The League Covenant an Evolution of GreatAnglo-SaxonDocumentofFreedom (CHAPTER 20)

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

Whatever

The PEACE

subsy journal berewith presents the twentieth installment of Ray Stanmard Baker's were required; and its decisions, to op-the only reliable and incontrovertible reports of the journal serially throughout the year, if Copyright, 1922, by Doubleday, Page & Co. Published by Special Arrangement with the McClure Newspaper Syndicate.) The Sunday Journal berewith presents the twentieth installment of Ray Stanmard Baker's simply a "Conference of the Allied documents as the Articles of Confedera- and a cabinet minister of the Union of chinery of arbitration was retained from [recalcitrant members. He would have The Jews were always insistent upon no

THE most vital struggle of the peace conference was the effort to bring

of the covenant.

President he wrote

of the offending state.

-and a third was mentioned.

possessions against invasion was sup-

ported by President Wilson, and became

affairs.

covenant.

The

well prove the strongest part of it."

into being a League of Nations, and relate it definitely to the treaty of It was the climax of the conflict between the new world-in its larger meaning-and the old, the chief champion of Colonel House with the request that he vasion ? . .

being America; of the other, France, draw up a new draft of a "covenant"the word was his own- on the basis of essary first to look into the origins of this 1: and significant document-the covenant-

The league that grew out of it has now

In America there was the

The league had been

The most surprising

League of Free Nations society. In

England there was the old League of Nations society, headed by Sir W. H.

Dickinson, and there were active new

made a part of the war arms of the in-

ter-allied labor and socialist conference

England even more completely than it

department of the United States sent by

writer from England on June 30

"Interest in the League of Nations has

Nations' and commending to the govern-

ment 'a study of the conditions required

other day in the house of lords by Lord

who gave a somewhat half-

appear on the surface.

of studying concretely the

settlements. The idea swept

ing. Every important nation in the world, except Amer-

one's views of it - and views in America vary from

coming

and Russia, have joined it.

importa which the Americans were now fighting for. No subject before the world, in the years from 1918 to the present day, has been more widely discussed than this. in the inquiry. A presidential campaign in America turned upon it, the policies of Europe and Asia have been profoundly afbeen accepted by 51 nations and is regularly function-

Ray Stannard Baker

he denied that this document had within it strange potencies, capable of respects. It not only went into greater dividing the thought of the world. Where, then, did Who made it, and how? What forces lay behind it? No collection of documents among all | league. president brought back with him from Paris is more complete, or important, or interesting than those dealing with the League of Nations. Here are all the various drafts, corespondence, memoranda; nearly the complete equipment of the president's mind. Here organizations. are his own tentative notes in shorthand, or written on his own typewriter of February, 1918, which also resolved that it should be made a part of the -he never discarded a scrap of papergiving strangely the impression of one thinking not aloud, but in notes and memoranda. These documents deal not did America. In a report to the state with the origin of the league during 1918 and early 1919, but illuminate discussions of the entire conference. 1918, occur these words: NOT ORIGINAL WITH WILSON

One fact arises above all others in now become a veritable flood. It is studying these interesting documents: wactically nothing-not a single ideabeing discussed everywhere and in all kinds of publications. The Daily Mail in the covenant of the league was orsnipes at it and there are letters of ginal with the president. His relation opposition and doubt in other papers to it was mainly that of editor or combut even the Times now appears to piller, selecting or rejecting, recasting or give guarded approval and the house inbining the projects that came in to of lords has accepted a motion aphim from other sources. He had two great central and basic convictions; that proving 'the principle of a League of League of Nations was necessary that it must be brought into immediate for its realization." existence. In volcing these he felt himthing of all was the solemn speech the self only a mouthpiece of the people of the world.

Curzon. All the brick and timber of the struchearted support to a more or less halfure was old, as old as the Articles of hearted league. Viscount Grey's pam-Confederation and the Constitutionphlet has had a most favorable recepder by far! He was adapting them to tion. The labor conference was for the the new end he had in view. No leader proposal in vigorous language. can be original in ideas; he can be origforces that are against it are, as always, in expression and in action the old unimaginative conservative and Lincoln was not original in his idea imperialistic groups, which are much ing history. that slavery should be abolished. What stronger than upset his world was his decision to abol-When President Wilson reached the The idea of the league was not original with Wilson; what upset the subject of a League of Nations in June 1918, he turned to the Phillimore report, world at Paris was his determination which had been sent to him the month o realize it immediately and as a part before. As a matter of fact the essenof this peace

tial ideas of the Phillimore report were By the middle of 1918, the last year of the war, the project of a League of Na-tions had taken definite shape in the much the same as those of the program of the American League to enforce the Peace, These were: minds of many thoughtful man, both in That no nation should declare war Article X. of the covenant, without first submitting its cause of The direct guarantee had been dis-America and Europe Barly in the spring of that year the British governicting through Mr. Balfour, had appointed a committee of eminent intermal lawyers to draw up a basis for a definite plan. The report of this amittee made on March 29, 1918. sent in May to the war cabinet, the on premiers, and the president. of the United States. This document of 18 articles, known as the Phillimore report, from the chairman, Baron Phillimore, became the foundation of the lengue's constitution. It was no new creation, any more than the plans which sprang from it. It formulated in legal, case. diplomatic phraseplogy what seemed most practical in the schemes already AN INDEFINITE OUTLINE the world

President Wilson discussed the Philli- Section 4) "The United States shall more proposal with Colonel House. He subrantee to every State in this Union considered it insufficient in many re- a republican form of government and spects and finally 'turned it over to shall protect each of them against in-

He had incorporated this idea of direct guarantee in his so-called Pan the ideas expressed in their discussion, American plan for assuring peace in trees, and to study Kant's and with the advice of the legal and the Western Hemisphere, Philosophy.' " On Jan. 6, other experts with whom House had 1916, he told Congress that discussions been associated for more than a year were under way with the other American states for a general understanding Colonel House was spening his sumbased on an agreement to unite "In ner on the seashore at Magnolia, Mass. guaranteeing to each other absolute poand it was here that he worked out his litical independence and territorial indraft which he sent with a letter of extegrity." The Pan American project did planation to the President on July 16, not materialize; but the verbal form of 1918. This draft of twenty-three articles guarantee he had adopted for it reforms the second step in the evolution mained in his mind. In the fourteenth point of Jan. 8, 1918, the association of The House draft differed from the nations is characterized as "for the bitter execration to the most ardent support-it cannot British proposals, in several important purpose of affording" this direct guarantee.

THE OREGON SUNDAY JOURNAL, PORTLAND, SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 14, 1922.

detail on the subject of organization Consequently, when the Phillimore and provided for a permanent secretaplan reached him, he was not satisfied riat, but it made notable additions. During the Spring Colonel House had to accept its guaranteed agreements for arbitration and conclliation as a true accomplishment of his purpose. The di-League to Enforce Peace and later the had conferences with Elihu Root, and as a' result added to the machinery of rect guarantee had to go in, too, and the League an international Court of House, knowing the President's wishes, Justice. In his covering letter to the put it into his draft.

HOUSE'S EFFORT FOR SOLUTION "In the past I have, been opposed to a court, but in working the matter out But House recognized, as did also the President that this guarantee of the it has seemed to me a necessary part of territorial integrity" of nations might the machinery. In time the court might make the world organization too inflex- great estate." ELIMINATING ARMED FORCE IDEA ble and so the guarantee article, in House's draft, is followed by a long ure by arbitration or conciliation, but such future modifications of the status offered a third method of settling disquo as may be demanded "pursuant putes. The other two were retained from to the principle of self-determination the Phillimore report, but with striking and as shall also be regarded by threealterations. But most fundamental was fourths of the delegates as necessary the change in the means of punishing a and proper." This qualification of the sheets of the same size; retaining the recourse to armed force was eliminated, advisable in order to avoid making leaving as the final and most stringent "territorial guarantees inflexible measure of coercion a complete blockade and he cites as possible contingencies for which a door should be left open, Besides these elaborations and alterathe desire of Canada or Lower Califor-

tions of the Phillimore project, the House nia to unite with the United States. draft contained articles on many ad-Besides the omission of the internaditional matters. An important article tional court, the most significant alteraprovided for reduction of all armaments tion made by the President was the resto a standard of "safety." for the natoration of armed force to a place among tionalization of manufacture of war mathe means of punishing violation of the terial and for full publicity in military This was done by retaining agreements. the form of House's articles on arbitra-By far the most important of the new tion and adding, after the agreement to elements in the House draft was the blockade as a sanction, the use the article of direct guarantee of the "terri-"And to use any force that words: torial integrity and political indepennecessary to accomplish that may be dence" of the members of the League. Another significant change was objec This provision, which developed into the in the standard for reduction of armafamous_Article X., had a most interestments-ito "domestic safety." The guarantee article (which in his first draft Two methods of guarantee were much was Article III) Wilson left as House discussed in connection with the League had deafted it, with certain verbal changes-qualifying clauses and all. It 1. A guaranteed process of arbitration must be remembered that down to the such as that recommended in the Philliclose of January, 1919, when the Presimore report. This was finally incordent spoke of a guarantee as the "key to the peace," it was this qualified, flexporated in Articles XII to XVI of the ible guarantee he had in mind. 2. A simple guarantee of rights and

Having completed his work, the Presi dent went up for a few days' rest to Magnolia, where he discussed the covenant with Colonel House, explained his

changes, but made no further modificahis draft This first draft of the covenant was

what Wilson had with him when he left

America. On arriving in Europe he

The article on reduction of armaments was expanded by two paragraphs taken all the prizes. He developed early as a from Smuts-one on the abolition of thorough going idealist. "It is the spirit conscription. that ment of scales of equipment and war He fought bitterly against the British in material corresponding to actual forces, the Boer war-and when the Boers BORROWED MANDATORY IDEA

were beaten he retired-at 30! "I pre-The most considerable fer to sit still, to water my orange 'Critical In a few years he was draft from the Smuts project was a value for the peace of the world. It rethe foremost leader in the Union of South Africa. His knowledge of world defining the mandatory system. But it conditions was extensive and realistic. must not be supposed that the system Though his course at Paris was marked was an invention of Smuts. Not only certain curious contradictions, yet did the central idea have deep roots was one of President | Wilson's in American policy, so that it strongest supporters. Personally he was a natural growth to the president, but a rather taciturn and unapproachable Smuts had borrowed it from more radical thinkers than himself. man, high forehead, steely eyes, straight brows depressed in a habitual half inter-allied labor and Socialist program frown, tightly closed lips and a powerful of February, 1918, had looked forward chin; he was a man who looked the part of the leader. He was always at to a supervision by the league of all colonial empires-those of the allies as hand when there was difficult work to well as those wrested from the enemy, do as in the mission to Hungary. including the subject lands of Turkey.

to "any circumstances anywhere which

before the league questions affecting the treatment of their racial kinsmen in

This clause would enable a

General Smuts really wanted, just The concept of Smuts, limited to terrias Wilson did, to make the League tories split off from the old empires of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, Nations the foundation of a new inwhile it embraced sections of Europe ternational system, basing its authority not covered by the labor program, did to prevent war upon its peace-time presnot follow it, at all into the colonial tige. Moreover, he sought to endow the field, properly speaking. Wilson, eague with duties and responsibilities taking over his project, extended its which should make it the source of scope to the former German colonies. order in the reconstruction of the world ut of chaos: "Europe is being liqui-But there appeared in this revised verdated," he declared, "and the League sion of the covenant two more suppleof Nations must be the heir to this montary agreements besides the four of the mandatory system. These were from

Smuts' recommendations were not pre- origins other than the Smuts plans. One sented schematically, but were interwas a recognition of the increasing con-This court would not displace proced- involved set of clauses providing for spersed in the text of a pamphlet with sideration given labor in the determinaparagraphs of explanation. The presition of world affairs. It was an underdent had them all copied out together taking of all members of the league to and proceeded to work them into his strive for the establishment of "fair own draft. He wrote these all out on hours and humane conditions of labor typewriter as before, using in their own and other countries. In his own somewhat altered form, this has become state which violated the agreements. All guarantee, he explains in his letter, is 13 articles, but adding six supplementary (a) of Article 'XXIII, of the existing articles. When he had finished he had covenant. The last supplementary agreement of

11 pages of new material to nine of original draft. the second Wilson draft was an article ADOPTING SMUTS' SCHEME requiring all new states to grant equal rights to their "racial or national minori-

alone that will not die; * *

which is temporal is fleeting."

From Smuts he took over a whole new scheme of organization, establishing a smaller council in addition to the gen eral conference of the league. This dea was by no means original with Smuts. The practice of putting international affairs into the hands of small, associated with this article was a new councils dominated by the paragraph, afterward developed into the effective principal allied and associated powers present Article XI, which Wilson has so had developed extensively in the last often referred to as his "favorite article" year of the war. It already had a name. —a set-off giving flexibility to Article "diplomacy by conference." It seemed X. It established the friendly right of natural to many to continue this prac- any nation to call the attention of all tice in time of peace and to give the league a more effective organ than the threaten to disturb international peace unwieldy general conference of all na- or the good understanding between nations. In the league the problem of numbers of small states would present Lithuanian or Jugio-Slav state to bring itself much more acutely than during the war, when the smaller active bel-

ligerents were relatively few. It had Poland or Italy, and the United States been safe to admit them to a certain to bring up questions of the treatment participation in the work of the councils of Jews anywhere, without danger of being swamped. In WHY WILSON MADE CHANGES he Supreme War Council they had been called in whenever their interests were Smuts, labor and the Jews thus secount for all the alterations which apinvolved in the discussion. In the league there would be a large number pear in the president's second draft. veniently be allowed to take part in all him, but he made no use of them.

nothing to do with forcible guarantees.

being regarded as a religious body. The either of the processes of arbitration or the territorial and political status quo demands. But it may never suggested He would go no further in collective action than a pledge of non-intercourse with offending states-a kind of "negative guarantee." His curiously dis torted version of the general guarantee article, pledging all member states no

to violate each other's integrity or independence, but allowing individual states to do so by authorization of the league material incorporated in Wilson's new was surely a charter of very doubtful set of four supplementary agreements sulted in no changes in the president's draft.

Many other proposals of American origin as well as the French plan, sent to him January 20, a Swiss plan, Belgian suggestions, and so on, are among the president's documents, but none of them seem to have exerted any influ-The ence upon him in making his second draft.

This second draft of his project, hav-Colonel House and hurriedly and secretly printed. It was this draft, dis- ing collectively, should have power to tributed by the president to the Amerian commissioners and to certain British leaders on January 10 that caused such commotion among the diplomats. For they saw in it, for the first time, the bade commercial discrimination among concrete statement of what the presi- members. dent intended to do-for example, regarding limitation of armament and

control of colonies. Here was a specific program. It was this second draft that was given by Mr. Bullitt to the senate committee as the original covenant-which it was not. The circulation of the president's draft brought forth a number of comments and criticisms (which he had asked for) from General Bliss, Secretary Lansing,

James Brown Scott and David Hunter Miller. Only two of these he considered of sufficient importance to necessitate changes in his draft. BLISS' MANY SUGGESTIONS

The lengthy commentary by General Bliss contained many sound observations and suggestions, most of them matters of phrasing. Two of these that were adopted go together. Among the objects to be secured by the league

ties." This article was undoubtedly deenumerated in Wilson's preamble stood rived from the propaganda of the Jews, "orderly government." who always put their cause on the same To this Bliss objected : "There are footing as that of the Lithuanians in some people who may be frightened at draft of Jan. 19, contained too many the words * * * as a suggestion of the vital differences to be disposed of Poland or Slovenes in Italy. Probably possible use of the league to put down in a few revisions. internal disorders." This echo of the for example, the extremely controholy alliance was deleted from the re- versial question as to whether British colonies should have repre vised draft. Upon Bliss' suggestion, too, the direct separate from the British Empire, the

guarantee of integrity and independence problems of permanent court of in-was qualified by the phrase "as against ternational justice and the rights of minorities. external aggression. Bliss' commentary dealt directly with Cecil and Smuts convinced him Wilson's plan, and action upon it was these were controversies that could be The other new document was settled only by personal conferen simple. nore difficult to deal with. It was the close study. Just at this official project of the British delegation pressure of work in the Cou

mbodying in great detail the plan upon and other demands on the President's which it was prepared to take its stand time, had become overwhelming. in the discussion. It was transmitted It was therefore agreed between to the president (in mimeograph) by Americans and the British that the two

Colonel House, on January 19, with a drafts be referred to their legal note reminding him of a conference to visers, David Hunter Miller for the be held with Lord Robert Cecil that United States and C. J. B. Hurst for evening. Next day Cecil himself sent Great Britain. The oute league there would be a large number pear in the president's second draft. in a printed copy. That Wilson's draft composite draft, fully satisfactory to the small powers which could not con-One clear from the fact that it contains an the League of Nations

approaching such questions in other than new states. The last three of the new articles appear to have been derived either from Lansing's suggestions of Jan. 7 or from Miller's criticism. One was concerned with that old, thorny question, the free dom of the seas, which the Britis thought had been securely shelved by

racial minority clause met their main

means of

the other-particularly as a

their reservation on the second of fh Fourteen Points. Only, whereas Lansing had drawn his article to provide for the codification of international law on this subject. Wilson went on the supposition that this had already been accomplished and stipulated an agreement "that no power or combination of powers shall have a right to overstep in any particung been completed, was handed to lar the clear meaning of the definitions thus established." But the League, actclose the seas in whole or in part as a means of enforcing agreements. The other two articles provided for the publication of all future treaties and for-

WILSON'S PLAN DEVELOPED

This account of the evolution of the President's plan for a league indicated how completely he was prepared, how thoroughly he had thought out the problems involved, before any comm was even formed. The analysis also discloses how little of the project was his own, how his function was almost purely that of selecting the ideas, and the very language, of other men. The context also shows that, there were many at Paris as well prepared as he was. Further modifications were yet to be forced upon him by other processes than his own logic. One thing of his own

(now if not originally so) he was to carry through-the direct guarantee which became Article X. It was no doubt the President's ardent hope that his third draft of the covenant, in which he had endeavored to reconcile all views, would form the basis of discussion by the heads of States in the Council of Ten. But the British

The President's talks with Smuts convinced him that

There were,

des and

LEAGUE IDEA WIDESPREAD

quarrel to some form of arbitration or carded by British writers on the League. All content themselves with the guaran-That the nations of the world should tees surrounding the arbitration agreeagree to unite in various measures of ments as sufficient to insure safety of punishment, including the use of armed the members. It is found in none of force, against any nation that should go the significant plans of later years exto war without so submitting its case. cept Wilson's. These provisions, which have passed

into Articles XII to XVI of the present FOR A STRONG GUARANTEE

covenant of the league, constitute a The President believed that the guarspecies of indirect guarantee. All memantee must be strong and direct. ers are pledged to aid anyone of them could see no other way to stabilize a which may be attacked either by surturbulent and too swiftly changing prise or against the judgment of an world. He could see no other way of international body on the rights of the reasurring terror-stricken France against a sudden invasion from the East. But

Beyond these points, the Phillimore was made, it was never strong enough report contained little that was definite, to satisfy France.

Wilson was, of course, in touch with the general currents of thought then operate as an alternative to the tradi-tional methods of arbitration was to be straight from the fundamental American

was confronted with two new projects both British, drawn up by General Smutz and Lord Robert Cecil. Both were based in large degree upon the Phillimore report, but each had characteristic features of its own. The He Smutz plan especially impressed the president as being well thought out and convinced him that his own draft needed revision.

SMUTZ LEADERSHIP

strong as the guarantee of Article X. General Smutz was one of the two on man, scarcely 50 years old: one of the youngest leaders at the conference, yet a lieutenant general in the British army Hilson's modification of House's diluted version. But the ma-

was the brief outline drawn up hi particular states when their interests Like the Smuts plan, it provided for an upper council, but, unlike it, this body permanent representation of small states was to consist only of the representaon the council in a minority of one to tives of great powers, and it was to do the great powers. All this constitutional all the real work of the league. Strong machinery was lifted bodily from Smuts' as were the president's feelings on the plan by Wilson and substituted for the subject of the responsibility of the great article previously taken over from powers, this, naked form of dictation, based frankly on the precedent of 1815. House's draft. Again a permanent secretariat was included. was too much for him.

Smuts' recommendations on the sub-Then there were the famous sugges

ions."

article of direct guarantee, in much al- on Feb. 3, as the basis of discussion tered language covering only "territorial Such was the origin of the covenant integrity." Another article provides for which became the basis of the discus possible revisions of the territorial sions in the League of Nations Comsettlement, but limits the action of the mission.

eague to recommending the change to In the meantime another struggle, inthe states concerned and removing its timately connected with the American guarantee from the territory in quescontention of Paris, was in full swing, There were two distinct elements in the

With these suggestions in hand the President's program: One, there must president at once prepared a third be a League of Nations: two, it must American draft of the covenant. It was be an integral part of the Treaty of ject of arbitration and the guarantees tions forwarded by Lansing with his printed, like the second, but apparently Peace. It will assist in the orderly unsurrounding it were also taken over, letter of December 23. It lies in the file not circulated, as it is little known. In derstanding of what happened at Paris partly in addition to them. Essentially the secretary appended his signature. as deriving from Bliss, it contained four raging at the same time that the covthree world leaders developed by the most of this material goes back to the The president knew Lansing's views more supplementary agreements. One enant, as described above, was being peace conference. An extraordinary original Phillimore report, whence Smuts without reading this document. Even of these was the troublesome religious developed, over this second element in

Capital

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The National

Washington TON duty on wool carried by the of such wool would get more protection tariff bill before the senate discriminates | than the grower of fine wool." nst the poor in favor of the wealthy and is not levied on the right basis, according to a letter from Thomas B. Kay. the same point is being made here and president of the Kay Woolen mills of Balem, received by members of the Ore-on the wool schedule approaches On gon delegation in congress.

Mr. Kay favors a protective duty of wool, but asserts it is wrong to attach when the price is lowest and the protecsame duty to all classes of wool tion most needed, the duty becomes the scoured basis, as is done in the least. senate bill. The senate rate of 33 cents

per scoured pound is the one asked for and secured by Senators Gooding Stan. cured by Senators Gooding. Stanfield, Warren and the other "shepherds" in the senate.

"It is absurd to put as much duty on worth 40 cents per pound as on worth 80 cents, and this is what the bill does," writes Mr. Kay. "A reasonable duty is certainly advisable. but 33 cents per pound on all wool re-

ardless of its value is entirely too much. Further, such a duty is a discriminaon against the poor or middle classes in of the wealthy. To Illustrate: you put a flat rate duty of 10 cents pound on prunes, and the best es, the 30s and 40s, are worth 10 nts per pound. This would make the by 100 per cent. While on the cheaper the 70s and 80s, which would I around 5 cents, the duty would be

per cent, The poorer people would naturally the cheaper grades and pay a duty as heavy as those who could afp pay for the better grade and 'fourth estate" in Germany is not the hould rightfully pay the highef Everyone knows that coarse are not worth over half as much newspapers are not disseminators of ers behind the scenes. the finer grades, yet it is proposed news, but the mouthpleces of political the duty be 33 cents per pound which means that the duty will be as much in per cent value on wools as on fine. Hugo Stinnes' attempt to make a big newspaper out of the Berlin North Ger-man Gazette has failed thus far, as its old reputation as an inspired govern-left for the publication of legitimate

cheaper goods are made from news. urser or cheaper wools, so that wearing the cheap goods, pay are outranked by the dailies in the in- refused to do so, because, some say, he is it is almost impossible to discuss imtaxes than those wearing the dustrial centers. There are half a dozen ds, when as a matter of fact publications outside of Berlin that are erse should be the case.

shington, May 13.-WASHING three cents per pound would be pro- has sprung up on the way the McCum-BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)- hibitive on coarse wool and the grower ber tariff bill was made.

Democratic members of the finance committee opened the attack on acetic, Mr. Kay's objection to the wool schedboric, citric, lactic and other items of ule is not an isolated instance. Precisely the acid schedule as soon as the committee amendments were taken up, their purpose being to show that the bill has on the wool schedule approaches. On been framed without any testimony bethe other hand, there is strong objection ing taken as to a large number of items, to a straight ad valorem duty, because and that in many other cases the duty has been fixed in accordance with the testimony of some interested manufacturer, who said that a certain rate was

This has led to a suggestion that the needed to protect his business .. Though the tariff bill was taken up or some similar figure, but with a proor discussion in the senate on April 20, iso that it shall not be less than 8 or 10 cents a pound. This would impose the full "wool grower rate" on the finer

By George Witte

debate, such as Russia, the League of wools, but would hold the duty on the coarser wools, used for cheaper grades of clothing, to somewhere the same pro-

of progress on the tariff bill is about what a lazy snail might desire. Acid is the first thing in a tariff bill, Republicans charge the Democrats quite appropriately, because it begins with responsibility for it. The Demowith letter A. and because it imparts crats are charged with asking too many

Wool Duty Absurd Acid in Tariff Farm Loan Mortgages Salmon Fishing Treaty

keeps the Republican defenders busy explaining. The Republicans say it is a filibuster. The Democrats say it is

explained in the testimony before the total importations of lactic acid have little delay. committee or in the report presented to reached only about 5 per cent of the required two weeks to deal with four acid amendments. During that time the senate. Take lactic acid. Senator Jones of

other subjects have been dragged in for

its action.

large increase in importations in 1921. the Democrats are over-inquisitive be-He said he believed that showed the cause they want to delay passage of the two houses. the two houses. the under the presidency of M. Poincause they want to delay passage of the two houses. necessity for a protective tariff. bill until near election time. It is slow Then Senator Lodge announced that work, and both parties are watching the he could tell about it. It developed that boards to derive all the benefit possible Lodge's information consisted of a let-

BOD || || || ||

notwithstanding the first mortgage pro-Senator Underwood, the Democratic visions of the federal farm loan act, has this government to deal with the fish-

As finally agreed on the bill extends consumption. Foreigners are not threat- hte authority to loans on all reclamation

ening to swamp the American market, project lands, whether within irrigation New Mexico, Dmocrat, complained when he said, and the reason the factories districts or not, provided the lands are Nations, Attorney General Daugherty that item came up that he could find no Lave closed down is business depression, not otherwise eligible for federal farm and Senator New's defeat, but the rate testimony to justify an increase from which has reduced the demand for leath- loans, and that the amount and mature. that item came up that he could find no have closed down is business depression, not otherwise eligible for federal farm Recognition Given 14 cents per pound to 2 cents. He want- er, lactic acid being used largely in the ity of the lien for construction charges ed to know on what the committee based making of leather. shall be given consideration in fixing

Thus the debate goes on, the Demovalues for loan purposes. Chairman McCumber of the finance crats insisting that the record should Senator McNary and Representative committee in reply read a few lines from show the facts upon which is the bill is Sinnott were both members of the conthe quality of acidity to the debate which questions about too many things , which a tariff commission report to show a based, the Republicans declaring that ference committee, by reason of their the reserve corps of the French army, as

Senator McNary has been informed by Secretary Hughes that the state department has obtained through Ambassador from what man; members of the senate Geddes the consent of the British govthe United States and Canada and for the conclusion of a treaty dealing with The conference committee of the two salmon fishing in the waters of the This carries out the purpose of the McNary resolution, requesting action by an effort to obtain some information leader, then analyzed the McCumber settled all differences and the legislation cries, the purpose being to stop the rav-about increases in rates which are not and Lodge figures, showing that the is expected to be finally approved with ages of purse seiners who, who beyond

make recommendations concerning the revision of the army, now so much disthe three-mile limit and beyond the reach cussed in the chamber of deputies. The of the lad of the two countries con- commission will include an underchief cerned, destroy great numbers of small of the general staff, a chief of the bufish.

reau of schools, an officer in the cabinet of the minister of war and about a dozen branches of the service.

care, have succeeded in having an ad-

visory committee of reserve officers at-

tached to the ministry of war as a per-

manent, feature. Complaining that too

much attention was given to the opin-

ions and needs of the 35,000 active army

officers, the reserve corps, with an en-

rollment of 140,000 officers, demanded

more recognition in the conduct of the

military affairs of the nation. Under

the new provision the reserve corps ad-

visory commission will be permitted to

French Reservists Toy Making Rebuilds Shell Shocked Vets

> Washington, May 13 .- (I. N. S.)-Shell-shocked war veterans can be cured by putting them-to work making toys. So declares Edward G. McCandish, a war veteran himself and well known as a portrait painter and illus-trator of children's books, who has formed such a class at the St. Elizabeths hospital here. This method of curing afflicted veterans, the expounder of the theory avers, tends to develop the initiative of the patient, usually lacking. "The patient," McCandist explains, "is 'exposed' to the influence of the busy shop atmosphere, the bright, even gaudy, colors used in painting the toys, and is gradually encouraged to take hold of the work with as little obvious direction as possible," McCandish's experiment is being watched with close interest.

Sheffield, England, May 13 .--- (U. P.)--Smoking finally killed Mrs. Ann Ken-nedy, who was found burned to death in bed at her home in Chesterfield lane Mrs. Kennedy, who was 87, had smoked a pipe for 75 years. She always smoked bed upon retiring.

Cologne Gazette, both far more up to- the news items or articles he sees col- papers also have the failing of taking only in Germany and Russia, but in ing newspapers in Berlin, the Tageblatt

Hugo Stinnes' attempt to make a big News." printed under separate headlings and,

left for the publication of legitimate ment organ still clings to it. Although has gone through both the news and the it has often been suggested to Herr Berlin newspapers are provincial and Stinnes that he change its name, he has the comments all mixed up. The result

likes the semiofficial halo. The average German newspaper is benewsier and better than the capital's wildering to the American when he should be classified as to three leading dailies. There are, for in- takes it up for the first time. Instead resenting his particular party. and duty paid accordingly. Thirty- stance, the Frankfort Gazette and the of finding explanatory headlines over

son is that 90 per cent of the German of their close relationship to the pow- he finds all items of local interest run written by professors for professors, propaganda services at its disposal. under the headline "To-Day's Local while the man in the street apparently is Telegraph and cable news is

not considered at all. Since the war many new papers have when important, is served with a long been started as the organs of the newly editorial, so that by the time the reader formed parties, and two or three, principally nationalist dailies, have passed editor's comments he has the facts and out.

Among the new publications the communisst Rote Fahrne (Red Flag), the in-dependent Socialist Freiheit (Liberty), and the moderate Zeit (Times) are noteportant international affairs with the average German, who swears by everything he has head in the newspaper repworthy. The Rote Fahne is remarkably well informed on matters pertaining to The majority of the German news- political and economic conditions not

(Special Correspondence of The Oregon Daily Journal and the Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.) Berlin, Germany, May 13. — The big financial interests and have a wide side of things, and the average foreign- services. It is said that this journal cratic party, or, rather, those papers power it is in other countries. The read national circulation, chiefly on account or two or three exclamation points. Or er gets the impression that they are has the soviet Russian intelligence and and their editors, Theodor Wolff and George Bernhard, control the democratic

The Freiheit is extremely francophile party, with the Frankfort Gazette in the background. Wolff and Bernhard are and its enemies accuse it of being subconsidered the most brilliant newspasidized by the French government. The per men in Berlin. They have a large Zeit is controlled by the ambitious Herr following and considerable influence in Stresemann, the leader of the people's government circles. Bernhard has a naparty, who for a long time has had his tional reputation as an expert on finaneye on the chancellor's post. The mancial questions.

aging editor, Heinrich Rippler, for al- + The other big Berlin daily, the Lokal most 30 years edited the nationalist Anzeiger, before the war was the news-Taegilsche Rundschau, from which he lest paper in the capital and perhaps is resigned in 1921 when it became too re- still, but it is extremely reactionary, and actionary. unfriendly toward the government and Strange to say, two of the three leadbitter against America and the allies.

German Newspapers Organs of Special Interests

ter written by a manufacturer in Mas- believe will be the paramount issue in ernment to direct negotiation between sachuetts, which gave other figures of the fall campaign. importations differing from those pre-sented by McCumber. He said American factories, with one exception, have houses of congress on the bill to author- north Pacific beyond the three-mile limit. closed down, and that shows the neces- ize loans on lands of irrigation districts, sity for protection.