

held, it is understood that the mother country is to take the important step of declaring that the British Dominions have attained the dignity of full nationhood.

The Australian Prime Minister, Stanley M. Bruce, has created the greatest surprise of any of the statesmen at the Conference, by declaring that the American leaders in the War of Independence prepared the way for the present British Commonwealth of Nations. Speaking as guest of honor at a luncheon given by the American Chamber of Commerce in London, he said:

"All thinking people must realize that there was something wrong in the attitude of the British Government, which did not recognize the aspirations and ideals of young peoples. But now a new British Empire has grown up, and Australians are enjoying the great heritage of freedom and autonomy to which the forefathers of the American people did much to contribute."

Then he made his English listeners gasp by asserting that if Australia had been a nation at that time she would have fought alongside the Americans.

Furthermore, he said that Australia understands the American repugnance to getting involved in European affairs. Both countries, he continued, are anxious to keep free from European entanglements and carry on their own development, and at the same time to assist in increasing the prosperity and happiness of the world. He pleaded for a better understanding of America by Europe, and also for more consideration by America of the troubles through which Europe has passed and the great economic problems of reconstruction which she is still facing.

That an Australian should come to present the case of America so forcibly from within the Empire is an unprecedented and cheering development. And as these new colonial states attain their deserved dignity and influence in the affairs of the Commonwealth it is a good augury for future relations between the British nations and the United States.

A High Price for the Pursuit of Happiness

FREE speech is the greatest risk that any one can run to-day in Italy. The latest attack on the life of Mussolini has brought in its wake an extraordinary program of penalties for any opposition to the Fascist Government.

And to enforce it the Dictator has added to the six ministerial posts he already held a seventh—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, making him the direct chief of the police forces.

At his demand, the Cabinet has approved a series of repressive measures of unprecedented severity: the death penalty for any one attempting the life of the King or the Premier, or any one guilty of treason, espionage, or armed

ship and property and of imprisonment if he returns to Italy. A special office of political investigation, to be run by the Fascist militia, is to be charged with surveillance of all individuals or elements regarded as subversive.

Meanwhile, from Paris, comes news that Colonel Ricciotti Garibaldi, grandson of the famous Italian patriot and ostensibly the leader of the anti-Fascist movement, has been arrested and has confessed to French Secret Service agents that he accepted large sums of money from officials of the Italian Government for arranging plots against Mussolini and then denouncing the plotters to the Italian police. Mussolini has been accusing France of failing to prevent conspiracies against Fascism within her borders, and telling his adherents that Italy would not endure the French attitude. Italian mobs have stoned and invaded French consulates, and relations between France and Italy have been seriously strained. But the Garibaldi confession appears to throw a new light on the whole situation.

What sort of game is being played in Italy, one inevitably asks, that her Government picks trouble with a neighbor on such pretexts and at the same time is forced to impose a system of suppression of all criticism at home and abroad which can be compared only with the Bolshevik terrorism? Mussolini has apologized to France for the offensive demonstrations against her by Fascisti; but the question yet remains. The material progress of Italy under Fascism is undisputed. But there are some prices too high to pay for material welfare, and one of them is the sacrifice of the civic liberties for which men have struggled through centuries.

One of the tests of the suitability of a governor, whether elected or appointed, is his ability to go among the people without wearing a steel shirt. The iron-clad and inexorable scheme that Fascism has become gives cause for wonder whether every one is so happy under it as its advocates assert.

Belgium Defied

SINCE Dr. Baldwin's correspondence on "Goliath and David," printed in this issue, was written China has abrogated her treaty with Belgium. This leaves the situation precisely as Dr. Baldwin foresaw and foretold it. In this dispute Great Britain has approved Belgium's stand.



Underwood & Underwood

James K. Hackett

James K. Hackett died in Paris on November 8 at the age of fifty-seven. Known first as the creator of romantic and melodramatic rôles, he later achieved eminence as a Shakespearean actor. He received most unprecedented acclaim in France for his *Macbeth* and his *Othello*. He was a graduate of the school system of New York City.

rebellion; dissolution of all organizations opposed to the Fascist rule, with imprisonment for any one attempting to reconstitute them or belonging to them; imprisonment for five to fifteen years for any one spreading false or exaggerated reports of conditions in Italy; and, finally, trial by Fascist military courts for any one accused of any of these offenses. Opposition papers or periodicals are suppressed until further notice. Passports for Italians going abroad are annulled, and the frontier troops are instructed to fire on any one attempting to cross the frontier without a passport. Italian correspondents or other citizens abroad are warned against circulating accounts tending to impair the credit of the Italian state or harm the national interests, under threat of loss of citizen-

Advice to Both Houses

To the Drys:

PROHIBITION came to America because you fought for it. It came as a result of a campaign reaching back many decades.

You have dreamed of a dry America free from the political corruption and social debauchery of the liquor trade. You have dreamed of an America where children would be safe from the menace of the saloon; a land in which the earnings of the people would be devoted to the comfort and improvement of family life; a Nation free from the shackles of poverty, crime, and insanity, which are the natural sequence of alcoholic indulgence.

You have shaped the laws of the Nation to give at least lip service to this dream. Its substance in large measure still lies hidden in the future.

If you will study the course of history, you will find that no dreams are ever entirely achieved. You will find that liberties are never won, that democracy is never attained, that no ideal is ever so secure that its opponents may be ignored and its possession ranked as a permanent asset of mankind. The war for liberty, democracy, and social ideals is a continuous war. It is a war in which many victories may be won, but a war in which there can be no final victory. Triumph perches on the banners of the leaders of this war only so long as they remain on the firing line. Defeat is the portion of those who lay down their arms to rest.

So in writing the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution of the United States your dry forces secured only a strategic point from which your fight for a dry Nation might be advantageously continued. You have lost ground because you have refused to recognize the fact that the war in which you were engaged had merely entered into a new phase. Your job is a plain one. It is to use such weapons as you possess against the main object of your attack. The citadel you set out to storm was the political power of the liquor trade. Keep this objective in mind. Do not divide your forces. See that your army is free from mercenary soldiers. See that your scouts are men chosen for their integrity of purpose as well as their skill.

Don't waste your time on petty campaigns and abortive attacks which distract the attention of the Nation and the

world from your main objective. Be jealous lest in carrying on your battle you sacrifice hard-won ideals of liberty and private conscience which free men have thought worth dying for. To violate these principles in the protection of other principles is to lay your flanks open to a counter-attack of menacing proportions. Fight hard and fight fair.

To the Wets:

PROHIBITION came to America partly because most of you failed to fight against it. You failed to fight either because you believed that a prohibition law could never be placed in the Constitution of the United States, or because you were afraid or ashamed to stand up in social and political company with the liquor trade and be counted. By Constitutional methods open to every body of citizens and by an overwhelming majority, the Congress of the Nation and the Legislatures of the States decreed the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. You had your chance then to fight for the retention of the saloon if you desired it or for a modified control of the liquor business if that seemed best.

You, at least those of you who have no sympathy with the liquor trade, lost the fight against the Eighteenth Amendment in large measure by default. In a nation such as the United States no fight need be permanently lost. If the principles of personal liberty and individual independence which you have rediscovered since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment are valid principles, if they are inconsistent with the ideals for which the drys fought, you still have an opportunity to convince the Nation of the soundness of your views.

You can join Senator Wadsworth in urging that the Eighteenth Amendment be made permissive instead of mandatory. That is your privilege as American citizens. You can join others in urging the complete repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. That is your right as a member of our representative democracy. Beware, however, lest in any campaign that you undertake you wage your battle along lines tending to destroy the rules of law and order under which your property and lives are protected and you are yourselves given a free hand to propose such changes as you desire to make.

Americans have learned to fight their political battles according to a definite code. The abuse or the destruction of

this code would destroy our whole system of government. When a nation is free to revise its law, the plea for nullification has no place in any argument save that for revolution. If you wish to join belated battle with the drys, do so on the same terms and conditions with which they fought for the abolition of the saloon.

If you would fight the drys, remember that you must be prepared with something more than an attack upon the undoubted evils of the present situation. You must be prepared with a solution of the liquor problem which offers a convincing alternative to both prohibition and the saloon. You must discover a solution to a problem which has baffled the best minds of many nations. Have you such an alternative? The Nation is ready to give a hearing to your answer.

The Elections

THERE is nothing unusual in the mid-term reaction against an Administration at Washington. For about a generation following the end of the Reconstruction Period Republican Administrations were regularly confronted in their second term with a Democratic majority in the House. It was not until 1898 that a Republican Administration maintained a Republican majority in Congress throughout its term. Again in 1902 the Republicans maintained their majority, but by a reduced margin, as they did in 1906. During these years only twice did the swing from a majority to a minority forecast a change from a Republican to a Democratic Administration. In 1910, however, a change of a Republican to a Democratic majority foreshadowed the coming Wilson Administration. Similarly in 1918 the change from a Democratic to a Republican majority in the House and the Senate indicated the swing to the Republicans that later carried Harding in. In the mid-term election of 1914 the Democrats almost lost their majority, but did not lose the next Presidential election. In 1922 the Republican majority was reduced from 169 to about a score; but the reduction then indicated no ground for hope for the Democrats in the forthcoming Presidential campaign.

In the election this year the usual reaction has taken place. A Republican majority of nearly 60 has been reduced to about a score. The most marked