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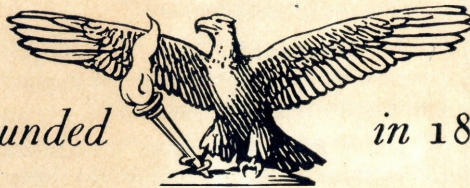
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The Harding Administration—An Editorial

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A Weekly Journal of Free Opinion

February 28, 1925

The Harding Administration

THE Harding Administration is drawing to a close. Historians are sharpening their pencils and marshaling their records in order that they may with true perspective — for what historian does not claim that his is the only true perspective — chronicle the achievements of the last four years. Yet before these historians have rendered their verdict, lesser lights in scores will have cast a critical eye backward and made their appraisals, appraisals that succeeding generations may reëdit or ignore, but appraisals that the electorate of today cannot pass over. For judgments on the past are the heralds of the future.

We venture to predict that the Harding Administration will be recorded in the lesson books of children a century hence for two great achievements — the Washington Arms Conference and the immigration bill. The first will be noted, not as an event of such overwhelming importance in itself, but as a great landmark in the history of human relations. For it was at that conference that nations of their own free will and for the first time succeeded in entering an engagement to limit competitive armaments. And by that success they opened up the gateway to the practical realization of ideals at which the skeptical world had scoffed since its beginning. The second will be noted because it was as important a declaration of nationalism as the Arms Conference was of internationalism. Washington's policy of "no entangling alliances" and the Monroe Doctrine pale into insignificance compared with this rigorous dictum. The school child of the future may even be inspired to chant:

"My country is for me
Nordic 'twill ever be."

But the school child may never learn of the achievements of the Harding Administration which to this generation loom much larger than those already recorded — that is, unless he becomes an economist at a very tender age. For in the field of finance, liquidation of post-war problems, and Federal retrenchment, the Harding Administration has

made its most notable contributions. The installation of a budget system, the paring down of the national debt, the reduction of taxes, the reorganization of governmental functions, the remedy of unemployment, the avoidance of costly panaceas for the salvation of industries in temporary distress — none of these things lends itself to epic treatment or carries with it an emotional or inspirational appeal. They are not spectacular, yet in the everyday life of every one of us they are fundamental, and the names of Mellon and Hoover, regardless of the latter's unforgettable war services, should be carved in the same niche that will carry the names of Hughes and Dawes down to posterity.

Nor will the school child hear much of the oil or Veterans Bureau scandals. Not that these scandals were insignificant or pardonable, but that they had no visible effect on the political or economic history of the nation. Today, they are almost forgotten; tomorrow, they will have sunk into oblivion. In an appraisal of Harding's judgment of friends they may find their place, but in an appraisal of his Administration's successes or failures they will be lost. Had Harding lived, the situation might have been altered radically, but that these scandals were judged as personal and not party affairs by the American electorate was amply proved in November.

To be accurate, the régime of the last four years should be called the Harding-Coolidge Administration. At the same time, the name of President Coolidge can quite well be dropped off. During the year and a half of his tenancy not a single new policy was inaugurated, not a piece of new legislation sponsored, nor an appointment of any significance made — with the exception of Stone to the Cabinet and to the Supreme Court — that had not been initiated, proposed, or forecast during President Harding's lifetime. True, Coolidge's emphasis on rigid economy and his free use of his veto power stamped him as a definite entity of greater strength than the easy-going Harding, but even the policy of economy was an inheritance. The next four years he will be able to term more properly his own.

Strong as the Harding Administration was in the business management of the Government, and

successful as it was at the Washington Conference and indirectly at the Dawes Conference in Paris, it nevertheless failed to light any spark of enthusiasm or inspiration in the hearts of the imaginative and idealistic youth of the nation. It gave the impression in domestic as well as in foreign policies of sacrificing idealism for conservative reality. In fairness, though, an allowance must be made for the fact that its progress in every direction was made in spite of the constant opposition of a stubborn Congress. Harding had not the faculty of a Lincoln or Roosevelt or Wilson to stir the emotions of youth, nor has Coolidge as yet shown signs of that type of picturesque dramatization of situations that appeals to the heart rather than the head. But because of its constructive quality, its success in raising the standard of living of the whole nation, an honorable place, and in the economic sense, a notable place, will surely be reserved for the Harding Administration in the archives of history.

A Racial Audit

IF we turn over the leaves of the immigration ledger for the six months ending December 31, 1924, we shall find a gross income of 231,368 human beings. Which indicates that by the end of the fiscal year, some 462,736 immigrants of all classes will have been admitted to the United States. This stands against 879,302 for the fiscal year, 1923-24, or a reduction by over one half. The new set of rules under which books were kept for the six months considered was the immigration law enacted by Congress last session. It looks like a good law. Turning for a moment to the debit columns we find that the exodus of aliens from the United States to certain countries overbalances the immigration. The countries are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Jugoslavia, Armenia, China, India, Persia, and Syria. Another export item is deportations, which have doubled since last year. The total for last year was 4,294, while in the six months just ended, 4,448 have been sent home. The bookkeeper has figured "net income" for the six months as 97,389, which contrasts with 464,990 for a like period last year. For the whole of the last fiscal year the "net income" was 662,557. Our total for this year will probably not exceed 194,778. On this basis it looks as though the immediate danger of an "alien flood" was passed. But so far, we have touched upon totals only and haven't looked into the sources of our human revenue. The biggest source is Germany, which gives us a net figure of 24,089 for the six months. The next largest source is the Irish Free State whose net increase to our population is 14,388. The net figure from Great Britain is 14,385. Thus, from these three countries whose racial stock permits an easy assimilation and a

ready adaptation to our institutions we have received over fifty per cent of our net immigration income. Further, it should be noted that in the debit column stand several Oriental countries whose racial and social characteristics are most remote from ours, such as India and China.

But one vast resource of income is unreckoned in the articles of the immigration law: smuggling. Through devious channels of deceit, some 100,000 legally debarred aliens enter the United States each year. There is thus created a problem in "human bootlegging" that competes in difficulty with prohibition enforcement. It is the "immigration problem" today.

Wanted: A Laureate

REPRESENTATIVE VINSON'S lines about the President's electric hobbyhorse won't make Edgar Arlington Robinson look to his laurels, but they were, as Congressional poetry goes, very good indeed. That is to say, one of the forty-eight actually scanned. But that is the pity of it. The Congressional taste in poetry is simply terrible. One might make a fat anthology of the world's most regrettable verses without consulting anything but the *Congressional Record*. What this country needs is a poet laureate. He should have an office in the Capitol and no person on the public pay roll should be allowed to quote any other man's poetry or write any of his own until the laureate had indorsed the project. The laureate should also be required to furnish poetry, free of charge, for speeches and monuments. Whether he should be an appointee of the President or under civil service has puzzled us a little. We are convinced that his lyre should be nonpartisan, but, on the other hand, we should hesitate to subject him to an examination which might include such prosaic subjects as geography and grammar — especially, if he were an up-to-date poet, grammar. Possibly, the best way would be to have him picked from a list submitted by a committee of leading critics. This might require a Constitutional amendment, but we are sure that no one who is familiar with the present state of the poetic art on that eminence which citizens of Washington fondly call The Hill would object to any remedial measure short of armed revolution.

The Modernism of Mother Goose

THE president of the Natural Education Forum, Dr. Winifred Sackville Stoner, will have no more of Mother Goose. She points reproachfully at "Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son," which seems to condone theft, at "Little Jack Horner," whose manners were unspeakable, and at "Old King Cole," who had no respect for prohibition. But all of these indictments may be cheerfully admitted by Mother Goose's friends. No sane person pretends that she

was an edifying old lady. She was, however, a practical creature. Her function, as she saw it, was to prepare children for the world, which they must encounter sooner or later, and she well knew that the world was often frivolous, foolish, and sinful.

But that is not all that can be said for Mrs. Goose. Her jingles, dealing as frankly as they do with sex, crime, unhappiness, and other deplorable features of our civilization, harden her little readers against the literature with which they will have to contend when they grow up. Adults to whom Sherwood Anderson, Marcel Proust, Ben Hecht, Aldous Huxley, to mention only a few of the tough-minded authors of our day, will be presented as classics, will be less likely to suffer from indigestion if they have known the melancholy fate of Little Tommy Tucker, the unseemly conduct of the old man in the velvet coat, the cruelty of Little Johnny Green, the misfortunes of Jack and Jill, the sinister implications of Bobby Shaftoe, and the sordidness of the Old Woman Who Live in a Shoe. No, by all means, let us not discard Mother Goose. Let us relegate Kate Greenaway first, or even Stevenson. They are romanticists, and romance, they say, died o' Wednesday. But Mother Goose we must cling to; she is in *The Movement*, a very product of our time.

The Loosened Shirt

“LET it be clearly understood,” writes Mr. Kipling, “that the Russian is a delightful person till he tucks in his shirt. . . . It is only when he insists upon being treated as the most easterly of western peoples instead of the most westerly of easterns that he becomes a racial anomaly extremely difficult to handle.” It is quite likely that Mr. Kipling’s prophetic eye failed to vision a future in which his pleasant Russian of the loosened shirt should be otherwise than beneficent, but it is certain that the present plan of the Soviet government to unite Russia, China, and Japan in a protective as well as economic alliance is as ominous in its portent for the future as it is natural in its inception.

The Soviet ministers are not the first representatives of a Russian government to see the value of China as a friendly ally. The Czar’s emissaries in 1896 concluded a secret treaty with Peking, and through the succeeding years leading to the Russo-Japanese War, both Russia and Japan were suing for the favor of China whose friendship for either would have been a serious blow to the other.

Through the intervening years, Russia and Japan, the latter secure in her alliance with Great Britain and turning to the markets of the West rather than to China, have exploited the Chinese together. But Russia, under her New Economic Policy, is sweeping out toward fresh fields of industrial endeavor and the vast raw materials of China must play an increasing part in this expansion.

Russia’s friendly policy toward China, instituted with the exchange of ambassadors between the two countries last summer, forces a decision upon Japan. Today, she cannot ignore the significance of an alliance between China and the Soviet government, and the rumor of a Russo-Japanese treaty suggests the first step toward a union of the three great powers of the Far East. The results of such a move can be only conjectured. It is as absurd to see in it the immediate shadow of the mailed fist as it is fatuous to ignore the fact that a union of the vast natural resources of China and Russia with the close industrialism of Japan is a potential threat to the West. Russia is not to be ignored, and if the nations of the West will not accept her as a friend and ally, then she will draw her allies from other countries.

Incurable optimists are still repeating their seven-year-old bromide to the effect that the Soviet government cannot last much longer and that the actions of that government are politically but the passing whims of a small group of cutthroats. They do not realize that in isolating the Soviet government the United States is isolating the whole nation, — at least, all of the nation that has any articulate entity, — and by so doing is inviting the very process of new alignment that the West has always feared.

The Age of Bronx

ACCORDING to the *New York World*, Dr. Guthrie, the rector of St. Mark’s-on-the-Bouwerie, has given up eurythmic dancing during church services and has substituted a combined mass attack on the æsthetic emotions.

Clement Wood, poet, singer, and lecturer, read Dr. Guthrie’s poetic version of activities in Eden entitled “The Birth and Progress of the Human Soul” to the accompaniment of soft music and stereoptican slides projected on an improvised screen in front of the sanctuary. The slides portrayed famous pieces of sculpture, including Rodin’s “Penseur” and “The Age of Bronx” and so forth and so forth.

We confess to being puzzled by the last statue. One recalls, of course, that the Age of Bronx succeeded the Age of Dry Martini, which in turn post-dated the Age of Manhattan (There’s a cherry in it), but one wonders how a sculptor would portray such a period. Perhaps a classic lady representing Italian Vermouth grouped with that fine, old British gentleman, plain, blunt Tom Gin, and a fair figure representing the spirit of the Orange Groves might, after all, make a piece of statuary at once symbolical and beautiful. But why should Dr. Guthrie throw it on the screen to the accompaniment of slow music and his prose poem about the Birth and Progress of the Human Soul? There is a mystery here — perhaps a subtle propaganda. Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler should investigate.

Will Bigger Business Be Better Business?

THE stage is all set for another wave of business consolidations. A similar wave set in after McKinley's election in 1896 and continued throughout his Administration, slowing down after Roosevelt's elevation and coming almost to a halt in his second term. The Tennessee Coal and Iron case was the exception which proved that the current had lost its initial momentum. Under his predecessor the thing would have been done without consulting the Government. In Taft's Administration came the decisions which broke up the Standard Oil and Tobacco trusts. Under Wilson, the consolidating trade languished. Laws were passed and commissions set up to safeguard competition.

Politically, socially, and financially the country has been a quarter of a century digesting the consolidations that took place during the former wave. The stocks of many of those mergers, after long ups and downs of dividendless years, have now passed par, or at least are so ballasted and absorbed that they represent stable values. The country has had its run toward radicalism. Coolidge is the first President since McKinley to be elected on a definite "Don't hurt business" attitude. Harding leaned that way, of course, but the post-war ferment and foreign issues complicated his election so that it could not be accepted as a clear go-ahead for business.

Mr. Coolidge seems to have no doubts on this head. All his appointments have been neatly calculated to reassure the country that the Government will not embarrass business developments. His candidate for the Attorney-Generalship is the furthest possible remove from a trust buster. His nominee for the vacant place on the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Woodlock, leaves little to be desired from the railroad standpoint. His appointee to the Federal Trade Commission, Mr. Humphrey, goes there to join that other conservative, Judge Van Fleet of Indiana, as representative of the conservative and antibureaucratic trend. Both these men can be counted upon to work out a reorganization of that commission.

IN the last ten years the commission had veered from its original purpose as defined by Wilson, had turned investigator and prosecutor, and had built up a bureaucracy costing \$1,000,000 a year which usurped certain functions of the Attorney-General's office without always justifying its energy by success in the courts. Thus, the word that the Federal Trade Commission is to have its wings clipped distinctly encourages those aspiring interests and individuals that are dreaming of bigger things.

Add to these elements easy money, a public already possessing widely distributed securities in a confident, investing frame of mind, and you have a fertile garden for further combination of capital.

Since the first general incorporation law was passed in this country, there has been sharp resentment against combinations of capital. Tammany Hall began its political career on the "anti" side. American history is full of parties, groups, and movements built upon keeping business organizations from growing. Nevertheless, business units have kept expanding. The process has been retarded recurrently by economic as well as by political and legal inhibitions, but over a long period the trend toward combination appears to be decisive. Some business units have already reached a size where further expansion is dangerous; the packing industry is a case in point. But in many lines further consolidation looks promising. At any rate, it seems to be one of those fatalistic developments which nothing can stop for long and which when retarded gathers energy for further advance whenever an opening appears.

MEN may be divided into two classes — those who value security more than achievement, and those who risk much in order to do greatly. The common man, by and large, is a conservative. Most of all, he wants to be let alone. But the drivers and combiners of economic forces will not let him follow the old ways, and in return he takes his spite out on them through politics. For twenty years after the last wave of combinations, his politicians harassed business. If the present wave materializes, it will be followed by a counterwave of popular unrest and anticombination politics, as violent as its predecessor.

Consequently, there rests upon the Administration the duty of seeing that the leeway it gives business is not taken advantage of by its beneficiaries to gouge the public. Bigger business combinations will not be long relished by the American people unless their growth is accompanied by a corresponding growth in public controls. This does not mean that aspiring business men should be harassed, but rather that they should be held accountable by authority to a code higher than the "law-honesty" of Roosevelt's day. Since that time corporations and business generally have gone some distance toward the recovery of an ethical sense. In some industries, notably in the coal trade, bigger units are needed to insure more regular employment and more stable prices, and it may well be that, on the whole, bigger business will be better business. But the Government, as the custodian of the public welfare, cannot take this for granted. It must set up standards and enforce them. Otherwise, Mr. Coolidge may leave office amid the plaudits of a few and the hisses of the many.

Blows of a Mailed Fist

RECENTLY, the *Living Age* printed a translation of the significant portions of the so-called "Rossi memorial." Cesare Rossi was formerly chief of the press bureau of the Mussolini administration, and later a member of the Quadrumvirate of the Fascist party. After the assassination of Deputy Giacomo Matteotti last summer he wrote, while a fugitive from justice, a memorandum concerning acts of violence authorized by Mussolini against political opponents. This document was published in facsimile to prove its genuineness in Signor Nitti's daily *Il Mondo* on December 27. Shortly afterwards, the Iron Duke of Italy muzzled the press and abolished the liberties of free speech and assemblage.

There seems to be little doubt that the "Rossi memorial" was actually written by Cesare Rossi. There remains, of course, the question whether or not his charges are true. Mussolini has denied them, but the fact remains that while the Rossi document cites twenty or thirty prominent Italians as witnesses to the facts alleged, we have no record of an investigation to inquire into the veracity of his statements.

We reprint herewith passages from the *Living Age's* translation. If true, the miserable blackguardism and brutality of the Mussolini régime are displayed for all the world to see. If they are not true, why is not their falsity established by orderly investigation free from threat or intimidation?

I am compelled to state at the outset that everything that was done and that happened was in each instance at the direct wish, or with the approval, or with the complicity of *Il Duce* [Mussolini]. I am referring specifically to the cudgeling of Amendola, ordered by Mussolini without my knowledge to De Bono and planned by Candelori; to the beating up of Misuri, planned by Balbo at Mussolini's suggestion; to the assault on Forni, for which I received direct personal orders from Mussolini, and which I carried out with the help of Giunta; to the attack upon Nitti's residence at Rome; to the demonstrations against the Opposition which Mussolini ordered Foschi to carry out; to the suggestion that Mussolini made to the Quadrumvirate to give the Honorable Ravazzolo the lesson he deserved for his disobedience; to the destruction of the Catholic clubs at Brianza, which Mussolini ordered the Honorable Maggi to carry out — instructions he later graciously repeated to me.

I may add that Commis-

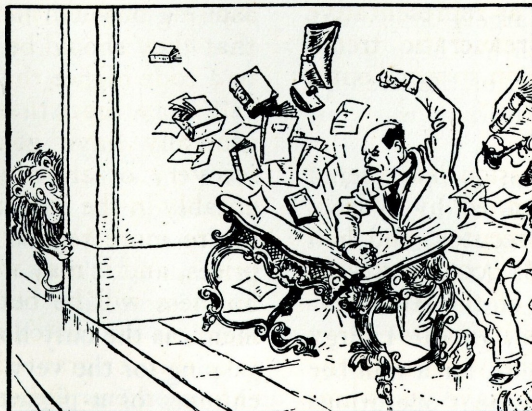
sioner Fasciolo was instructed, at Mussolini's orders, to send daily to local Fascisti the names of subscribers to the *Voce Repubblicana*, *Avanti*, *Giustizia*, *Unita*, *Italia Libera*, and other journals, in order that they might be punished and beaten. [He then proceeds to give further details concerning the more conspicuous acts of violence against the political opponents of Fascism.]

The Amendola Attack. While I shared the responsibility for the assaults upon Misuri and Forni, I knew nothing directly of that upon Amendola. I first learned of it from the newspaper *Il Piccolo*, if my memory serves me right. I immediately telephoned from my office to De Bono, asking further details. I understood at once from De Bono's ambiguous reply that it was a Government assault, manufactured in the family. That afternoon my curiosity caused me to call on De Bono at his office. He said to me that some "kids" had been playing pranks. I then learned that Candelori, the Consul of the Legion of Rome, had organized the thing. I asked what the President [Mussolini], who was at Milan spending his birthday with his family, thought of it. De Bono answered verbatim as follows: "At first he pretended to be angry because there were other people around. But later he called me to him privately and, after asking for further details, concluded the conversation by saying, 'It gives me a better appetite for dinner.'" . . .

It was at this time, when Amendola was assaulted, that Mussolini began to express frankly some of his ideas of retaliation, which consisted substantially of kidnapping and disposing of the most formidable enemies of his Government.

Sending Dumini, Volpi, and Putato to France. After the murder of the Fascist Geri at Paris, Honorable Bastianini, after having talked the matter over with Mussolini, sent Dumini, Volpi, and Putato to Paris. False passports for the three persons were signed by De Bono. Finzi, at the orders of Mussolini, gave to Bastianini in my presence ten thousand lire. I believe that on their return they were again paid as much more. According to the reports that Dumini sent to me, and that I read to the President and then passed on to De Bono, their mission of investigation and retaliation in France was successful. Sometimes Mussolini commended the reports; sometimes he was skeptical as to their contents. When Dumini returned from Paris, the President, upon meeting him, congratulated him cordially. The Secretary of the Fascisti for Foreign Affairs had a cigarette case made as a present for Dumini.

(Continued on page 252)



(Il Guerin Meschino)

(Milan)

Mussolini: "Enough of violence!"

The Myth of Muscle Shoals

Exposing the Legend of Cheap Fertilizers to Farmers

By Ernest Greenwood

FIRST in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of demagogues, politicians, lobbyists, professional farmers, and other honest and near-honest persons, including our own Mr. Henry Ford. That is fixed nitrogen. Dr. Slosson, whose "Creative Chemistry" is one of those rare classics produced once in a generation, has described it in a manner which leaves one little doubt of the fact that it is as temperamental as a prima donna. He has likened its double rôle in human economics to Brahma, appearing in two aspects: Vishnu, the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer. Delving a bit further into Hindu religion we find that Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva are a trinity, agents of Brahma (a neuter noun) the supreme eternal power: creator of all things. Carrying the analogy to a logical conclusion we can consider Brahma as the power of the air with Siva as nitrogen in the form of explosives and Vishnu as nitrogen in the beneficent aspect of fertilizer.

Nitrogen in the form of explosives is just about as unsociable as Mr. Herbert Hoover after thirty minutes' serious contemplation of Senator La Follette's scheme to make a set of tinker toys out of the railroads and public service corporations in order that the Socialists may construct therefrom a political machine. In the form of fertilizer it is as friendly as Senator Heflin a month before election day as he goes about the country kissing sticky babies and patting farmers wives on the back, concealing his brains successfully beneath an old-fashioned hair cut and the broad-brimmed hat which he fondly believes to be a part of the habiliments of the true statesman. The Great War was essentially a series of explosions resulting from the liberation of nitrogen, or Siva, in the most violent of moods. The growth of crops is largely dependent on the liberation of nitrogen which has been given to the land in the form of fertilizer, or the friendly and beneficent Vishnu taking a leading rôle and occupying the center of the stage.

In the minds of the American people, fixed nitrogen — which is simply nitrogen in the form of one of its many compounds (nitrates or nitrites) — is inextricably mixed up with the Muscle Shoals project. For this reason it has caused the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the United States Senate the most acute anguish for a number of years. It is true that the Government operations at Muscle Shoals were first projected as a national defense measure and given still further justification

by the claim that the great plant could be used for the production of fertilizer for the farmers in times of peace. And it is for this reason that Muscle Shoals as a great power generating plant, the center of a superpower system of the Southeast, and as a means for making the Tennessee River more navigable has been subordinated to the earnest consideration of Muscle Shoals as a project for the fixation of nitrogen.

Legislation authorizing the construction of Nitrate Plants No. 1 and No. 2 at Muscle Shoals provided that they were to be built for the purpose of manufacturing materials for munitions in time of war and fertilizer in time of peace. This latter was a most unfortunate gesture. The phrase "fertilizer in time of peace" has been gradually translated into "cheap fertilizer for the farmer" and "Federal aid for our agricultural industry." The result has been that the whole question of the disposition of Muscle Shoals has been surrounded by a heavy smoke screen composed of the main idea of doing something for the farmer with the "place of nitrogen in the scheme of national defense" merely thrown in for good measure.

Now, this is not a Muscle Shoals story. It is the story of the place of fixed nitrogen in our social and economic life. However, the peculiar and widespread misunderstanding concerning the character and production of fixed nitrogen and its various compounds, including its relation to the production of commercial fertilizer and to national defense, is due very largely to the efforts of certain propagandists. These have had a personal and material interest in the disposition of Muscle Shoals to private enterprise without restriction and without government control or regulation of the vast excess power which will be generated there in addition to that needed to operate the nitrate plants.

THE entire Muscle Shoals controversy has been a campaign of slogans so successful that almost the entire American public thinks and speaks of nitrogen in terms of slogans. Fixed nitrogen in the form of fertilizer for the farmer lest he perish in financial oblivion has been the cry of the pack. The impression has gone abroad that Muscle Shoals is the only hope of the American farmer now gasping for the very breath of life in the demoniacal clutches of a gigantic fertilizer trust. It has been stated over and over again in hearings before both House and Senate committees that the Muscle

Shoals product would cut the cost of fertilizer squarely in two with geometrical exactness. A great industrialist is reported to have said that if the Government would turn the project over to him he would do this, although he has never affirmed or denied the report. Senator Heflin — he of the white vest and broad-brimmed Stetson hat whose antics so often relieve the tedium of Senate sessions — goes much further and claims that Muscle Shoals, when it is once in the possession of Mr. Henry Ford, will save the American farmer in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000 a year.

HE should be proclaimed as the greatest living statistician. In 1923, the total fertilizer tonnage in the United States was 6,647,308 tons, which at the average price of \$35 a ton fixes the nation's fertilizer bill at \$232,655,780. If Muscle Shoals had been completed, owned, and operated by Mr. Ford in 1923, this annual tonnage would have cost our agriculturists, according to Senator Heflin, \$200,000,000 less or \$32,655,780 or the small sum of \$4.91 a ton. Again, I say that Senator Heflin should be proclaimed as the greatest of living statisticians. But just as every silver lining has its cloud, so is there a dismal side to the rosy story painted so glowingly by the impressive Senator from Alabama.

Turning back, for the sake of what the motion-picture producers call continuity, to the misunderstanding about the prospective production of nitrogen at Muscle Shoals, the average farmer, thanks to our propagandists, speaks and thinks of

the product as nitrate, which means to him nitrate of soda or Chilean nitrates. Nitrate of soda will not and cannot be produced in either of the two nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals, catastrophic as this may seem.

It is the most difficult and at the same time most expensive compound of nitrogen to manufacture, and it is doubtful if it can be produced commercially to compete with the Chilean product. The fact is that Plant No. 2, which has an annual capacity of 40,000 tons of fixed nitrogen, is at the present time equipped to manufacture nitric acid or, to be exact, ammonium nitrate. This is an excellent plant food, but mechanically almost impossible to use or distribute and requires considerable further treatment if it is to be employed as commercial fertilizer.

Ammonium sulphate must be the final compound which Plant No. 2 will turn out; ammonia is the intermediary product, and truth compels me to state that in the production of ammonia for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate, the cost of the nitrogen is negligible. In fact, the nitrogen forms only about one thirty-fifth of the cost of the required hydrogen alone, not to mention the other ingredients.

MUCH discussion has gone on concerning the possibility of shipping concentrates from Muscle Shoals and thus effecting a saving of some stupendous sum in transportation costs. It is said that in as much as the average commercial fertilizer contains only fourteen per cent of plant food, while the rest is filler of no particular value, the devilish fertilizer trust has concocted a scheme to deliver fertilizer which is eighty-six per cent plain garden dirt such as the farmer might easily dig out of his back yard.

But we may recall that there is nothing particularly new about the idea of high analysis fertilizers. As far back as 1918, the industry initiated a movement to eliminate low analysis fertilizers. It tried to encourage manufacturers to produce and farmers to use high analysis goods adapted to the soil requirements. It advertised extensively the benefits of simplified buying, simplified manufacturing, more suitable fertilizers, less cost per pound to the farmer, greater distribution of plant food, and considerable saving in labor, bags, freight, and hauling. The results have been discouraging; after seven years they are yet to be born.



(Keystone)

Muscle Shoals — a white elephant? The Underwood Muscle Shoals bill, still in conference after passing the Senate, has occupied a conspicuous place in the deliberations of the present session. An aerial view of the principal dam of the Muscle Shoals plant

The whole subject can be dismissed with the statement that high analysis fertilizers, or concentrates, like automobiles, T. N. T., prussic acid, and army mules, are not foolproof. They must be diluted with the plain garden soil dug out of the back yard before they can be applied, and the farmer is not equipped to produce results in the way of uniform mixing that are comparable with the results obtained by the use of fertilizer mixing machinery. His facilities are not adequate for the purpose and, finding the labor of mixing both drudgery and unprofitable, he has no inclination for the work involved. It should also be mentioned that reports on home mixing are generally misleading, because the farmer cannot be expected to be a cost accounting expert, and these reports almost invariably ignore such items as labor and comparative crop yields. Thus, again, nitrogen, as a Muscle Shoals product, fails the nation in a crisis in most despicable fashion.

A GAIN bowing to the need of continuity, let us turn back to our story on nitrogen in our social and economic life and examine the place it is supposed to occupy in the scheme of national defense. Its importance here is of course unquestioned. Without it there can be no manufacture of munitions of war and no one would think of trying to conduct a really first-class war without munitions. It just isn't done in the best army circles. Germany had provided for just such a contingency as the shutting off of imported supplies of nitrates, and the fourteen plants she erected during the war have a capacity of 500,000 tons of fixed nitrogen which is exactly ten times the total and combined capacity of Nitrate Plants No. 1 and No. 2 at Muscle Shoals even though at some future date it will be possible to operate them with approximately one hundred per cent efficiency.

In further contemplation of fixed nitrogen — to be produced at Muscle Shoals at a date not yet fixed — as a factor in our scheme of national defense, we will find Gen. W. B. Williams, Chief Ordnance, United States Army, a depressing sort of person. Recognizing its great importance as a war emergency measure in the event the Great War had been elaborated into an activity occupying the attention of generations instead of one generation for four years, he tells us unblushingly that the Muscle Shoals project is passing out of the picture as an item in military preparedness in the opinion of the War Department. The reason for this is that in the view of the Department the solution of the problem of preparedness lies in the development of a commercial nitrogen industry along the lines of private manufacture.

Attention is called to the enormous increase in the production of ammonium sulphate — the same old ammonium sulphate which will be turned out at

Nitrate Plant No. 2 — from by-product coke ovens until it is now three times the proposed output of Nitrate Plant No. 2, and the United States is finding it profitable to export it. The method of utilizing this ammonium sulphate product of by-product coke ovens for the manufacture of explosives is exactly the same as the method which would be used to deal with the ammonium sulphate which will be produced — on a date not yet fixed — at Muscle Shoals. The ammonia is taken before it is made into ammonium sulphate and made into nitric acid instead. In other words, the process is stopped at an intermediate stage and the nitrogen passed into nitric acid from which the explosives are made.

There is also another interesting item of information with regard to the production of fixed nitrogen for which we are indebted to this same General Williams. At the time the Armistice was signed, there was only one small commercial nitrogen fixation plant in the United States. It took a really high-grade and efficient war to teach us the lesson of nitrogen.

Since that time three plants have gone into operation, and this fact, together with the constantly increasing production of the coke oven ammonium sulphate, forces the conclusion that, from the standpoint of military preparedness, the maintenance of Nitrate Plant No. 2 at Muscle Shoals will become entirely unnecessary within fifteen or twenty years, which, in geological phraseology, is but a moment. The War Department, of course, believes that the nation should always be able to produce enough fixed nitrogen to take care of its military needs, whatever they may be. According to General Williams, the fixation of nitrogen should be on the same level as the production of foodstuffs, cotton, grain, and like essentials which are produced, as a matter of course, in the ordinary industrial life of the nation.

SO, while nitrogen and adequate facilities for its fixation are of the utmost importance in both times of peace and times of war, the public mind should not allow itself to become confused by propaganda connected with other national issues. Nitrogen exists in great quantities in the air — three fourths of the atmosphere is nitrogen — and is, so to speak, as free as the air. It is to be found in combination with other elements naturally, and there are at least four chemical processes for "fixing" it.

However, even a most pronounced lowering of the cost of production of fixed nitrogen cannot appreciably affect the cost of those finished commercial combinations for which it is needed while industrial development is rapidly taking care of the need for quantity production in time of war. Thus passes another legend born of the stress of the past ten years.

Protection and Socialism for England

The Frank Confessions of a Former Free Trader and Individualist

By J. St. Loe Strachey

Editor of the London *Spectator*

IS there a need for considering a fresh orientation of our ideas in regard to protection and socialism — the allied of rocky islands in the economic ocean? Certainly, I have found such a process necessary in my own case, and am not afraid or ashamed to own it. To begin with, I cannot in the circumstances in which we now live take up the absolute position in regard to free trade held at one time. It seems to me that it is all a question of what you want — of what your aspiration in regard to the future of the nation may be. If your sole desire is to make the nation as rich as possible there can be no question that free trade and a bold and whole-hearted policy of *laissez faire* in regard to trade is the best way to reach your goal. There is economic waste in any other method.

In two ways only can a community obtain the material things it needs. One way is by making them. The other way is by making something else to exchange for these things. Which of these ways the nation shall choose, assuming that it wants to be rich, must depend upon the line of least economic resistance. It must, that is, sell in the most expensive, and buy in the cheapest, market.

But suppose the community does not have as its prime aim the obtaining of riches at the cheapest rate. Suppose, instead, that it desires security from armed attack, or from the various forms of commercial boycott, which may possibly be the hostile action of the future. Again, suppose it desires to have a special type of population, that is, a community with special proportions of particular workers. Next, suppose it wants to have the conditions of life improved by such things as smoke abatement, and the preservation of its amenities, rather than by wealth. And, suppose it wants, for moral and social reasons, to have a great deal of state action, state ownership, and state regulation.

In such cases, a nation like the British may — I do not say must — have to abandon some portion of the free trade policy. I do not assert that these aims will certainly be best furthered by leaning toward protection. I merely say that I can no longer consider the matter as a *chose jugée*, except in the region of pure wealth increasing and wealth preserving. I feel that the matter must be specially considered, if we are to increase, as surely we must, public aid to the poorer part of the community.

Further, more attention will have to be paid to the psychological side of economics and social

science. Unquestionably, men find it easier to trade when prices are stable or are inclined to rise. They are stimulated by being bulls, depressed by the thought that they may be forced to be bears.

Right or wrong, in the abstract protection does seem to provide a sense of security to the producer. On the other hand, it depresses the consumer. But for some strange and as yet undiscovered reason no man seems to think about himself as a consumer with any zeal or even with a moderate interest. I feel, then, less and less inclined to offer an absolute and unlimited adherence to the principle of free trade in a community which more and more rejects the principles of free exchange and individualism. In fact, I realize that the aphorism, "Protection is a form of Socialism" is not only true, but has certain consequences which cannot be gainsaid.

BUT if I take up this antidogmatic position in regard to the problems connected with protection, I want to put on record that recent events have made me firmer than ever in the axiom that trade is always between individuals, and not between nations, and that we are liable to get into terrible difficulties if we ignore this and talk and write, as we often do, as if nations traded with each other. They never do. Under normal conditions, they never can do so in a nonsocialist state. It is individuals who barter, swap, exchange. That is the end of the whole matter. If this axiom is properly understood, it will be seen to destroy the meaning of the argument based on what Dr. Johnson said about the people of one of the Western Isles "who lived by taking in each other's washing." Granted they could secure the custom required, they gained no more and no less than by taking in the washing of someone in a neighboring island. Indeed, other things being equal, it is less wasteful to deal with your neighbor than with a distant customer. The home market is no worse than any other. Therefore, we are wrong to represent the protectionists as wanting to take in each other's washing. The home market is not to be neglected out of a panic sense that, if we cultivate it, we shall lose our overseas trade. If we get an inferior article out of the home market, we should be foolish to favor it, but we can leave the barterers to look after this and need not worry about it if we realize that there is no dealing between Britain and the United States, or between Britain and

Argentina, but only between the individuals of these said states. Whether he likes it or not, the trader is an international man. In other words, the distinction between foreign and home trade is a false distinction.

Therefore, though I do not think that there is much hope of anything in the nature of a radical cure to be had in the region of protection, I hold that the door marked protection must not be sealed and put under a curse which can never be removed. As long as we British are determined that we are not going to let the operation of economic forces depopulate these islands, and as long as we are determined that we will not get rid of our surplus population, if it is a surplus population, by letting men and women starve, or by just keeping them alive in utter hopelessness, and as long as we are determined to obtain national security, so long I, for one, must favor the leaving open of the possibility of a recourse to what I may call "managed trade" — trade, that is, which receives, as in the McKenna duties, a modicum of state assistance.

AS strongly as any man can, I hope we may banish the madness of war. I go further and say that, if the rest of the world had reached that condition of political, democratic development which Great Britain has reached, I would run many risks in order to give the world a lead in the way of disarmament, even to the point of adopting the Quaker attitude. While, however, there are certain states in which very different aspirations prevail, it would be madness to neglect our industrial security. It may well be that the wars of the future will be conducted by the economic rather than by the military art. A nation, or combination of nations, which wants to put pressure upon another nation may do it by refusing to sell them essential goods. This would injure the boycotting nation, no doubt, as much as the boycotted; but if their intellectual development in the region of economics were small, they might be quite willing to commit the act of cutting off their noses to spite their faces, or, at any rate, might console themselves with the thought that they were injuring us more deeply either in the matter of food, or of oil, or of some other vital matter. That being so, we cannot leave out the consideration of security in the economic area. I can conceive conditions when it might be necessary to so arrange our taxation that there would be a substantial encouragement given to an intensive cultivation of the soil — a cultivation of the soil which would prevent a dangerous dependence upon foreign supplies. Again, I can conceive that we might not want to be absolutely dependent upon other nations for the supply of mineral oil for the purpose of power and fuel. In that case, we might legitimately use our coal supplies so that we could get from them a large part of the oil we required,

and in doing so, incidentally clean our skies from the pall of unused waste products with which we now so light-heartedly mystify our cities.

It might be economically unthrifty not to put a black cloud of oily particles between us and the sun, but I for one should be very glad to see our community poorer and myself poorer rather than enjoy bigger dividends in an inky fog. I would say, like a new Ajax to the economic deities:

If we must perish, we thy will obey.
But let us perish in the light of day.

But these, I admit, are rather economic caveats than matters of practical importance at the moment. Though I am not going to close the door of state management of industries, I do not think that there is very much that is useful concealed behind it.

Now I come to the door marked socialism. I am by nature, by conviction, an individualist, a man who believes profoundly in maintaining the maximum of freedom for the citizen; but, at the same time, I fully realize that, for good or evil, in the modern state there must be a large amount of regulation. With a population so thick on the ground as ours is, and is likely to be, we must have a considerable area given over to state action. All I ask here is that, though we must have some socialism as well as a good deal of individualism, we should when in doubt choose individual liberty rather than state control. Bacon in his essay on the regimen of health states that one of the great precepts of "Health and Lasting" is:

That a Man doe vary, and interchange Contraries;
But with an Inclination to the more benigne Extreme: Use Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching, and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise . . . So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries.

I AGREE as to the regimen of health in the body politic as well as in the body natural. But to me, and I believe it is the view of by far the greater part of the population, the benign extreme is that of liberty. In a word, I hold with Burke's indorsement of Bolingbroke's political dictum. Bolingbroke said:

There are some great advantages in a monarchy, and some advantages in a republic; but I prefer a monarchy to a republic because it is easier to engraft the advantages of a republic upon a monarchy than it is to engraft the advantages of a monarchy upon a republic.

And so I, holding that we shall have to have a good deal of socialism in the state as well as a great deal of individualism, prefer to make the main stock individualism because it is easier to engraft the advantages of socialism upon a free stem than it is to engraft the advantages of freedom upon the stem of state socialism. Indeed, I will go further and say that I believe it will be found that, though a certain

amount of socialism will grow very well on the individualistic stem, those individual growths which sane state socialists desire to maintain will wither and die when the main stem is that of socialism.

But, whether socialism is to grow on its own stem or another, we shall certainly have modifications of the system. If the movement is to be a benign one, as I am optimistic enough to think will be the case, we shall get, in fact, a reconciliation between socialism and free exchange and individualism. I cannot help thinking that this reconciling process may, indeed, have already been discovered in America. I may be deceived, but I cannot help feeling that the

account given by Mr. Boeckel in his little book, "Labour's Money," just published on this side, in which is recorded the story of the American Labor Banks and of industrial financing by means of labor money, may prove the conciliatory word. The poet Clough implored,

Speak, oh, someone, the word that shall reconcile
ancient and modern.

Dare we not hope that the word that will reconcile Capital and Labor and show them their essential blood brotherhood may come from America? If it does, we shall not be jealous here. We shall not envy, but admire and imitate.

A Nation That Has Sung Itself Free

By Peter Alexander Speck

*When I begin to sing . . .
No reins can hold me,
No chains can bind me,
No clouds can still me!*
(Esthonian folk song)

THE quick suppression by the Esthonians on December 1 of the Communists swooping from Russia upon the government offices in the capital of Esthonia, preparatory to an attempt by the Moscow dictators to invade Esthonia and break through into western Europe, has once more focused the attention of the civilized world on that small, daring nation.

Where is it located? Who are the Esthonians?

Until 1917, they were hidden in the Czar's world called "The All-Russias," comprising over one hundred highly varied countries and nationalities — a monstrous conglomerate. This explains why the Esthonians were almost unknown to the outside world, save to a limited number of highly specialized ethnographers. Still less are they known in this country, although we have admitted about 200,000 Esthonian immigrants, according to our official statistics. They have not formed compact colonies and have not pursued a racial policy of their own here. Therefore, a sketch of their history and an account of their folklore and national song festivals may introduce to a number of people this sturdy little nation which once before, in 1919, put a stop to the advance of the Bolsheviki upon western Europe.

On the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea, south of the Gulf of Finland and west of Lake Peipus, on a pretty piece of land forming a sort of peninsula, jeweled with 1,512 lakes and hemmed with 812 islands, and in area somewhat larger than Switzerland or Denmark, are living the stocky, hard-working and hard-fighting Esthonians, a people of Finnish-Hungarian extraction — the Baltic vikings, as

a recent bulletin of the American Geographic Society calls them. They form a compact group of something over a million souls.

As they live at the gateway between western and northeastern Europe, their past has been rich in thrilling historical events, invasion, conquest, uprising, and expulsion of the invaders — Germans and Poles, Danes and Swedes. The last conquerors, the Russians, were expelled from Esthonia only a few years ago. The earlier Esthonians also undertook expeditions of war against neighboring countries on their own initiative. As skillful seamen and fearless pirates they made successful raids across the Baltic Sea to the land of the vikings, and as late as 1187 they leveled the vikings' main stronghold, Sigtuna, not far from which now stands Stockholm.

WITH a stormy history and colorful natural surroundings in their home by the sea, the Esthonians have built up a store of folklore second, perhaps, in riches only to that of the ancient Greeks. The scientific collection of folklore on a national scale began in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Teachers, ministers, university students, and others volunteered as field collectors all over the country. Up to date, there have been collected and saved for posterity 25,000 legends and tales, 55,000 riddles, 50,000 magic formulas and superstitions, 65,000 proverbs, 70,000 epic, lyric, love, and wedding songs, and 15,000 folk melodies. This immense number of pieces of folklore, larger than has ever been collected in any other country, is still mostly in manuscript form, awaiting publication, scientific classification, and psychological analysis in connection with the natural surroundings and historical vicissitudes of the Esthonian people.

The invasion of the country by the German

knights began in the Twelfth Century. The Esthonians fought bravely, and their desperate struggle against overwhelming odds — an enemy far greater numerically and equipped with better arms — lasted until the Fourteenth Century, when they were finally defeated by the German knights with the aid of the Danes. The Esthonians' land was confiscated, and they themselves made slaves in body, not in spirit. The memory of, and the hope for, freedom lived deep in their hearts, finding expression in folk tales, songs, and melodies. Their epic hero, Kalevipoeg defeated the devil and pursued him to the gate of hell, where the devil disappeared, closing the entrance behind him with a rocky hill. The hero struck the rock with his hand so that it split, and his hand sank into the crevice. And there Kalevipoeg stands, shaking his imprisoned hand and loosing it little by little — until the day when he shall be able to pull his hand out of the rock and be again free.

AFTER the little Esthonian army defeated the Russian Bolsheviki at Narva, the Esthonian Verdun, in 1919, a victory which brought independence to Esthonia, the people might well have told each other, rejoicing, "Kalevipoeg has pulled out his hand; we are free again!"

During the economic overlordship of the German barons and the violent attempts of the Czars to Russianize the Esthonians, no open expression of the feeling of national unity of the Esthonians was permitted. But where there is a will there is a way, and the latter proved to be through Esthonian national song and music festivals.

The first festival was held June 17-20, 1869, at Tartu. The Esthonian leaders, the initiators, organizers, and actual conductors of the festival, placed its formal direction in the hands of the German barons and Lutheran pastors. The program was rather of a religious character, consisting mainly of church music and the singing of hymns. The *raison d'être* of the festival was said to be the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of the Esthonians from slavery, for which the people wished to thank the Russian Czar. In the festival 45 choirs and 3 orchestras took part, altogether 789 singers and musicians. The festival parade was headed by the Esthonian singing society, Vanemuine, of Tartu. It carried an immense flag on which was painted a picture of Vanemuine, the god of song of the ancient Esthonians.

This festival gave an opportunity to the Esthonian people to get together, through their leaders, and feel as one nation for the first time after long, dark centuries. The presence of the Finnish and Hungarian honor guests, a number of men of letters and science, signified the rebirth of the third branch of the Finnish-Hungarian race — the Esthonians.

In connection with the same festival there was founded the Esthonian Literary Society, and there

were worked out plans for the establishment of an Esthonian institution of higher learning. The Literary Society proved later to be a great factor in the development of Esthonian national self-consciousness.

The succeeding festivals, up to the last one, were organized in much the same way, with the same formal appearance, and with the same inner meaning and political significance for Esthonians. After the first festival a succession of others, amounting to eight in all, were held at various intervals.

At the second festival, held at Tartu in 1879, there were 46 choirs, 18 orchestras and 1,272 singers and musicians. In 1923, there were 368 choirs, 79 orchestras and 14,000 singers and musicians.

The seventh festival, the last one under the Russian Czar's régime, showed, on the one hand, that the Esthonian people in their development had reached maturity both economic and political, and, on the other hand, that the Russian Government had become alarmed by this fact. The purpose of the festival was to lay the corner stone of the Esthonian theatre in Tallinn and to raise money for its construction. The Esthonian national anthem was stricken from the program by the Czar's government. But at the end of the festival, all at once, without warning or outward impulse, the gathered multitude rose, bared their heads, and sang the anthem without a conductor and with such suddenness that the Russian governor attending the festival in person was taken off his guard. He stood, also, and saluted the anthem, to his great chagrin later. In retaliation, he prohibited the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Esthonian national theatre. The stone was nevertheless laid in the presence of an enormous crowd, bareheaded and in silence — a silence which spoke perhaps more effectively than any individual orator could have done. It spoke of the burial of the autocratic power of the Russian governor over Esthonia and it spoke of the coming birth of the freedom of Esthonia. Needless to say, the necessary money was raised and the theatre built, one of the finest in northeastern Europe.

THE eighth festival in 1923 was held for the purpose of commemorating the fifth anniversary of Esthonian independence. The program consisted solely of the works of Esthonian composers. For the concerts there was erected a huge stage similar to those in the open-air theatres of ancient Greece. The daily attendance at the concerts was estimated at about two hundred thousand. As the concerts took place in Katherine Park on the shore of the Bay of Tallinn, the singing was heard for a couple of miles out at sea, so that many were in boats, listening to the greatest chorus ever assembled in any country.

As these festivals are so closely associated with the Esthonian movement for emancipation, it would not be far from the mark to say that Esthonia is a nation that has sung itself free!

ESTHONIA

A JEWEL OF THE BALTIC



One of the many lakes that gleam in the countryside



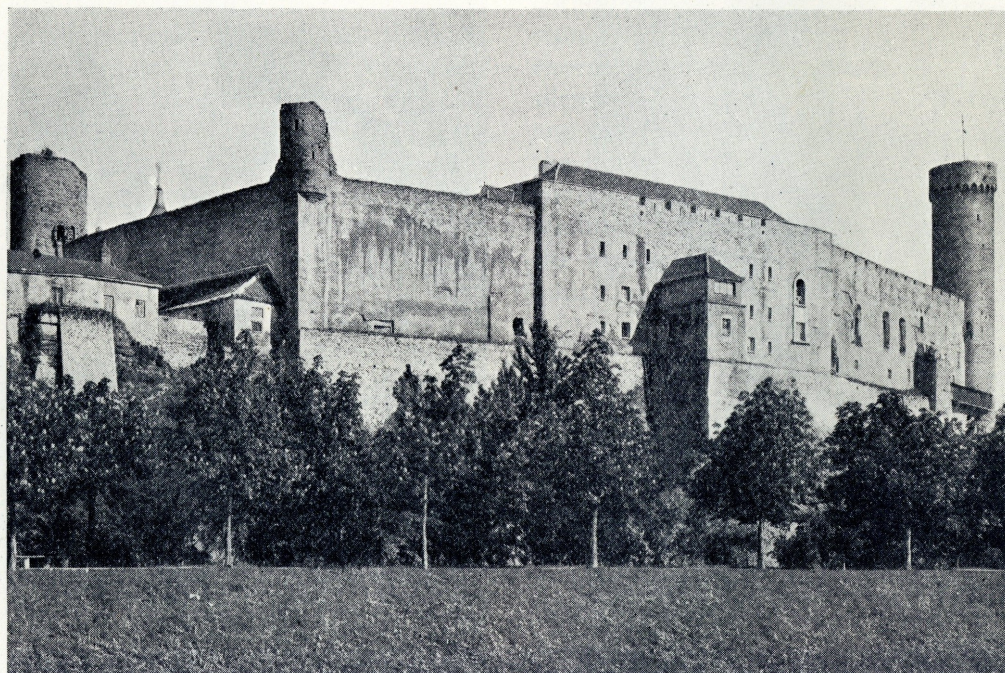
*Tales of days gone by
A village grandfather relating legends*



*Sunday finery
Village girls in national costume*



Entrance to the main hall of the Esthonian National University at Tartu, formerly known by its German name of Dorpat before Esthonia became a nation



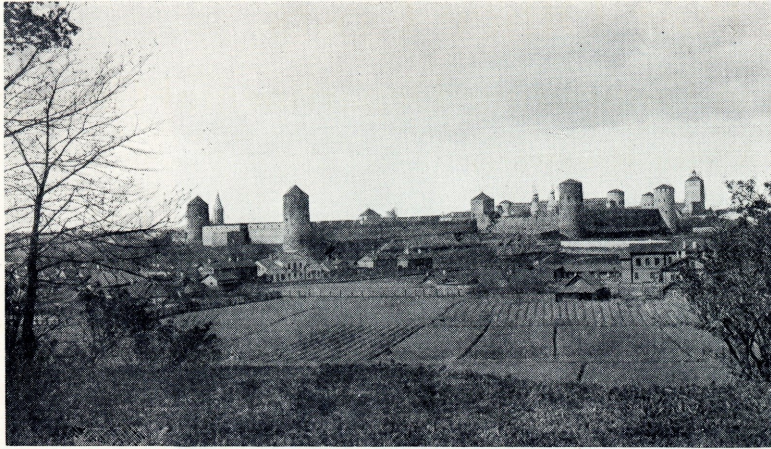
*Ancient fortress at Tallinn
The German name for Tallinn was Reval*



Tallinn, Theatre "Estonia." The corner stone of this theatre was laid in 1910 before Esthonia was freed from the rule of the Czars



Esthonian National Museum at Tartu



Narva, the Esthonian Verdun. Old fortress at which in 1919 a small Esthonian army defeated the Bolshevist army of over twenty divisions

*Haymakers
Agriculture is the chief occupation in Esthonia and has always been carried on there more scientifically than in any part of Russia. In the old days the land was owned by barons and farmed by the peasants. Before Esthonia became free, at least one quarter of the peasants had succeeded in buying their own farms*



At the source of the River "Ema" (mother). Legend states that when Vanemuine, the god of song, descended on earth, the River Ema suspended her flow

Juggling Post Office Costs

How Experts Go Wrong in Computing Departmental Charges

By Victor Rosewater

THOUGH the proposed horizontal salary increase for postal employees failed to hurdle the presidential veto, the problem of postage sticks. The great army of Post Office workers feel that they should be more highly paid; they are confronted with exhibits of annual deficits to be made up by general appropriations; they have been led to believe — and that is one of the reasons set out by the President for withholding his approval — that their demands cannot be satisfied without additional postal revenues; they see no reason to cease pressing their claims for better compensation. By long-continued propaganda, too, many people have been persuaded that the recurring deficits are due to inadequate postage rates, particularly the rates on newspapers and periodicals, and that everything would be fine if only they paid their share. And this impression is now bolstered up by a cost-finding report presenting figures cleverly devised by department experts to emphasize this contention.

As officially computed, of the Post Office operations only letter mail and postal savings do more than to meet costs, the one showing a surplus of \$80,417,716 and the other of \$4,701,411, while losses are scored against second-class mail to the extent of \$74,712,868, against third-class \$16,291,575, fourth class \$6,916,753, franked and penalty and other free matter \$6,699,266, foreign mail \$4,603,838, money order \$9,540,511, registry \$10,374,013, special delivery \$12,997, insurance \$1,145,959, C. O. D. \$1,825,437, Treasury savings \$221,809, which, deducting unassignable items, would make a net total loss of \$39,805,702. To reach such a result, of course, so-called overhead has been spread in most fantastic fashion. Needless to say, the whole cost exhibit is vigorously challenged, and even its sponsors, though seeking to justify their proposals by these alleged costs, do not accept them literally in formulating rate adjustments. Is it any wonder Congress is confused and unable to discover where it is at?

The problem of postage presents itself in this question: Should present Post Office charges be

increased to meet deficits and provide for new outlays? Two bills are pending in Congress, following the findings of the cost ascertainment inquiry, which would raise rates on certain classes of postal service, and the issue seems inextricably yet quite needlessly linked together with that of more pay for postal employees.

To get correct bearings at the outset, it is well to recall the commonly accepted principles of Post Office administration. These precepts are regularly incorporated in the official reports:

With the Post Office Department efficient service is the first consideration, that of revenue secondary.

It is not the policy of the Government to conduct the Post Office for profit, but postal revenues should enable the Department to break even.

It is against the settled practice to use the machinery of the postal service to raise and collect taxes.

All of which may be interpreted to mean that patrons of the Post Office are expected to reimburse the cost of the service performed for them, but not to contribute, specially, in the guise of postage, to the general treasury. Quite simple and fine sounding, but everything is not so simple

when it comes to practical application.

Why? Because the official cost finders, who are the mainspring of the higher postage movement, pursue methods peculiarly their own. They start by assuming that the cost of the Department is identical with the postal appropriation made by Congress. They then proceed to "allot" this total by various more or less arbitrary formulas, to each of the different present paying mail classifications or postal services. They refuse to recognize distinction between what is done for the special benefit of postal patrons and what is done for the general public good or in promotion of nonpostal purposes.

An examination of Post Office Department operations discloses many activities that call for substantial appropriations whose inclusion in postal costs is either wholly mistaken or highly debatable. Post Office expenditures cannot be allotted, or

Last year, President Coolidge vetoed a bill to increase the salaries of postal employees. During the present short session, both Senate and House have passed conflicting measures now under debate with the odds favoring some sort of compromise measure to meet the deficit apparent in the cost statement of the Post Office Department and take care of salary increases. Mr. Rosewater discloses in the present article why apportionments for overhead in the various services are incorrectly allotted and throws much light upon the complicated problem which Congress has been considering.

postal costs be accurately figured, until all these public functions of the Department are first listed and proper deductions made for them.

THE most notable public function is Rural Free Delivery. No one will question that its establishment was prompted, and its maintenance is justified, not as a Post Office enterprise, but as a country life measure. The avowed purpose of the Rural Free Delivery is to make life on the farm more livable and thus help keep folks on the soil, to make it possible for those who reside in the country to hear from children away at school, to be in touch with changing business and price conditions, to keep posted on current news and literature, and to receive helpful information, to sell their surplus products, and to have merchandise brought to them. The Rural Free Delivery is costing close to \$100,000,000 a year, with no measurable direct returns. Yet no broad-minded person would urge discontinuing this service on that account. It is serving a vital public purpose, but for the business of the Post Office is of very limited value. Why should postage payers, rather than the entire body of taxpayers, defray the cost?

It is of record that the initial Federal appropriation of \$500,000 for improvement of rural roads was expended under joint direction of the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of Agriculture. Had Congress happened to have distributed the good roads funds through the Post Office Department, as it might have done with perfect propriety, the same accounting methods would have allotted the hundreds of millions of dollars contributed out of the Treasury for road improvement to postal costs and have demanded that Post Office patrons alone bear this huge burden.

For ocean carriage of foreign mails the Government gives a preference to American-owned ships. Vessels of foreign registry are paid at the rate of 35 cents a pound for letters and post cards and 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents for other mail, while for vessels of American registry the allowance is at the rate of 80 cents a pound and 8 cents a pound, respectively; that is to say, a ship subsidy equal to the differential in these rates, which is in excess of one hundred per cent, is being paid out of postal revenues. As a business transaction for the Post Office, this bonus would be unwarranted, although, as a public policy to support our merchant marine, it is deemed wise and worth while. Still, it is pertinent to ask why should ship subsidies, mounting into millions of dollars, be chargeable only to patrons of the Post Office?

Another extensive activity of the Department has to do with the enforcement of laws to prevent frauds, swindles and sales of fake securities, to suppress lotteries, to exterminate traffic in obscene literature and pictures. The most effective way of dealing with such offenders is found to be by closing

the mails to them. The report of the Postmaster-General rightly expresses great pride in this work and stresses its importance. It is essentially a law enforcing operation by use of the postal machinery, quite as important as that performed by Department of Justice or Treasury agents. Why should the cost be defrayed by users of the postal service any more than the cost of detecting counterfeiters, bootleggers, or dope peddlers?

Postal Savings is a branch of the service wholly unrelated to the mail classifications. The aim of Congress when legislating on this subject was to encourage thrift by providing a place to deposit money free from doubt as to safety, to do away with stocking hoards, and to restore withheld contents to circulation. It is plain that the system could not have been inaugurated, and cannot be duplicated, except through the Post Office, unless at tremendously greater expense. In a word, the postal organization alone makes possible this boon to the country, and no returns Postal Savings could make would fully repay what the Post Office does for it. On the other hand, for reasons of public policy, Congress has ordered that interest on savings accounts be limited to 2 per cent, and that the funds be redeposited in local banks at 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. Out of this margin, operating costs are paid and ostensible profits shown of \$1,250,000 a year. The value of the Postal Savings funds to the Government, selling its own bonds at 4 per cent, would permit a profit, if so invested, of eight times the present yield, or twelve times, if invested in 5 per cent Federal Farm Loan securities. Instead of \$1,250,000, Postal Savings could easily contribute \$10,000,000 to the postal budget. If such potential earnings are foregone because of this redeposit policy, is it fair that Post Office patrons alone should make them good?

IT is commonly but mistakenly argued that the use of mails for franked and penalty matter, which consists of official government communications and shipments and for which no accounting is made, is offset by occupancy of Federal buildings free of rent. The true situation has been explained in the 1919 report of the Postmaster-General:

It has frequently been stated during recent years that had the Department paid rent for the space it occupies in government-owned buildings, there would have been no surplus revenues. This statement is erroneous.

The Department could have paid rent for such space at the rates prevailing in the various cities and still have had a surplus of several million dollars, notwithstanding the fact that no credit was allowed for the transportation and handling of franked and free matter. If postage at the prescribed rates had been paid on such matter, the Postal Service would have received revenue amounting to more than three times as much as the rental for the space utilized in the government-owned buildings.

That the discrepancy has greatly widened since 1919 is evidenced by the steady growth of the item for rent in the Post Office appropriation from some \$6,000,000 to \$12,000,000 a year. Beginning with the interruption of the war, the Government has not fulfilled its obligation to the Post Office Department in carrying out a progressive public building program and this offset has become still more deceptive.

After computing the reasonable proportion of total Post Office appropriations chargeable to postal patrons, correct distribution of the remainder to the different mail classifications and services will yet be a delicate and difficult task. It is impossible to reduce to common denominators and make comparable expenditures and revenues of wholly different character, so that nothing but approximations have ever been attempted. The postage charge is gauged to, or varied with, the piece, weight, distance, value, expedition, responsibility, method of transportation. The clerks and carriers are paid by the day or hour, or by the trip; the railroads by the cubic foot of space in the car and distance hauled; the steamships by the pound, and so on. The official cost finders have endeavored to take these into account. But they apparently have excluded from consideration equally important factors, such as the monopoly value of first-class mail, the value of its preferential claim on clerks and carriers, of its expedition in motor and train service ahead of other mail matter, and its prompt collection day and night without extra charge as compared with other classifications.

NO consideration is given to alternative costs — whether other agencies are, or could be, ready to relieve the Post Office of the business. Discussing money orders, the Postmaster-General frankly declares that because of the rates it is to the advantage of the public to purchase orders of the smaller amounts from the Post Office and express orders for the larger amounts, and "the Department, therefore, is given the unprofitable business while the profitable business goes to the express companies." It is notorious that a large amount of second-class mail matter has been diverted to other distribution agencies in consequence of the successive and excessive rate increases during the past few years. How can satisfactory postage schedules be formulated without according due weight to competitive possibilities?

Again, the relationship of the different classifications and services to one another enters into the question of proper postage rates. All of these postal operations are interrelated. Only first-class letter mail conceivably might suffice by itself to keep the Post Office going; though each feeds and supports the others, none of the collateral parts could go it alone. The Department activities must be considered together; the same postmasters, clerks, and

carriers handle all classes of matter; the mail is sorted and worked and the stamps canceled in the same buildings, transported in the same conveyances and cars, delivered on the same rounds, paid for by stamps indistinguishable as between the different services. The Post Office is a unity, the transmission of letter mail is its first and controlling function, its other services are by-products.

ON the patron's side, there is a similar close interrelation of postal business. The advertisement in the periodical carried as second class stimulates inquiries by letter and postal card that pay first-class postage. Circulars or catalogues go back at third-class rates. Orders sent by letter are filled by parcel post shipments at fourth-class rates. Incidentally, the current thus started takes in registered mail, special delivery, parcel insurance, money order, return receipt, perhaps C. O. D., each bringing additional revenue to the Post Office, all part of the stream of business and social intercourse constantly flowing back and forth between all sections of the country. Many businesses, moreover, are geared to the machinery of postal distribution. Arbitrary changes adding to their postage costs not only upset these arrangements, but place them at a disadvantage with competitors who do not use the Post Office to the same extent.

The postage rate schedule, apparently, like Topsy, "jes' growed." In consequence, it is at once needlessly complicated and overlapping and self-contradictory. Until the war-time imposts, the trend was always downward, lower unit charges going along with greater volume and producing steadily increasing revenue to absorb expending postal outlays. The Post Office receipts invariably go up and down with the general prosperity of the country and are regarded as the most accurate and dependable business barometer. The total annual turnover has now reached the stupendous figure of \$600,000,000.

Is not the tremendous problem of harmonizing this great business department of the Government to the needs of its patrons and of the general public of sufficient moment to be freed from the pulling and hauling of the wage increase controversy? Is it not entitled to be made the subject first of thorough and scientific study in the light, not only of postal administration, but also of public utility rate making and the experience of the outside business world? There certainly is no good reason why the question of postage should be up all the time for continuous tinkering so subversive to business stability. It must be possible to continue a fair and logical postage system that will be almost automatic in its workings, elastic enough to keep pace with progressive development of the Department, adjustable to changing conditions through control by an independent expert body.

Readers and Writers

By Ernest Boyd

THE fourth volume of "The Collected Essays and Papers of George Saintsbury," a volume containing the author's studies in French literature from 1875, when he wrote on Charles Baudelaire, to 1923, when he wrote on Anatole France, has just been issued by E. P. Dutton and Company. Within that period Professor Saintsbury has written extensively on French subjects, and these essays on Renan, Gautier, Flaubert, Quinet, and others are a valuable supplement to that astounding "History of the French Novel," in two volumes, which stands as his most substantial contribution to this field of learning. These four volumes of essays are now a very faithful reflection of a long and honorable career in the exclusive service of *belles-lettres*, for, unlike his only rival in England, Sir Edmund Gosse, Mr. Saintsbury has never, I think, been a novelist or a poet. He began and has remained a literary critic and historian, his one excursion into another domain being his "Notes on a Cellar Book," a charming guide to the pleasures from which the Volstead Act is supposed to have cut us off.

I confess I turned to this fourth volume of the collected essays with a great deal of curiosity, as I have long possessed the author's first book of "Essays on French Novelists," from which I expected the reprint would be made. The first three volumes on English literature contained most of the material in the earlier books of such essays, but the fourth contains almost nothing from the previous French collection. This I take to be a remarkable piece of self-criticism, for this new volume presents a more rational picture of Mr. Saintsbury's impressions of French literature than "Essays on French Novelists." Thirty-four years ago, when the latter appeared, Professor Saintsbury was very definitely insular in his treatment of French authors. In this collected edition the essay on Baudelaire contains a statement in which he deprecates the confusion of æsthetic with moral questions and absolves "Les Fleurs du mal" from the charge of immorality. This wisdom must be applauded, and Mr. Saintsbury is entitled to much credit for having held such a view of Baudelaire as early as 1875.

UNFORTUNATELY, my enthusiasm is somewhat shaken by contrasting this theory and the actual practice of Professor Saintsbury, both in "Essays on French Novelists" and in his "History of the French Novel." There he so constantly emulates Mr. John S. Sumner in approaching books solely with an eye to the blushes of the young person, that his

judgments become freakish. Thus, in 1891, I find him saying of Maupassant that "in most of his longer works and many of his shorter pieces . . . the naturalist dullness and the naturalist dirtiness strive for the mastery in a monotonous wrestle." Even the eminently respectable Paul Bourget, whose friendship with Henry James seems to baffle his English critic, does not escape censure. "He is never exactly dirty, but he appears to be under a complete obsession of erotic ideas." What amuses me here is this use of the word "dirty," for I should like to know what in Maupassant merits that epithet which in Bourget is not "exactly dirty." The early novels of Bourget, to which reference is made, were neither more nor less reticent than those of Maupassant and a host of others who unfolded tales of adultery.

A POINT which gives an ironic interest to Mr. Saintsbury's disapproval of Zola, Maupassant, Bourget, Huysmans, and the brothers Goncourt is that theirs are precisely the names which now, after the lapse of twenty-five years, obviously stand out as representative of the period. On the other hand, the writers who seemed at the time to be equally important, but more proper, or more conventionally improper, are either forgotten entirely, or in the process are rapidly becoming so. Mr. Saintsbury approved of the "delicately indelicate" Gustave Droz; the cheap efforts at *risqué* humor of Armand Silvestre arouse in him no protests; the wearisome smartness, now so faded, of "Gyp" pleased him, and he had kind words for half a dozen other nonentities. The only authors to be harshly dismissed as "dirty," "filthy," "pessimistic," and, therefore, worthless, are those who show any signs of the vitality that means survival. It is no wonder that little of "Essays on French Novelists" has been transferred to the fourth volume of the "Collected Essays and Papers."

Another reason for these omissions is, of course, that the whole subject is reviewed and the old material reworked to some extent in the "History of the French Novel." The vast amount of reading and learning in those two tomes makes the work invaluable, but the prejudices which I attribute to insularity affect the treatment of all the modern fiction writers. Realism and naturalism appear to be the reddest of rags to all critics of academic mind, and in this one respect Professor Saintsbury is like too many of his less illustrious colleagues. His attitude toward those two aloof and distinguished artists, Edmond and Jules

de Goncourt, is so colored by the fixed idea that they invented naturalism, that the unwary reader might easily imagine that they wrote novels in the manner of Zola, and that their filthiness equaled or surpassed that of "La Terre." He actually says that it would be "as unnecessary as it would be disagreeable" to analyze their "chronicles of wasted grime."

When it is remembered that one of the outstanding features of this work is its seemingly endless patience in analyzing hundreds of novels whose obscurity and lack of permanent value are a tribute to Mr. Saintsbury's erudition, this refusal to honor the Goncourts similarly is extraordinary. Their famous "Journal" even incurs his wrath, and by insinuation it is made to seem nothing but a mass of morbid tittle-tattle by two egomaniacs. Edmond tells very amusingly how he once burst into the bedroom of a pretty young cousin of his, who had recently married, and saw more of her than he had expected. The incident, as he tells it in the "Journal," is quite innocent and natural. As cited by Professor Saintsbury, it has a sinister air as part of the morbidity with which he charges them. His comment on "Germinie Lacerteux" is to say, "nothing could better show 'the nature of the animals' than this post-mortem grubbing below stairs for a 'subject,' and washing your own household dirty linen in public—for profit." The Goncourts never made money out of their writings. They were wealthy men who were so indifferent to the financial side of literature that this suggestion is fantastic. Equally fantastic is the notion that, when they made this story out of the life of their servant, they were washing dirty linen. The book is actually an admiring tribute to her and a vindication of her memory.

THE Goncourts are so remote from Zola in all possible respects that their mistreatment at the hands of Professor Saintsbury is a perfect illustration of the workings of blind antinaturalistic prejudice. They were never popular because they refused to play to the gallery or make any compromise with their artistic conscience. I doubt if one line would have to be omitted today if they were translated into English. "Germinie Lacerteux," which is available in the Borzoi Classics series, has not enjoyed any of that surreptitious glory which is always the lot of books about which suggestions of indecency are made. Had Professor Saintsbury written the introduction to it, instead of myself, it might have been "booklegged" long since!

Justice

A Review by D. R.

MEMOIRS OF THE FOREIGN LEGION. By M. M. With an 84-page Introduction by D. H. Lawrence. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

IT is fair to say that few autobiographies or fragments of autobiographies have ever been so strangely introduced. In this posthumous record of his short war service, M. M. describes how, in a flush of sacrifice and devotion, he — a little German-American worldling forty years old — enlisted in the Foreign Legion, how the filth and depravity and deadness of the *caserne* in Africa and the camp in France disgusted his very soul, how he deserted after less than three months and escaped to Italy. Mr. Lawrence might have quoted in his introduction the last of M. M.'s shifts and evasions given in a Maltese newspaper of November, 1920, and let it go at that. The notice ran:

The suicide of an American gentleman at Rabato. Yesterday the American M——, a well-built man in the prime of life, was found dead in his house at Rabato. By the bedside was a bottle containing poison. The deceased had evidently taken his life by swallowing prussic acid. Mr. M—— had been staying for some months on the island, studying the language and the conditions, with a view to writing a book. It is understood that financial difficulties were the cause of this lamentable event.

He might have added a few words about the poor fellow and his hardships and his manuscripts, and it would all have been pretty and a little sad and very nice. Instead, he chose with accuracy and detail to tell the story of his acquaintance with M. M. and to dissect and expose him in a character study as clear, as brilliant, and as pitiless as anything of the kind I have ever read. It is Mr. Lawrence at his brilliant best — an amazing combination of accuracy and passion. To this eighty-four-page introduction the feeble document of M. M. is merely an appendix, a full and ample illustration of the justness — if not the mercy — of Mr. Lawrence's analysis.

M. M. was American by birth — a kind of theatrical hanger-on, a journalist, a manager for Isadora Duncan, known to hotel managers in every capital in Europe, an unproductive cosmopolitan, somewhat on the shabby side. Mr. Lawrence ran into him for the first time in Florence in 1919, and found him a nice, finicky, pompous little man, rather effeminate, very conscious of his gentlemanliness, yet somehow common, having about him, in spite of his assurance and cockiness, something soft and helpless and wistful. In a sense, he attached himself to Lawrence, and soon after, in the nicest way, without asking for money, he made it

apparent that he was in difficult straits, desperate, in fact, with no one to help him, and with no more power in him to help himself than an oyster. There was a story, too, of a check that had turned out badly, not his fault, but the police were ungentlemanly people and were after him. There were other things, too — in short, Lawrence, not a rich man by long chalks, helped this limpetlike adventurer both generously and kindly. M. M., profuse in gratitude, kept coming to him in the series of crises which made up his existence. At the end he demanded help as if it were his right, the right of the parasite to live on the bounty of others, and then Lawrence turned and with difficulty and all sorts of uncomfatableness cut the ties, paid M. M.'s extravagant and foolish bills, paid the sums he owed the poor Sicilian who housed him, loaned him money to escape from Italy, as he had escaped from the Foreign Legion and France into Italy, and thought to have finished with him forever. In Malta, however, he met him again. There he had attached himself grandly to two amiable and credulous Maltese named Mazzaiba and Salonia, and there Lawrence left him. The next word was the notice of his death, and a letter from Salonia giving the details; run to ground like a hunted fox, detectives at his door, his last double and twist a failure, he lay down and drank the acid.

Here follows a part of Mr. Lawrence's summing up:

When I had read this letter the world seemed to stand still for me. I knew that in my own soul I had said, "Yes, he must die if he cannot find his own way." But for all that now I realized what it must have meant to be the hunted, desperate man: everything seemed to stand still. I could, by giving half my money, have saved his life. I had chosen not to save his life.

Now, after a year had gone by, I keep my choice. I still would not save his life. I respect him for dying when he was cornered. And for this reason I feel still connected with him: still have this to discharge, to get his book published and to give him his place, to present him just as he was as far as I knew him myself.

The worst thing I have against him is that he abused the confidence, the kindness, and the generosity of unsuspecting people like Mazzaiba. He did not want to, perhaps, but he did it. And he leaves Mazzaiba swindled, distressed, confused, and feeling sold in the best part of himself. What next? What is one to feel toward one's strangers, after having known M——? He was not a criminal: he was obviously well-intentioned: but a Judas every time, selling the good feeling he had tried to arouse, and had aroused, for any handful of silver he could get. A little loving vampire!

The best that Mr. Lawrence can say or do for him is:

Well, poor devil, he is dead: which is all the better. He had his points, the courage of his own terrors, quick-wittedness, sensitiveness to certain things in his surroundings. I prefer him, scamp as he is, to the ordinary respectable person. He ran his risks: he *had* to be running risks with the police, apparently. And he poisoned himself rather than fall into their clutches. I like him for that. And I like him for the sharp and quick way he made use of every one of his opportunities to get out of that beastly army. There I admire him: a courageous, isolated little devil, facing his risks, and like a good rat, *determined* not to be trapped. I won't forgive him for trading on the generosity of others, and so dropping poison into the heart of all warm-blooded faith. But I am glad after all that Mazzaiba has rescued his bones from the public grave.

There will be critics a-plenty to condemn Mr. Lawrence for ripping open the sawdust-stuffed little effigy that was M. M. "Let the dead rest in peace," "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," all the old tags of conventional polite behavior. I do not so condemn him. In the first place, he was kind and generous with time and money and sympathy; much longer than I should have wasted a dollar or a thought on such a person, he gave both to M. M.; and his time and his money were more valuable than mine. Secondly, he has said things that ought to be said and felt things that ought to be felt — in this world which alternates between a cold ferocity of selfishness and a soft, maudlin sentimentality. Thirdly, so superb a study of character could only be drawn from life, and the perfection of a work of art justifies a certain inconsideration for the model's feelings, particularly if he is dead and unknown. Fourthly, he tries to be, and perhaps he is, just. I do not like a just man, but I respect him.

Mr. Lawrence prefers justice — stern, noble, brave — to the facile mercy of softer spirits; he says:

Even the dead ask only for *justice*: not for praise or exoneration. Who dares humiliate the dead with excuses for their living? I hope I may do M—— justice; and I hope his restless spirit may be appeased. I do not try to forgive. The living blood knows no forgiving. Only the overweening spirit takes on itself to dole out forgiveness. But justice is a sacred human right. The overweening spirit pretends to perch above justice. But I am a man, not a spirit, and men with blood that throbs and throbs and throbs can only live at length by being just, can only die in peace if they have justice. Forgiveness gives the whimpering dead no rest. Only deep, true justice.

New Books in Brief Review

Multitude and Solitude. By John Masefield.
New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.00.

THE publishers have done well to give us another chance to secure this poignant and beautiful novel. It has faults of construction and other blemishes, but the directness, the "difference" of Mr. Masefield's style, the quality of his emotion give the story a distinctive effect and charm. An example of his description:

"The At Home was in Kensington, in a big and hideous house. A line of carriages stood by the kerb, each with its tortured horses tossing their heads piteously against the bracing reins. Flunkeys with white, sensual faces stood at the door. There was a glitter of varnish everywhere, from boots, carriages, and polished metal. There was not much noise, except the champ-champing of the bits and the spattering of foam. Carriage doors slammed from time to time. Loafers insulted those who entered. Women and children, standing by the strip of baize upon the sidewalk, muttered in awed hatred."

From London to Africa and a region infested with sleeping sickness, the hero answering a mysterious call to combat that disease, works out a wild adventure amidst fever and death, with a sense of otherworldliness always present. The book ends telling how, as he thought of the dead woman he had loved, he "prayed that her influence in him might help to bring to earth that promised life, in which man, curbing nature to his use, would assert a new law and rule like a king, where now, even in his strength, he walks sentenced, a prey to all things baser."

* * * * *

God's Stepchildren. By Sarah G. Millin.
New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.00.

A STORY of African half-breeds, four generations of them, and the heavy curse that lies on these stepchildren of God. A powerful, sincere, and essentially dignified book; it will be offensive to a few who cannot face facts, but will win the respectful admiration of those who appreciate conviction and artistic integrity.

* * * * *

Pb.D.'s. By Leonard Bacon. New York: Harper & Bros. \$2.00.

MR. BACON is known to be the author of the anonymous "Ulug Beg," a Byronic poem which enjoyed a genuine *succès d'estime* last year. In the present volume he continues in the satiric spirit of "Don Juan," treating the arid culture, the sterile travail of advanced scholarship in America, with a very formidable power of attack and a considerable control of his

medium. The two poems in this volume are almost extraordinarily good performances of their kind. They approach the authentic tradition of the best satire — but they do not quite achieve it. Mr. Bacon, one feels, does not take his efforts or himself altogether seriously. He is amused by his *tour de force*, but not inclined to pursue greatness too far or too hard. His work is so good that most readers will regret it is not just a little better. He seems within measurable distance of doing something very good indeed. One hopes he will not rest content with being an excellent Byron *manqué*.

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Art Studies. Mediæval Renaissance and Modern. Vol. II. Edited by Members of the Departments of the Fine Arts at Harvard and Princeton Universities. Princeton: Princeton University Press. \$3.50.

AN interesting volume of scholarly monographs on certain lesser known artists and periods, splendidly illustrated and furnished with valuable bibliographies. The papers on Francesco Di Giorgio and on The Stucco Altar Frontals of Catalonia by Arthur McComb and Walter W. S. Cook, respectively, are particularly thorough and important contributions. Mr. Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., attempts a more imaginative undertaking in reconstructing Antonello da Messina's Venetian Altar-Piece, starting with its surviving fragments, much as our museums of natural history evolve a whole dinosaur from one fossilized bicuspid. Altogether, a book valuable in itself and a hopeful sign in these days of business schools.

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Weber and Fields. By Felix Isman. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$3.50.

SOME of us will always have a particularly soft place in our hearts for Weber and Fields. For years they were our joy and our delight, an unrefined joy and an unregenerate delight, but perhaps the funniest comedians our stage has produced. So we old-timers will greet this book and all the memories it evokes. Even those who never knew Weber and Fields in the days of their glory will enjoy the picturesque story of their rise from Bowery museums to a position on the top of the Broadway heap. The illustrations really illustrate the story. At the end of the book are printed the words and music of some of the songs they gave us — such as "Dinah, de moon am shining" and "Lu, Lu, How I Love My Lu" and "Rosie, you are ma posie" — and our

middle-aged, sentimental hearts fill with self-pity and nostalgia for the days when we were young. Those days and nights, hansom cabs, long expensive cigars, dinners of pre-arid, joyous days — Dinah, de moon am shining — ! Of this book, we classical old men might remark to incredulous flappers — "*Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit*," but what, after all, would be the use?

* * * * *

Youth Rides West. By Will Irwin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.00.

WILL IRWIN knew the mining camps of the Rockies at first hand. In this story of an Eastern tenderfoot in the rush to Cottonwoods Camp and the raw scramble of life there, he writes of gun play and stage coaches, vigilantes and miners with a certain restraint and self-control. It is a story of youth, love, and the romance of the pioneer. Life is described — not as it was, but as it might have seemed to the eyes of a young man delighted to be grappling with life. A good story and a dramatic one. It is only occasionally that Mr. Irwin allows himself to slip into the Bret Harte vocabulary of Dickens plus California.

* * * * *

Mary Stuart. Florence A. Maccunn. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.00.

THE life of Mary Queen of Scots could hardly fail to read like the most romantic novel. This author tells simply and dramatically the story of her ambitions, love affairs, captures and escapes, and the final tragedy of her imprisonment and execution. She writes sympathetically, giving the reader that unflinching sense of Mary's charm which has come down through history. Miss Maccunn's book adds nothing in particular to the records of history, enters no controversies, but tells the tale well.

* * * * *

The Secret of the East. By Oliver Huckel. New York: Thos. Y. Crowell Co. \$3.50.

THE various secrets of the East which have mystified previous seekers after truth are easily explained by Mr. Huckel in a few short, snappy sentences. A flatulent, commonplace book which annoys one quite as much by its cheerful omniscience as by the abrupt, jerky style of this staccato tourist-author. Too large a number of thoughtful and intelligent books have been recently published on Eastern subjects to justify the puerilities of this volume.

Architecture and Life

A Review by Charles G. Loring

STICKS AND STONES. By Lewis Mumford. New York: Boni & Liveright. \$2.50.

IN the very opening sentences of "Sticks and Stones," Lewis Mumford takes his bearings. The book is to be "an attempt to evaluate architecture in America in terms of our civilization." He keeps his course almost to the end, when he reverses it to denounce civilization in terms of our municipal architecture.

Architecture and the public will be on better terms for the reading of this book, for the author comprehends the professional viewpoint while shunning the professional technicalities. Epigrams take the place of the art critic's patter — though he could not resist, just once, a reference to "frozen music."

In the first chapters the historian leads the way, presenting his survey in terms fresh enough to surprise even the jaded reader into moments of independent thought, and he shows anew that architecture is the embodiment of human relations and not merely a fashion in art.

Even the opening scene in chronology is colored by the past:

There are two or three things that stand in the way of our seeing the life of a New England village; and one of them is the myth of the pioneer, the conception of the first settlers as a free band of "Americans" throwing off the bedraggled garments of Europe and starting life afresh in the wilderness. So far from giving birth to a new life, the settlement of the northern American seaboard prolonged for a little while the social habits and economic institutions which were fast crumbling away in Europe, particularly in England. In the villages of the New World there flickered up the last dying embers of the medieval order.

The seagoing trade and inland expansion tended to nullify the village and develop the cities; monumental design progressed but economic conditions were no happier.

Boston, by the middle of the eighteenth century, was rich in public buildings, including four schoolhouses, seventeen churches, a Town House, a Province House, a Faneuil Hall. But by this time a thousand inhabitants were set down as poor, and an almshouse and a workhouse had been provided for them.

With expanding horizons, the Builders' Handbook of the early carpenter-craftsman was superseded by a wider library of historic forms, and classical culture fills the imaginations of the citizens of the young republic. The "Five Orders" became the dogma of the "Classic Myth" with "men who have spent

long nights and days wrangling in the State House, men who have ridden on horseback through a campaign, men who have plotted like Catiline and denounced like Cicero, men whose daily actions are governed with the fine resolution of a Roman general or dictator. Unconsciously, such men want a stage to set off and magnify their actions." Stately country mansions and public buildings like Grecian temples were the natural stage settings.

From the war with Mexico to the World's Fair at Chicago he sees in our structures the struggle between industrialism and romanticism, a cumulative, dehumanizing industrialism and a sentimental, second-hand romanticism, a romanticism which produced Colonel Colt's mansion near Hartford, described in the *Art Journal* for 1876, as a "long, grand, impressive, contradictory, beautiful, strange thing . . . An Italian villa in stone, massive, noble, refined, yet not carrying out any decided principles of architecture, it is like the mind of its originator, bold and unusual in its combinations. . . . There is no doubt it is a little Turkish among other things. . . . Yet, although the villa is Italian and cosmopolitan, the feeling is English. It is an English home in its substantiality, its homelike . . . aspects."

Industrialism spawned the multiple family tenement, first introduced in New York in 1835,

as a means of producing congestion, raising the ground-rents, and satisfying in the worst possible way the need of the new immigrants for housing. . . . Their existence in a period which was boasting loudly of the advance of science and industrialism shows, to say the least, how the myths which inspired the age stood between the eye and reality.

A GENERATION ago, the overlordship of the trusts, railroad systems, labor unions and our fleets at Cuba and the Philippines marked the beginning of a period whose keynotes were opulence and magnitude; "money to burn." In the chapter on The Imperial Façade, the sweep of historical imagination, the epigrammatic similes, the numberless allusions, explain and appraise this transition architecture which has too often been taken for granted because of its nearness. The engineer now crowds upon the stage from which the architect had long since driven the craftsman-carpenter.

If Rome was forced to create huge engineering projects like aqueducts and sewers in order to cleanse the inhabitants and remove the offal of its congested districts, the American city followed the

example of the modern Romes like London and Paris by devising man-sewers, in which the mass of plebeians could be drained daily back and forth between their dormitories and their factories.

This is the culmination of the historical aspect of the treatise and is typical of the author's attitude.

THE skyscraper, crown of the imperial city, is to him a symbol of modern demoralization, and he attacks the towers like Don Quixote, convinced they must be unæsthetic because the municipal congestion which produces them is not "the good life." In describing the real "age of machine" he mounts his hobby, applies whip and spur, and rides roughshod over what he feels are the general conditions of the present. Where in the earliest chapters he likens the copies of Colonial architecture to the ruined chapel in "The Pirates of Penzance," when the occupants are "descendants by purchase," now his yearning for the walled town or the pastoral commune goads him into a frenzy of denunciation. He writes, "A modern building is an establishment devoted to the manufacture of light, the circulation of air, the maintenance of a uniform temperature, and the vertical transportation of its occupants," and he cannot see that it may still be beautiful.

Unlike the transcendental dreamers who believe that all art and beauty died with the Middle Ages and look plaintively toward a hideous future, he has constructive imagination enough to evolve his own Utopia, where the Ford tractor and the high-power transmission line shall diffuse the population once more and reintegrate the concentrated hordes into small humane units. He believes that when the human sciences catch up with the physical ones, when we analyze our civilization and correct its faults, then architecture will express the rebirth as it now expresses the "machine."

In the Norse fables, the dwarfs are regarded as queer monsters, because they are always "busy people" who have no pride or joy except in the work they perform and the mischief they cause.

The great heresy of the modern world is that it ceased to worship the Lords of Life, who made the rivers flow, caused the animals to mate, and brought forth the yearly miracle of vegetation; it prostrated itself, on the contrary, before the dwarfs, with their mechanical ingenuity, and the giants, with their imbecile power. Today our lives are perpetually menaced by these "busy people"; we are surrounded by their machines, and for worship, we turn their prayer wheels of red-tape.

North America Minus Barriers

The economic map dictates a future of close reciprocal relations with Canada

By Arthur Pound

MAN draws certain lines across the earth, sets up markers, and proceeds to make law effective within those limits of political geography. These boundaries hold for a while, sometimes for centuries; but what are centuries in the long, long age of the world, during which natural forces have been shaping continents, wearing down mountains into alluvial plains, and fixing the economic environment of man?

The political map can be changed almost in the twinkling of an eye by war and treaty; but the economic map seldom changes. All that can be done to it is to bring out its possibilities by discovery and exploit them through transport and power development. There are new states in Europe since the Treaty of Versailles was signed, but there are no more rivers and mountain ranges than there were, no more iron and coal deposits, no more soil.

It is only lately that the mind of man has taken to looking through the ephemeral political map to the eternal economic map. Ramsay Traquair recently astonished his public by interpreting the North American continent to them in terms of three civilizations running the length of the continent. On the East, said Mr. Traquair, is a maritime, industrial empire prolonged into the heart of the continent by the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes watershed. This is a progressive, adventurous community forced by its very situation to be internationally minded, because it looks across the busiest of oceans upon the continent most influential in international affairs. On the Pacific Coast is another maritime empire of equal length but less breadth and fewer economic resources, which looks in the opposite direction — toward Asia. Between these maritime empires lies the richest of all valley empires, whose people depend upon the soil rather than upon manufacture and commerce. Historically, such valley civilizations have always tended to nationalism as contrasted with internationalism.

This diagnosis of our continent helps to explain a good many things. British Columbia and California are at one in their attitudes toward Japan; manufacturing Ontario and New England are one in their attitudes toward tariffs. The East alone reveals a continuing interest in the League of Nations, the adjustment of international debts and other European problems. If the vital interests of our Atlantic seaboard had not been involved, the

United States never would have entered the World War. President Wilson's melancholy Western trip showed how completely the Middle Empire divorced itself from foreign affairs with the signing of the Armistice. Moreover, this trend is as manifest in the Canadian Northwest as in Kansas and the Dakotas. The Canadian and American Legislatures both have their farm blocs, and at this very moment, lower freight rates on wheat are bones of contention in both capitals between agricultural Wests and railroad-owning Easts.

This economic view of our continent as a unit will be strengthened by Prof. J. Russell Smith's new book on "North America — Its People and the Resources, Development, and Prospects as an Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Area" (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York). On Professor Smith's maps his political boundaries are faint and his economic boundaries bold. He treats as a unit New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada. To him the Red River of the north valley is one no matter if it is prolonged from the Dakotas well into Canada. That is to say, he takes the same practical view of the matter that American farmers take when they move from our Mississippi Valley in Manitoba of Saskatchewan, and that Canadian artisans take when they leave Toronto and Hamilton to seek employment in Detroit or St. Louis.

IT is estimated that Canada and the United States have traded a million inhabitants in twenty years. On either side of the line some deplore this shift of population; but the fact is that it represents a tremendous economic gain for both countries. Economically, the United States, Canada, and Mexico are one; vast indeed, would be the benefit to their inhabitants if goods originating anywhere on the continent could be shipped to any other part of it without passing through customhouses.

Our neighbor to the south is of another breed, manner, and custom. Also, he has not quite the Anglo-Saxon idea of the sacredness of contracts and the inviolability of private property; and in addition, the Mexican standard of living is hopelessly low. Consequently, there may be reasons for continuing a customs barrier on the south long after the one on the north disappears. The Canadian barrier ought to be going soon.

Taft's reciprocity proposals were very sane and reasonable; but their reception showed them to be somewhat ahead of their time. Never mind; there will be proposals along similar lines in the future, and some fair day a formula mutually acceptable to both countries will be found. Prophecies are usually dangerous, but this one is certain to materialize. It is written in the economic map, was written there before ever a white man set foot on this continent, and when population on North America is so dense that neither Canada nor the United States can afford the luxury of a tariff wall it will vanish just as the Great Lakes navies vanished after the Treaty of Ghent. And after goods have been passing freely from the United States to Canada for a few years, people will wonder why a tariff wall between these two high-priced areas of kindred blood was ever tolerated. Just as the Battle of Lake Erie seems a hideous anachronism to the people of Ontario and Ohio today.

PROFESSOR SMITH says a plow can be driven from Columbus to the Rocky Mountains, except for the breaks caused by rivers and river banks. But if this epic plowshare were turned north in Iowa, the long furrow could be carried on almost to the Arctic circle. That fact is bound to be determining in the future relations of Canada and the United States. From Texas to Peace River Valley stretches an agricultural empire destined to be densely packed with a fairly homogeneous population. Their primary interests, from the cold North to the sunny South, will be those that spring from the land. The northern and southern ends of that great belt will be closer culturally and economically than either North or South will be to the trans-mountain country East or West. It was Canada that defeated Taft's effort to establish reciprocity; but the Canada of the wheat country has regretted that decision ever since. It has especial reason to regret that error since the emergency tariff on wheat was put on last year. The next overture toward a sensible lowering of the tariff wall between Canada and the United States must come from Canada; and there are signs that western Canada will not be satisfied with events at Ottawa until that approach has been made. If and when made, the United States should leap at the opportunity to further North American economic unity.

What the World Is Doing

Edited by Stewart Beach

THE WEEK

OPTIMISTS discuss the postal pay and rate bill. ¶ Mr. COOLIDGE emits the quadrennial call. ¶ Democrats and Farmer-Laborites unite in an almost solid opposition. ¶ The Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals examines Congress. ¶ Senator HOWELL of Nebraska proposes an investigation. ¶ Senator TRAMMEL of Florida proposes an investigation. ¶ The Senate is studying the report of its last investigation. ¶ The Senate releases a section of a report on an investigation. ¶ Germany is not sure about the League. ¶ Mr. MACDONALD opens an attack. ¶ "You will say to General GOURAUD, the Military Governor of Paris, that M. CLEMENCEAU, the war Premier of France, will not receive him." ¶ M. HERRIOT elucidates: "After having borrowed the most possible by paying the least possible, we have now come to the moment when we have got to pay the most possible in borrowing the least possible." ¶ The National Federation of Communal Civil Servants presents a grievance. ¶ The Jabala tribesmen submit to ABD-EL-KRIM.

Domestic

THE INAUGURATION

The inauguration of CALVIN COOLIDGE on March 4 will be carried out with as little ceremony as is commensurate with the dignity of the office. Strict economy will be the watchword, and the President has vetoed plans for the pomp and show which usually accompany the proceeding. A few stands will be erected, but they will not line the avenue from the Capitol to the White House as has been the case at previous inaugurations. After CHARLES G. DAWES has taken the oath as Vice President in the Senate chamber, the ceremonies will take place on the east front of the Capitol, where Mr. COOLIDGE will take the oath of office and deliver his inaugural address. Following this, he will return to the White House accompanied by a military escort.

CONGRESS

With but a few business days remaining before the sixty-eighth Congress adjourns on March 3, the chances of a legislative jam in the last few hours becomes increasingly apparent. On Saturday, February 14, several Senators, both Democrats and Republicans, joined in a filibuster. It was halted, however, on February 16, while the Senate passed a postal pay and rate bill and agreed to reach a vote on the

Bursum emergency officers' retirement bill. The Senate, in its postal bill, substituted for the provisions of the measure passed by the House the provisions contained in the original Senate bill and added an amendment which wipes out entirely



(P. & A.)

Dr. William M. Jardine, president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, who has been appointed Secretary of Agriculture by President Coolidge

the service charge on parcel post mail. It is estimated that the elimination of this charge will reduce the revenue to be gained by the bill about \$9,000,000. Optimists figure that the bill in its present form would add revenue of about \$37,000,000, with which to meet salary increases estimated to reach \$106,000,000 before the end of the calendar year 1925. According to Post Office Department figures, the bill would add but \$20,000,000. It is doubtful if the measure can be passed in anything like its present state. It is now in conference.

President COOLIDGE has sent to the Senate the nomination of Dr. WILLIAM M. JARDINE, president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, to be Secretary of Agriculture, succeeding HOWARD M. GORE who becomes Governor of West Virginia at noon on March 1. The President at the same time sent the nomination of FRANK B. KELLOGG to be Secretary of State, succeeding Mr. HUGHES. On February 16 the Senate approved the latter appointment.

The nomination of CHARLES BEECHER WARREN to be Attorney-General is still meeting with considerable opposition. There is some indication that a test vote on the nomination will be taken before the present Senate adjourns. Senator CURTIS, Republican floor leader, is said to be giving President COOLIDGE little encouragement. If the Senate refuses to approve the nomination, it will be the first time in history that such a denial of the President's right to choose his own Cabinet officers has been given by the Senate.

Mr. COOLIDGE has issued the regular quadrennial call for a special session of the new Senate to convene on March 4 to consider such communication as he may care to make. It is at this time that the final ratification of Cabinet and other appointments will be taken up. Usually a merely perfunctory affair, it is expected that the session on March 4 will break all precedent by its extreme vitality. Two other nominations are meeting with opposition. They are THOMAS E. WOODLOCK, nominated by the President to be an Interstate Commerce Commissioner, and WILLIAM E. HUMPHREY to be a Federal Trade Commissioner. A majority vote of the Senate is required for all confirmations. The present Senate is composed of fifty-two Republicans, forty-two Democrats, and two Farmer-Laborites. Forty-nine votes are needed for a majority, and it is said that the Democrats and Farmer-Laborites are almost solidly opposed to at least the WARREN appointment, and that Administration leaders are finding it difficult to line up all the Republicans behind the nomination.

ARBITRATION BILL

The Mills Federal arbitration bill, unanimously passed by the House and Senate a week ago, was signed by President COOLIDGE on February 12. By it, arbitration contracts are made valid in the Federal courts. It is expected that the bill will save much time for the courts in reducing greatly the number of civil suits which clog their calendars.

CONFERENCE ON WORLD CURRENCY

The Senate Commission on Gold and Silver Inquiry of which Senator ODDIE of Nevada is chairman has submitted another section of its report covering an investigation of the currency situation. It includes a survey of the currency situation in Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany. A second section, dealing with conditions in the other twelve of the sixteen countries investigated will be

ready shortly. The Committee recommends that a "currency conference" be held, an international affair, freed from the controversial problems of intergovernmental debts. The report points out that much of the chaos in Europe today is based upon fluctuation in rates of exchange. "The general restoration of the gold standard in Europe is now possible," it states, "since relative stability of internal prices has been attained in most countries." But the situation is enormously complicated by the great number of units of exchange. Before the war there were but ten distinct units; at present, there are twenty-seven. The Commission feels that the introduction of a new uniform unit for all countries would "avoid the troublesome question of currency devaluation, that is, reducing the gold content of a unit so as to conform to the depreciated value, and would result in important benefits to the countries involved."

OUR RELIGIOUS CONGRESS

A statement from the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., records a recent survey of religious affiliations of Congressmen. The report shows that ninety per cent have religious affiliations. The Methodists lead with ninety Representatives and twenty-seven Senators; Episcopalians are next with fifty-seven Representatives and twenty-two Senators; Presbyterians are third with sixty-three Representatives and eleven Senators.

MORE INVESTIGATIONS

Senator HOWELL (Republican—Nebraska) has requested that the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission make a thorough investigation of the proposed Nickel Plate Railroad merger. The proposed consolidation, Senator HOWELL states, will give Morgan and Company and the First National Bank of New York control of 37,000 miles of road with assets of \$3,000,000,000 in the industrial territory of the East. Furthermore, the roads involved own huge anthracite and bituminous coal properties, and Senator HOWELL does not believe that these lands should be transferred to the consolidation. The merger includes the Nickel Plate, the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Hocking Valley, the Erie, and the Pere Marquette railroads with a total trackage of 14,357 miles and assets of \$1,406,763,792. The HOWELL resolution was referred to the Committee on Audit and Control.

Senator TRAMMEL (Democrat—Florida) has offered a resolution in the Senate directing the Federal Trade Commission to investigate recent increases in the price of gasoline to consumers and determine whether a monopoly exists among producers and wholesale and retail dealers in restraint of trade.

CAMPAIGN FUNDS

The special Senate Committee which investigated expenditures by the three political parties during the last campaign, of which Senator BORAH is chairman, has



(Keystone)

Brig. Gen. William Mitchell, Assistant Chief of Air Service, whose determined stand for a united air force has aroused lively discussion at Washington

presented its report to the Senate. Its recommendations are for legislation along the lines of the bill attached to the postal pay and rate bill by Senator WALSH of Massachusetts. Senator WALSH's bill sought to limit the expenditures of candidates for the House to \$2,500, and for the Senate to \$10,000, with the proviso that this amount might be increased to an amount not to exceed three cents for each vote cast in the last regular election. To these recommendations Senator BORAH's committee added others in which it called to the attention of Congress the practice of collecting money in wealthy States for use in important pivotal States possessing less wealth. It also called attention to the fact that it would be difficult to fix a set amount to be spent, since it was only fair to take into consideration the question of population in the different States. The report also included the amounts spent by the different parties in the last election, showing that the Republicans collected \$4,360,478 and expended \$4,270,469; the Democrats collected \$821,037.05 and expended \$903,908.21; while the Progressives collected \$221,837 and expended \$221,977.

FLOODS IN THE EAST

Five days of unseasonably warm weather, causing winter snows to melt, started heavy floods in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and some parts of

New England. Three railway and two highway bridges were carried away in Tioga, New York, and several villages in the vicinity of Binghamton were inundated. In several towns, residents were forced to leave and return to their homes by rowboats. Falling temperatures through the devastated regions and snowfall have allayed the fears of those living in the threatened districts. Latest reports say that the danger is over.

Foreign

GENEVA

The sentiment on the Geneva peace protocol most recently expressed by delegates to the League of Nations from the British Dominions and commonwealths proposes a separation of the issue of security from disarmament. The Geneva protocol makes compulsory arbitration and security dependent upon the general disarmament conference and the acceptance by the contracting nations of the terms agreed upon. It is felt that the newer proposal would allow the approach and treatment of the entire subject to be undertaken with greater assurance of success. It is also thought that this plan should appeal to the United States, because of the approval already given by Congress to another Washington conference for the limitation of both naval and land armaments. The holding of such a conference would be facilitated by a previous agreement upon the ends to be sought, and it is hoped that such an agreement will result from a definitely limited discussion on security and arbitration.

Germany has expressed her willingness to join the League if she will be given a place in the Council. Officials of the League have announced that Germany's admission will be taken up during the March session of the Council.

There has been some discussion in Geneva of the advisability of moving the seat of the League to another city. Vienna and Brussels have been suggested as more accessible and convenient sites, and Sir HARRY BRITAIN has been endeavoring to obtain consideration for the change.

The International Opium Conference has reached a decision which includes heroin with the drugs to be banned by the member nations. This move was advocated by the American delegation, the members of which have sailed for the United States. The decision reached at The Hague convention permitted the distribution of medicines containing a limited percentage of this drug, and a strong bloc of the delegates to the present conference, headed by the French, urged that this ruling be retained. The American proposal was for the stopping of manufacture, but this was modified to permit production of a supply sufficient to meet the needs of regular medical prescriptions.

ENGLAND

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has announced in the House of Commons that the Government will not commit Great Britain to the Geneva protocol or new obligations of similar character until the assent of Parliament has been received. In answer to a question from Colonel WEDGWOOD, he explained that no arrangements have been made for a separate compact with any nation, and that the Government is now engaged in studying the many important issues raised by the protocol. He stated, also, that negotiations for the payment of the Italian debt to the United States will be commenced shortly.

A considerable stir was created in the House of Commons when members of the Labor party expressed disapproval of the bill to provide expenses for the projected tour of Africa and South America by the PRINCE OF WALES. When the bill was put to vote, it was passed with a majority of 214, and £15,000 was appropriated.

Mr. MACDONALD opened an attack upon the Government's fiscal plans by ridiculing the safeguarding of industry policy. His motion that this policy, if continued, must lead to a system of general tariff was defeated by a vote of 335 to 146 in Commons. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN later announced that the Government is in sympathy with the Spanish in Morocco, and that no form of recognition would be accorded ABD-EL-KRIM. Mr. BALDWIN explained that the question of evacuation of Cologne will not arise until Germany has taken action on the defaults of the Treaty of Versailles.

FRANCE

In a speech before the Chamber of Deputies, Premier HERRIOT issued an appeal for energetic measures to avert a financial crisis. He announced that the system of coupon memoranda would be discontinued, as the result of the bankers' charge that it had been indirectly responsible for the passage of French capital to other countries. He warned that financiers abroad are watching the development of the French financial question very closely, and reviewed the changes wrought during and since the war. "After having borrowed the most possible by paying the least possible," he said, "we have now come to the moment when we have got to pay the most possible in borrowing the least possible."

The return of M. CAILLAUX to Paris, after the amnesty granted on his conviction of treason, has created a stir in political circles. General GOURAUD, who was one of the first to welcome him back to the capital, lost favor with M. CLEMENCEAU, and was later refused admission to the home of the former Premier.

ARTURO ALESSANDRI, the President of

Chile, who has recently been recalled by his Government, was honored by former Premier PAINLEVÉ at a dinner in Paris given by members of the Socialist party. "I am returning to Chile," said Señor ALESSANDRI, "without either hatreds or rancor, for they have no place in the soul of a real chief of State."



(Keystone)

The Russian Statue of Liberty, in the Red Square at Moscow, draped in mourning on the first anniversary of the death of Lenin

GERMANY

The Government has asked the Reichstag to sanction the granting of credits to the Ruhr industrialists as indemnity for the French and Belgian occupation. The credits proposed will amount to more than \$175,000,000. A lengthy report submitted in explanation reviews the financial burdens borne by the industries of the district, and states that the Government relies upon *post facto* approval from the Reichstag for payments made before that body was organized. The methods of payment are enumerated, including the use of a considerable sum received from PARKER GILBERT as refund on earlier reparations payments.

The National Federation of Communal Civil Servants has adopted a resolution demanding the repeal of the law of 1920, under the provisions of which municipalities and communities are forbidden to pay higher salaries than the Federal government. It is claimed that this law tends to keep the wages of both classes at a low level, and the officers of the Federation argue that the local administrators are better able to judge of the value of the services of their employees.

ITALY

The Senate has adjourned as the result of Premier MUSSOLINI's illness, and the discussion on the army reform bill, which he was particularly anxious to hear, has been postponed. The Minister of War hopes to reduce the present military force of 200,000 men to an army which will vary, at the discretion of the Cabinet, between 45,000 and 140,000. His plan calls for the expenditure of the money so saved in the purchase of new *matériel*, principally air service equipment and artillery. The Opposition is planning to attack this measure in fear of the consequences of allowing the Fascist militia, which numbers about 150,000, to become the strongest armed force in the country.

Discussion over the monopoly of development of the Albanian oil fields, now held by the Anglo-Persian Company, is thought to be nearing a satisfactory conclusion. The Foreign Ministry at Rome is endeavoring to obtain for Italy a portion of the existing concession.

SPAIN

Recent dispatches from Morocco report the capture of Tauriat by a Spanish detachment, and heavy losses inflicted on the Moors. The Spaniards used their air force to advantage, bombing the defenses of the tribesmen and following up with machine gunfire. The new positions have been fortified and garrisoned, and the Spanish lines are considerably stronger than they were last week. RAISULI has been taken to Ajdir, in the Riff district, and the Jabala tribes have sent a delegation to ABD-EL-KRIM, pledging their loyalty to his command. There have been a number of rumors that the Moorish leader himself has been killed, and the Spanish General Staff is endeavoring to get more authentic information. The control which he exerts over the different tribes is largely one of personal influence, and his death would cause serious concern among his lieutenants, no one of whom, it is believed, is qualified to take his place as supreme commander.

CHINA

The latest reports from China indicate that the country is no nearer a stable position than it was before the collapse of the Chihli régime. Many of the older leaders, who had built up personal followings of some size, have been overthrown, and so far have not been replaced by men able to reorganize. WU PEI-FU, who had been hailed as the one strong commander in China, is now practically a fugitive. The new President, TSAO KUN, is unable to bind the different factions together, and continues in office, it is reported, only on the sufferance of a large group of politicians who virtually control the state.

New Books

About Interesting People and Things



Lives and Times

By MEADE MINNIGERODE

With the same delightful humor and originality which made "The Fabulous Forties" one of the notable books of the year, the author presents four fascinating characters of early American days. Illustrated with portraits and documents of the time. \$2.50

Adventures in Criticism

By SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH

From his seat at Cambridge University the author has watched literary fashions come and go. He has known most of the important literary men of the past half century and it is from this rich and varied background that his latest book is drawn. \$2.50

The Human Touch

By LYMAN P. POWELL

High lights in the eventful career of the noted educator, minister, business man, editor and author. The memoirs include most of the leading men of today. \$2.50

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Letters to the Editor

Religion As Is

Seattle, Washington.

To the Editor of THE INDEPENDENT:

DEAR SIR, —

Mr. Cabot's religious book reviews in your January 17 issue remind me of the saying that the two words which society uses more, yet understands less — if possible — than any others are: love and religion.

The truth is that if they were correctly defined, they would prove to be closely related parts of any sufficient system of social education; and like all other necessary words, definable in terms of substance and phenomena. While love should be defined as: "The mutual attraction of space and substance, the feminine and masculine, or negative and positive principles of nature's phenomena," so, the scientific definition of religion is: "The science of relationship between the individual consciousness, and all of the conscious intelligences of the universe, out of which each personal consciousness is evolved."

Every normally developed human brain has a natural impulse to reflect upon and interest itself in all the countless expressions of divine order, system, and purpose that are exhibited in all the processes of the planetary, mineral, vegetable, animal, and societary worlds. The distinct difference in purpose between the human and all other forms of animal creatures is this gift of sensing and reasoning upon the divine purpose in all of the processing of material substances; and especially upon such phenomena in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms as directly affect our own lives, comfort, and happiness.

All human experience shows that while most of our daily life must be absorbed in the struggle for the means of life, yet we must — because nature demands it — make a nearly complete break about one day in seven, both for physical and mental recuperation. It is natural in such periods for the mind to lift itself from material interests and dwell upon the more subtle and psychic forces and intelligences of the universe; and such reflection and study, when open-minded and not clouded by priestly superstitions and suggestions, always tend to expand and uplift the inner life — spirit, soul, if you wish.

The institution of Sunday schools for religious study is a natural human instinct, but so far, it has been badly misdirected and perverted by priestly influences. The only natural, logical, and wholly beneficial Sunday education would consist in teaching the relations between the various things and phenomena that concern human life, and their expressions of divine intelligence; and also how every part of the life of the student is affected

by them. Every flower or weed can afford hours of delightful interest to any class of children who are not hopelessly stupid or vicious. This line of study, when directed to the phenomena of reproduction, also opens the only way to liberate society from the mountain of immorality, vice, nastiness, crime, and social discord which has always cursed the Christian world, and must continue to do so until society is taught to recognize the fundamental natural law which tries to make every human to be moral, unselfish, and harmonious, and while stimulating individual development, prompts everyone to do his share in maintaining the integrity of the race, and at the same time contribute to the evolution and completion of the earth's surface.

JOHN E. AYER.

Blows of a Mailed Fist

(Continued from page 229)

The Misuri Assault. Meeting me after Misuri's speech, the President was very angry and said that Fascism could not tolerate such insulting attacks and that Misuri must be soundly punished at once. The Honorable Balbo undertook to do this in conjunction with Bonaccorse and Consul Candelori. The next day after the assault Mussolini showed exultant satisfaction, remarking lightly that of course Misuri might die.

The Attack upon Forni. . . . The attack upon Forni originated this way. One afternoon I received an urgent telephone call from Mussolini telling me to come immediately to Palazzo Chigi. There I found the President in a state of furious excitement and anger against Forni on account

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Blows of a Mailed Fist

(Continued from page 252)

of his Biella speech. He was also furious against Gasti because he had sent a friendly telegram to the same meeting where Forni had criticized the Party and the Government. He shouted at me several times that Fascism did not know how to take care of itself, and that he must have men who struck straight at the mark. Among other things he said: "What does Dumini do? Does he [the expression that follows is unprintable]?" Dumini was a man who knew how to handle these fellows, "because he feels he is the servant of the Party and the Government."

I tried to calm him by pointing out that such differences of opinion in our Party were an isolated phenomenon, but later he succeeded in convincing me, and I promised that I would immediately take up with Giunta the matter of sending someone to Milan or Pavia.

We settled with Giunta to send a friend to arrange with the *arditi di guerra* to give Forni a lesson. He advised me to limit it to a sound cudgeling, but I had no orders to stop with that.

In fairness, one should add that Mussolini's opponents have so far failed to corroborate these charges. No supporting evidence has appeared in the foreign press — in Italy, of course, none could appear. Furthermore, one need not assume, even if the charges are true, that the opposition is blameless, that it has not also resorted to violence and intimidation.

But one may properly protest, if the Rossi document tells the truth, against the admiration for the "strong man" idea in government, the myth of law and order brought about by illegality and violence.

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Suggestions for Classroom Study

By Charles Swain Thomas

Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

THE INDEPENDENT articles best suited for classroom study depend so much upon the character of the class that the teacher will be the best judge of the material to be chosen for more careful study. The Editor selects for comment those contributions that personally impress him as being appropriate for student discussion.

THE MYTH OF MUSCLE SHOALS. 1. To what extent is water power used in the industries of the United States? 2. What is the most important type of machine used for translating the energy of moving water into a form adaptable to motivation of such equipment as electric generators, grain mills, and looms? 3. Why is Muscle Shoals an especially favorable site for a water power project? 4. What do you know of the chemical properties of nitrogen? 5. How is the natural fixation of nitrogen accomplished by plants and vegetable growths? 6. What is the meaning of the abbreviation T. N. T.?

PROTECTION AND SOCIALISM FOR ENGLAND. 1. What is the meaning of the expression "Free Trader"? 2. What is the meaning of "protection," as used in the title of this article? 3. Compare and discuss the regulations governing imports in England, and the United States. 4. Does any country attempt to restrict exports? 5. Is gold treated as an ordinary commodity in import and export? 6. What has been the importance of duties upon imports in the shaping of the political parties in the United States? 7. What sections of the country are most directly concerned in controversies over the rates to be exacted? 8. Is the issue of tariffs of as great importance in any foreign country? 9. Discuss the effects upon your own community of a doubling of the tariffs upon the following imports to the United States: Wheat, Hides, Sugar, Wool, Automobiles, Raw Cotton, and Cutlery. 10. Write a short composition upon the situation which would arise in your State if all trade and communication with the rest of the world were cut off.

A NATION THAT HAS SUNG ITSELF FREE. 1. What is the present government of Esthonia? 2. What other countries, formerly included in the territory under the rule of the Czars, have been released since the beginning of the World War? 3. Make a list of ten songs familiar to the greater number of American people, which in your estimation are comparable to the folk songs of European countries. Give a reason for each choice. 4. What reasons can you think of to explain the comparatively small number of songs which can be fairly said to belong to the American people?

WHAT THE WORLD IS DOING. 1. What is the meaning of the word "filibuster," as applied to a movement in the Congress? 2. Was any such course foreseen by the framers of the Constitution? 3. What measures can be taken to break a "filibuster"? 4. Under what authority may the President call a special session of either House of Congress? 5. What is the difference between the duties of an Interstate Commerce Commissioner and a Federal Trade Commissioner? 6. What is the difference between a civil suit and a criminal trial? 7. Define Common Law. 8. From what source were most of the principles of the Common Law in the several States drawn? 9. What other legal system has been adopted in some of the States? 10. What is the procedure followed in instituting a conference with representatives of another country? 11. What would be the channel of official negotiation between Congress and the legislative body of a foreign nation? 12. Discuss the purpose of investigations into the amounts spent in political campaigns. 13. Describe briefly the Geneva peace protocol. 14. What is its present status? 15. What was the official position of M. Caillaux, before his trial for treason? 16. What was M. Clemenceau's office during the war? 17. Where are the Albanian oil fields? 18. Who is Raisuli?

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