PORTLAND, OREGON, SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1922.

66 PEACE

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

Publicity and Secrecy at Paris Conference-How News Was Handled (CHAPTER 14)

ONE FACT stands out at the Paris peace conference as distinctive and determining, that fact that the people of the world were there repreented and organized as never before at any peace conference. At the sider congresses the diplomats occupied the entire stage, bargained, arranged and secretly agreed; but at Paris democracy, like the blind god in Dunsany's play, itself comes lumbering roughly, powerfully, out upon the stage.

In many ways the most powerful and least consid ered group of men at Paris were the newspaper corre-Here they were with rich and powerful news associa tions or newspapers or magazines behind them. the world. Since Vienna in 1815, since Verona in 1822, Ray Stannard of nations to the detriment of those of princes"-since these old times popular education, universal suffrage, a cheap press and easy communication, had utterly changed the world. At Paris these ambassadors of public opinion-at least those from America-had come not

been exaggerated, but an examination

time, anxiety, discussion, devoted to the

public opinion and the press. This ef-

fort began on the first day to get

at some standard, some method, which

tions in different countries, and this

continued throughout the conference, It

influenced the entire procedure; it was

partly instrumental in driving the four

publicity on one occasion-Wilson's Ital-

ian note-nearly broke up the conference

bare threat of it upon other occasions changed the course of discussion. As

a matter of fact, nothing concerned

the confence more than what democ-

Almost the first of President Wilson's

oference after his arrival was to pro

official acts in connection with the peace

During the war the committee of public

information, under George Creel's di-

rection, had given publicity throughout

the world to the purposes of America

made of the discontinuance of the volum

tary censorship agreement under which

President Wilson was strongly in favor

ment and press as quickly as possible

Not only did the government refrain

from bringing any influence to bear upon

facilitate the passage of newspaper

writers of every shade of opinion to

France, throwing down all passport

parriers and providing a ship, the Ori-

saba, for their free transportation; and

afterward, during the conference, in

order to relieve the congestion of the commercial cables, transmittints free

and without any sort of censorship or

friendly to the administration and those

opposed to it a large volume of press

press was thus intensely suspicious of

rovernment influence upon its news er

opinions, it was at the same time ask-

ing and receiving important material and mechanical assistance from the gov-

On December 13 President Wilson ar-

Orizaba and other ships. There were

publicity, but it made every effort

of putting the relationship of govern-

the American press had loyally worked

It was frankly propagandist, it was a

AIDS TO PUBLICITY

necessary as gunnowder.

a government.

astonishing evidence of the amo

begging, but demanding. They sat at every doorway, they imporance of the problem of secrecy over every shoulder, they wanted and publicity at the conference has here every resolution and report and wanted nediately. I shall never forget the led by John Nevin, I saw come striding brough that holy of holies, the French foreign office, demanding that they be itted to the first general session of They horrified upholders of the old methods, they perately offended the ancient con

While there was a gesture of unconsern, of don't-care-what-they say, on the of the conference in reality worried them ch came back so promptly from them, fullke the princes at Vienna a hundred Paris well knew that he was dependent pon an electorate that might shout at moment, "Off with his head!" and it the judgment of that electorate was d upon what these aggressive amutiling out to the four winds from the

DIPLOMATS ALABMED invasion of the American press, but purslied, genuinely pussied. They were just affairs. On November 14, three days through with an iron-clad censorship of after the armistice, announcement was like Balfour, trained in the old school, would have liked to find a new way, but did not know how and were and on November 15 all press censorship afraid. The whole technique, indeed, of of cables and mails was discontinued. sealing with publics in the matter of affairs was fire-new. There was no background, no experience, to go by, except the grim traditions of a man like Sonnine of Italy, who was for plodding straight ahead oblivious of public spinion, according to the old methods of secret meetings, secret bargains, secret treaties. He was the only leader in Paris who seemed never to doubt.

How far was the public to be taken into the confidence of the delegates? How could the press be kept in the dark and yet remain docile enough to be used when needed? Was the press to be consored or controlled by the leaders in power or by the foreign office, as the French had tried to do it? Clemepceau had a dozen papers at Paris which would change their position overnight when he crooked his finger. Should the press be shouldered peremptorily aside, as one group of Italians sought to do it, or dine and wined

and spoofed with propagands, as another Italian group tried to do it? Or should the press be treated as Lloyd George treated it, by flattering one group and fighting another? By knighting or raising friendly editors to the peerage and launching heated attacks in parliament on the unfriendly editors as, for example, upon the London Times—in which he called Lord Northcliffe a grassopper, or should the Wilson method. ready in Paris, every one of them hunwhich was the polar opposite of the gry for news. It was necessary to in- modern man at Paris-the sheer miracle ling to the point of actual squeamishness any discrimination between newsinfluence or attack them?

of direct access to the commissioners though not to the president himself; the other a publicity organization to cess and assistance as possible. It did admittance to the sessions of the peac conference itself, for that depended upon the future action of the allied delegates STRUGGLE OVER NEWS

From this point onward the struggle for and against publicity at Paris-the whole new problem of how publics were developed in two broad channels, one in side the secret councils of the peace con ference, the other outside among the pow erful agencies of the press. Neither of these aspects of the peace conference, each of which reacted powerfully upon the other, has anywhere been adequately

publicity. What did they represent, how were they organized and how did they consider (in the next chapter), how the peace conference reacted as recorded in the secret minutes. The old diplomacy was distinctly upon the defenwith reluctance and bitterness and finally dug itself in. The record here of significant. 500 WRITERS PRESENT

There was never before anything like

such a gathering of the forces of the conference, 500 writers were devoting their whole time to spreading abroad Japan and the Far East. The result Africa and India-and to the east coast ing the truth, selling what was not the truth—shaping, in short, the opinion of the world. It was a formidable body of men and women, more powerful in cer-Here were writers, not only from the so-called Great Powers, but from China, Korea, India, Egypt, South America and, during a part of the period, writers from Germany and Austria. Most of the neutral countries were represented and often y exceedingly able men, like those from the press—a conference of the ambassa-dors of public opinion—outside of the peace conference, which was of great value to all writers there, for profitable in America. By this method duplicate sending by the press associations and by sending it out as it was, it was, so far as I know, the longest single cable disment the war closed its function ceased and Mr. Creel began winding up its

If American writers, many of whom had in the beginning practically no background of knowledge of foreign affairs, especially benefited by these contacts, it is not too much to say that they infected correspondents from other countries with something of their aggressive spirit. One of the incidental, but important results of the Paris conference was the schooling of a large number of younger writers of all countries, who will be shaping the public knowledge of world affairs and in the understanding of other peoples.

The French, with fine hospitality, had provided a gorgeous club, the Hotel Dufayel, in the Champs Elysees, which was a common meeting ground for the writers of all nations. They had hoped also to make it a common working place, but its social aspects were irresistibly uppermost and the American correspondents particularly desired to be

SHADES OF OTHER DAYS If the ghosts of those leaders at Vienna in 1815-Castlereagh and Talleyrand and

down into Paris, nothing would have surprised and scandalized them more than this extraordinary group of writers that could not be controlled, and they On December 13 President Wilson arrived in Europe, accompanied on the George Washington by representatives of the three great press associations and closely followed by some 80 newspaper correspondents who had come by the Orizaba and other ships. There were 30 or 40 American correspondents al- on the farther side of the globe. It sometimes indeed came over the stitute at once some channel for the information of these men, and through
them the public of America. On December 17, therefore, the president took the
thinking of the waves of ideas, opin-

way or another, that subtle but incalcuably powerful new force, world public nerve center of the peace conference, sending forth to humanity those im--upon which rested the future of It seemed to him at such that nothing in the world was more important than the work of these Paris than that of keeping the channels freely open and the sources clear and

The mechanical problem of the conti-British correspondents used telephones extensively or could upon occasion hop chine) was comparatively simple; but that of the American, Asiatic, Austra- the total cost stupendous. lian, South African press was often difficult and complicated. The volume cas will be considered first: these were of news was enormous. According to correspondence alone sent over by wireless and cables a good-sized volume, day, to say nothing of an immense amount by mail. At the beginning of the peace confer

nce there were 17 cables in existence en America and Europe, but only eight of them were in working condition, and these had to carry not only America, sending it by way of Conada, press dispatches but all urgent government and military business, as well as Canadian press, thence on to New York munication eastward with Asia were out west coast of South America and to getic campaign of this American organ these Atlantic lines westward had also to transmit it to their own possessions to carry a heavy burden of traffic for throughout the world-Australia, South latter part of the conference especially, countries. The French, on their part, many delays. Every effort was made by the United

States government to assist the news-papers in overcoming these mechanical been with the committee of public informunications for the American peace comday of press material from the wireless tower at Lyons. This service was gencharge to America. The allotment was approval (for no one but the individual There developed a kind of congress of divided as follows: Three thousand words were set apart for the text of mitted were designated by our press bu- it was off we were under a great strain reau, sent by courier to Mr. Rogers' of- of anxiety for fear that someone would Americans at first—though they learned free, thence to the wireless operators at break over the agreement and the news- quickly—the conditions, problems, per-Lyons, and thence to New York and dis- papers of some nation would secure at tributed there to the press associations. Three thousand words more were divided, 1000 words each, among the three American press associations—the Associated Press, the United Press and the Universal Service—to be used as they saw fit. The remaining 3000 words were divided between a score of special cor-

respondents of great newspapers, some

getting as low as 100 words a day.

IMMENSE VOLUME

More than 1,000,000 words were thus on cable tolls—let alone the costly business of sending to Paris and maintaining run well into millions of dollars. One of the greatest problems ever pre mary of the treaty. As the treaty neared completion we suddenly came to realize and sources of information.

as a matter of fact the various para-graphs of it were most carefully pre-the highly difficult—gunpowdery—probpared, often by the experts themselves know, after comparison with the treaty itself, there was never any further ques-

This summary was about 14,000 words length, and the problem of transmitting it to various parts of the world in such a manner that newspapers of every nation would have a fair chance, publication in any nation with the publication in any nation with New Jork to London or London to Paris. We had with us not only the correspondents of the most powerful newspondents of the most powerful newspon and so that there would not be premature separately by the press associations or by each correspondent to his own newspaper and socialist newspapers, and several paper the communication facilities of the world would be swamped for days and the total cost structured on the second several newspapers.

The writer called a meeting of the heads of the American, British and French press, with the communication ica) to meet at the Hotel Dufavel to discuss this matter. The technical problems were extremely difficult, but we agreed upon a method of dividing up the world so that the summary would

should transmit the summary for North a vast volume of commercial dispatches. for the American press. We also agreed far more important than the public yet to see that it was distributed for the realize. It it had not been for of commission, owing to the war, so that Japan and China. The British undertook was a constant overload and, during the of South America and the Scandinavian notification of the wave length to be Lyons, where it could be picked up by all the wireless stations throughout Continental Europe. It was a feat never before attempted in the world and was a real example of the informal functioning of a league of nations and all na-

equally benefited. t up to President Wilson to secure his experts had seen a word of it), but he scarcely glanced at it, being then under sent up to that time. After advantage over the others. But to our new, and the handicap was great. delight it went through exactly planned, leaving Paris at 10 p. m. May and was published simultaneously throughout the world on Thursday, May 8-the day after the treaty itself was given to the German delegation. PRESS AND CONFERENCE

Having this ambassadorial representalive of the public at Paris, with a highly developed mechanical organization for handled free during the conference for the American press in an effort to get more complete publicity. The amount of money expended by American newspapers, magazines and press associations of the world and the people of the world?

This was the very heart of the prol there a small army of men-must have lem; here all the difficulties lay; and here, it must be confessed, there was partial failure, a consideration of the sented to the newspapers of the world was that of the transmission of the sumilluminating. Let us consider, first, the machinery

Offices were opened for the America as long as a Dickens novel, and if put press bureau only a few steps from the on the cables at any one time would Crillon hotel, the headquarters of our swamp and disorganize the entire service peace commission. It was at one of the for days. The writer discussed the mat- famous street corners of the worldter fully with President Wilson, and even where the Rus Royale opens out into before it was decided by the Council of the broad Place de la Concorde-and it Four whether or not the treaty itself soon became one of the busiest offices should then be given out—a subject more of the commission. Every one who fully discussed in the next chapter—he wanted to reach Americans or American was directed to go ahead immediately opinion—and who did not?—sooner or with the preparation of a summary and later found his way into our offices. An authorized to secure from the various old red carpet which covered the floor commissions all the drafts of clauses for when we came in was soon worn to insertion in the treaty. The French, on shreds. Government typewriters, govtheir part, also began the preparation of ernment courtiers and government mes-a summary under the direction of M. sengers were provided and everything Tardieu. The actual work on the part was done to facilitate the work of the of America was in the hands of my peace representatives. matter under advisement, consulting lons, information, flowing outward assistant, Arthur Sweetser, and we We considered it the function of the with Colonel House and Mr. Creel, and through the darkness and space with the worked in full cooperation with the Brit- press bureau not in any way to influence

ems to solve of press representation at plenary and other open sessions, where A system of identification passes was instituted, and we had on our lists during most most of the peace conference from 150 to 170 writers. These included many representatives of the three powerful : news associations, special corre-

CORRESPONDENTS ORGANIZE Soon after settling down in Paris the

congress-met in the office of the press ing Richard V. Oulahan of The New York Times as president, and from that time onward they not only decided many of the difficult problems of representapeace conference clearly reveal, there used the resolutions and demands of the American correspondents as a powerful ised, from the great wireless tower of weapon, within the councils, in his struggle for more publicity.

One of the greatest difficulties at first

confronting most American journalists was a fundamental want of knowledge or background of international affairs had been traditionally isolated, with no great interests outside of its own borders. Most of them spoke no language abroad before, and yet they were now asked, in peril of their reputations, to write upon the most complicated and fairs as most of the English and French writers, but to a large proportion of sonalities, psychology, language were all We had in the American Peace commission, of course, a group of experts

who had all this background information instantly available. I discussed with Mr. Lansing and Colonel House, and finally with the president, the advisability of securing access of correspondents to these sources, but the problem presented many difficulties. The expert were busily engaged in the work of their commissions, and the task of going over the same ground with scores of correspondents was formidable. I suggested, therefore, that as the various problems arose we should prebureau, a statement of the historical, geographical and political elements in-

volved in it by conference with the exout for use by the newspaper correspondents. This was at first strongly opposed by Mr. Lansing because he thought that such statements might intook it up with President Wilson and explained to him that it was our intent to make a wholly unbiased statement of the facts, and that this would be of the greatest value to the correspondents. le at once approved the idea. Our first ten by Dr. R. H. Lord of Harvard, who was the American expert on that sub-ject. It was welcomed by the newspaper correspondents and even sent over by certain of them in full. This was the first of a long series of such statements. Not one of them (put out by our bureau) was in any way propagandist. They were prepared solely for the information LANSING "NEWSLESS"

So much for the formal machinery

outlined his plans in a letter to each of the commissioners (which was published in full in the first chapter of this series).

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of direct access to the commissioners.

The plan advanced two methods—one of this serve and work on terms of the fullest cooperation with the correspondents suggested by the president of the fullest cooperation with the correspondents. We because the process of the full the full to serve and work on terms of the full the full to serve and work on terms of the full the full the correspondents suggested by the president of the full the full the full to serve and work on terms of the full the full the correspondents are disappointing and the full the fu large room in the Crillon hotel, was one of the notable events of the day. Grad-General Bliss and Colonel House ceased appearing, and during all the latter part the conference the correspondent ere received by Secretary Lansing, or Mr. White, and the meetings yielded very little real news-they were indeed farcical-although the discussions that the correspondents often indulged in were of some value. Although Mr. Lansing in his book on the peace conference, comments on the want of puband, in connection with the con

> any of the commissioners. part of the conference, met Colonel House every day. Colonel House was the representative men from other delegations and receiving visitors from nces were always interesting, though, during the latter part of the peace conerence, yielding little real news of what vas going on in the council of fourupon these things Colonel House For a time the American correspon

ents were also received by members of foreign delegations, like Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil among the British, and M. Pichon among the French, and their own widening acquaintance familiarity with conditions opened still further avenues of information. America in March and the council of our was instituted, access to the really mportant information as to what the ads of states were doing became still urther blocked. A sharp protest arose among the press over this state of affairs. The writer took up the subject with the president and urged that some go up to his house, where the council of four was meeting, every day at 6 clock, and this practice, once begun, arrived usually just as the other mem bers of the council of four were depart

BIG FOUR AFTER BATTLE

I have a vivid picture of Lloyd George coming out of the president's study, with his head thrown back and his gray air ruffled with the excitement of the Sir Marcus Hankey, who followed with his document file. Then would come Orlando with his secretary, M. Aldrovandi, and, usually last of all, Clemenceau, a little bent forward, his stocky figure in his long black coat, making an impressive figure of solidity and power. With him came M. Mantoux, his secretary and interpreter. I would ordinarily find the president in his study, looking very weary, gathering up the papers of the day and putting them aside in his steel document box. Sometimes we would talk there in the study, and son's drawing room, which was always bright with flowers; and the president would go over the events of the day and afterward decide on what should be greedy, revengeful. made public. There were days and days of endless controversy over such subjects as reparation, the disposition of the Saare valley, the Polish question, with absolutely no decisions arrived at conception of international dealings as and with nothing of salient news value the concern of a few autocratic heads of to report. Following this conference with the

president I returned at once to the office of the press bureau and reported to the correspondents everything that the president had authorized me to give Occasionally this news was of great importance, as on the day on which the Shantung decision was an-nounced, but ordinarily the report was

culties which beset both the pre fears of the other nationalities were m DIFFICULTIES GALORE

perience with this as a member of the press committee appointed on April 1 Our committee consisted of four repr

sentatives, one each from Great Britain, the United States, France and Italy, All important subjects to the American pul that this was most interesting from the Italians, supported by French. The Italians feared the e on their own public opinion of the that the Austrians were being fed their own people were in many considering the effect of the news. times of turmoil, with war still in the air, the effect might be r

Sometimes there were real military almost as little informed as the matic or political considerations. sion, with a report exceedingly What was to be done? If the Amer can on the committee were to stand

publicity, either one of two things wo

happen: First, the committee would publicity be devised. And in a cor ment and to set up a machin force its policy upon the others? Must there be no give and take? Was it not better to remain on the committee, stantly urging the American point of view and endeavoring to get all the pub licity possible? It was thus, in this minute sphere of activity, that the problem that confronted the president, as well as all the other Americans at Paris, was clearly illustrated. In this particular case the writer remained upon the committee and did the best he could to get all the publicity possit It is easy, of course, to criticize the publicity methods at Paris, but the failure, if it was failure, was highly com-plicated. It must not be forgotten that the war was still only halted by a truck and that many little conflicts, which might easily become greater, were going on all over Europe. War is secretive, and the fear and greed which lie behind war are secretive. The old diplomacy, with its tenacious traditions, was secretive, and the nations were entangled in a mesh of secret treaties. For over four years the press had been strangled with a rigid censorship. It was a new t for publics to be represented at succonferences at all; there were no stand ards, no technique. To ask compl the world stop instantly being fearful

The struggle for publicity was thus a part of the struggle out of war int states toward a new conception of ternational dealings as the

To Be Continued Next Sunday.

The attack went on from the outside as I show in this chapter; it also went on within the secret councils of the Ter and the Four, as I shall show following chapter.

The Mirrors of Washington 10-Hiram Johnson

HIRAM JOHNSON

He would have been stirred by the ris-ing of the people; he would have given tongue to their grievances in a voice uses which he has made vocal. In all

for a generation. They have bowed to had thought nothing politically, he had a hundred repressed acts. They have become slaves to the government. They are frightened at the excesses in Russia. They are docile; and they will not recover from being so for many years. The interests which control the Republican party will make the most of their docility. In the end, of course, there will be a revolution, but it will not the east to "make a new start" where come in my time."

the noisy early phases of it, he would have made the loudest noise. And he would have gone to the block when the real business of the revolution began with the fanatica at its helm.

In the Russian revolution, he would have been a Kerensky; and he would sense of power that would come from the response of the nation when his anyther response to the block when the response to the block when the response of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the properties of the revolution began when his anyther response to the revolution began when his anyther response to the revolution began when his anyther response to the revolution began at the revolution began That "it will not come in my time" sould have gone to the block when the sould have gone to the revolution began with the fanatica at its helm.

In the Russian revolution, he would have been a Kerensky; and he would have fled when the true believers in change arrived. He is the orator of change arrived. He is the orator of emeutes, who is fascinated by a multi-mental passion.

Turbulent popular feeling is breath in Turbulent popular feeling is breath in

Turbulent popular reeling is breath in Johnson is not a revolutionary. Not in the least, not any more than Henry Cabot Lodge is. But revolution has a flerce attraction for him. He once said to use, speaking bitterly during the cambon of Mr. Harding's prospective electric description of Mr. Hardi

convictions, nor passions, nor morals, politically speaking. He grew up in soil which does not produce lofty standards. Something of the mining-camp spirit still hung over California, which had been settled by adventurers, fortyniners, gold seekers, men who had left ed by Puritanism. San Francisco had its Barbary Coast and in every restaurant its private dining rooms for women.

Johnson himself was sprung from a
father who was a "rastroad lawyer," the
agent of privilege in procuring special agent of privilege in procuring special favors, by methods once well known, from the state legislature. The atmos-phere of his youth was not one to de-

Senator; born Sacramento, Cal., September 2, 1866; educated University of California, leaving in Junior year; began as shorthand reporter; studied law in father's office; admitted to California bar, 1888; member staff of prosecuting attorney in boodling cases, involving leading city officials and almost all public utility corporations in San Francisco, 1906-7; was selected to take the place of Francis J. Hency, after latter was shot down in court while prosecuting Abe Ruef for bribery, 1908, and secured conviction of Ruef; governor of California, 1911-1915; reelected for term, 1915-19 (resigned March 15, 1917); a founder of Progressive party, 1912, and nominee for vice president of United States on Progressive ticket, same year; United States senator from California for term 1917-23.

and contented" city. The corruption, before-his instanct for the expression o grew worse. Lower and meaner graft-ers rose to take the place of the earlier and more robust good fellows who trafwith yelling multitudes in front of him He threw himself into the fray on the ficked in the city o' shame. It was ul- side of civic virtue. The disturbance to timately exposed in all its shocking indecency. The light and licentious town
developed a conscience. Public indignation arose and reached its height, when
the grafters ventured too far in the
shocking of the attorney charged with tion arose and reached its beignt, the grafters ventured too far in the shooting of the attorney charged with tions of wealth, through their agents, and the corrupt politicians. John Johnson then felt for the first time through the corrupt politicians. Johnsonething he had never felt before—
he stirring of the storm of angry popprotest and the reform governor of the

mense personal enlargement came to those who had known the ties of regularity. It was an hour of freedom, unbridled political passion, unrestrained political passion, to the real ist. Vast crowds thrilled with new hopes yelled themselves hoarse over angry words.

Association with Roosevelt on the Fromes a local to a national importance. The whole country was the audience which leaped at his words. It was a revolution in tittle, a tasts, a sample of what the real thing would be, with its breaking of restraints, its making of the mob a perfect instrument to play upon, its unleashing of passion to which to give tongue. Johnson has felt its wild stimulation and like a man who has used drugs the habit is upon him.

Moreover, his one chance lies that way, have said that he is, by accident, radical. Let us imagine a great outturn of popular passion for reaction.

Be passion, the freedom, unbridged of the mob a perfect instrument to play upon, its unleashing of passion to which to give tongue. Johnson has felt its wild stimulation and like a man who has used drugs the habit is upon him.

Moreover, his one chance lies that way, have said that he is, by accident, radical. Let us imagine a great outturn of popular passion for reaction.

But he had been definitely placed in the half of Armageddon. A thousand annulate of popular passion for reaction. But he had been definitely placed in the half of Armageddon. A thousand the many feet that he is the subtered from the side opposed to decility.

But he had been definitely placed in the subteness has labused was. When he for all political position. Bradesia mentality and the subteness and mentality and the many feet that the subteness and the doction of the mass of the words the public passion to which to give the public passion to the proposed to decility.

at Armageddon—the most intoxicating arrived, a political blank, as he was time. No convictions hold him where experience in American political history, when Heney was shot. Johnson would have raised his angry voice against it was a revolution, not in a government, but in a party. Bonds were loosed. Impassion, not a political philosophy. He these who had known the ties of regular passion, not a political philosophy. He cidently radical, accidently because those who had known the ties of regular reason or think deeply. His mentality radical moment. That takes into account to the convictions are reason or think deeply. His mentality radical moment. That takes into account the convictions had been a political philosophy. He cidently radical moment. That takes into account the convictions had been account to the conviction had been account to the conviction had been account to the convi