Herrin—totally disapproved of any attempt to inflict punishment upon the murderers in the coal riot. Somebody said that "a jury made up all of ministers could not be got to convict any of these men." This sort of feeling got into politics. Men were elected or not elected according as they did or did not believe in letting crime go unpunished. Naturally under such officers vice and crime flourished abnormally—abnormally because Herrin is not a bad, wild Western town, but is a place of churches and schools, and is in most respects civilized. The officials dared not put down vice because of politics. Bootlegging, gambling, and prostitution flourished abundantly. The quarrel that resulted in the death of six men was really one between politicians unwilling to enforce law (including, it is said, the sheriff and the district attorney) and, on the other hand, citizens who wanted to put down vice and tried to do it through unlawful methods—that is to say, through the Ku Klux Klan. It is said that at least four ministers were prominent members of the Ku Klux Klan. The squabbles that resulted in a final clash and a quick, sharp battle, in which three men on each side were killed, grew out of circumstances difficult to trace, but the prevailing enmity underneath this trouble, according to the apparently well-informed account to which we have already referred, is just this thing of unwillingness to enforce law and willingness to put down lawbreakers by lawless methods. Herrin is an object lesson to the whole country.

Send Out the Call

THE joint convention at Quebec September 8 to 12, the fifty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Fisheries Society, and the eighteenth of the International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, was notable for the large and representative attendance of internationally minded men and women, including eminent specialists in biological science and biologically good citizenship, and advanced thinkers among State and National executive officers.

Perhaps the most outstanding protest against existing conditions was that exploring the long delay in issuing the call for the International Conference on Pre-

vention of Pollution of Extra-territorial Waters, authorized by the Congress of the United States over a year ago.

It was the unanimous opinion, as expressed in a strong resolution, that the damage from the oily wastes from oil-burning and oil-transporting steamers arising from even a few days' delay would inflict a damage to the fishing interests, to the public marine food supply, and to shore properties, which would far outreach the relatively small advantage to be gained by any specially improved device which the Federal Bureau of Standards is reported to be considering.

It was strongly pointed out that there was danger that the public interest in the fisheries food supply might be unwittingly sacrificed; and that the advantage to the public in the export of crude oil by problematically holding down the costs of transportation for the oil companies would be exceedingly small compared to the very real damage to useful marine organisms, to shipping, and to shore properties arising from the dumping outside the three-mile limit of even a thousand barrels of crude oil, a very modest estimate of perhaps one month's delay. This oil will persist for months, as a blanket drifting and ever widening, deadly to sea birds and to the eggs and young of our most important fishes, and, borne by the prevailing winds, will in time accumulate on our coasts and do much to nullify the beneficial effects of the Federal Oil Pollution Act of 1924.

Complete action for checking this serious economic catastrophe requires a threefold combination. (1) By State laws and executive officers. Some progress is being made. Much more is necessary. (2) By Federal action. This appears to be limited, by the Constitution, to navigable waters. Congress at the last session covered more than a half of this aspect. Completion is expected at the next session. (3) Pollution of the extra-territorial waters. On this, action awaits the call by our Secretary of State and his technical advisers in the Department of Commerce.

Our house is now measurably in order, though perhaps our action lagged nearly two years behind that of England and Holland. Why may we not still make a valuable contribution to this world-wide benefaction by immediately issuing the call for the International Conference, for which all nations have been led to expect our initiative, since we are the greatest oil-transporting nation, and the one today doing most of the damage to the