more practical to appoint a manageable

drafting committee, letting this small

submit a draft to the others, and obtain

"Balfour understood it was in-

"Lloyd George thought it well to

sion? He did not think it would be im

possible to have a commission of fifteen

the small powers might cause some em-

barrassment to their delegates, he saw

no reason why the matter should not be

fight over the question of who should

M. Clemenceau repeated that he

making it a kind of blowing-off place

president, although severely hampered,

accepted the challenge; and then did

expected Colonel House to be the chief

American representative on the League of Nations commission—knowing his

deep interest in the subject-but the

chairman of the League of Nations com-

mission, thus giving it unexpected power

and prominence. He and Orlando were

the only heads of great states upon it.

Smits and Cecil, could not easily come

in, even if he had cared to do so.)

interest even shifted from the council

itself to the League of Nations com-

mission. It was keen strategy on both

What the European and Japanese

on, of this American president. They

leaders never seemed to understand was

recurrence of such a disaster. It filled

men's minds. All statesmen, French and

one had given clearer and more forci-

Lloyd George, having already appointed

TEMPORARILY SIDETRACKED

put up to them, letting them discuss and

represent them.

representatives. As to the fear that the

ssignment of only five to represent all

their impressions and opinions.

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

The PEACE President Wilson Tells Conference League Is Key to Whole Situation (CHAPTER 21)

The Sunday Journal herewith presents the twenty-first installment of Ray Stannard Baker's tria was starving; Hungary was already; began by making the new commission The Sunday Journal herewith presents the twenty-first installment of may channard pakers, "The Peace," which is an authoritative narrative of how the peace of Paris was concluded. Weodrow Wilson gave Mr. Baker access to all of his personal unpublished papers, which are the only reliable and incontrivertible reports of the facts, and which heretofore have never been made public. The epochal feature will be published in The Journal serially throughout the year. (Copyright, 1922, by Doubleday, Page & Co. Published by Special Arrangement with the McClure Newspaper Syndicate.)

WE COME now to the true reasons why President Wilson insisted with unshakable determination upon making the League of Nations "an integral part of the general treaty of peace."



Ray Stannard Baker

connected with the peace conference; for it was the concrete symbol of the whole struggle between the handwriting "new order" and the "old order." Again and again Wilson called the league the "key to the whole settle-

to come afterward-if at all!

President Wilson wanted the American principles and program, which had been accepted by everyone at the armistice, applied now and to all the terms of the settlement. He regarded the League of Nations as the cornerstone of that to be an "integral part"-indeed the program, without which the principles could not be upheld, nor the future cornerstone-of the peace.

Desce of the world—America's supreme concern—soundly guaranteed.

He was, therefore, for the League now, that he intended to "submit the quesand knit into every part of the settle- tion of a league of nations at the next there was also an immediate tactical significance in this amendment. If he powers would be represented. In a his determination to apply them. President Wilson once said of himself that he had a "single-track mind."

the French offered their plan of proedure, which put the consideration of the League of Nations last. On the next day the president introduced his "list of which put the league first. subjects,"

He evidently expected that it would be discussed by the council itself, and its The British, in their usual fashion, to work at once to draft a resolution to bring the matter definitely before the

conference, Both the British and French documents; they knew well the tactical value of putting down the actual written proposal. The principal purpose of this British

resolutilan was to get the discussion of the hands of a special committee. The copy which we find in Mr. Wilson's file is printed on a single sheet of paper erowned by the British seal and dated January 15. It was handed to the president, no doubt, for immediate approval, but he held it back for a week.

During all this time discussions were going on outside the council. The president's covenant—described in the last chapter-at least certain concrete proposals in it, like those for cutting down armaments and the mandatory control of colonies-had fallen into the European camp with something of the effects ACCEPTING COMMITTEE IDEA of a bombshell. These things gave the It was not only the diversity of opinallied leaders a clear glimpse, for the ion that was developing over the covenally with the French and Italians,

Wilson Wanted General Discussion.

This, in many respects, is the most important subject

The European allies and Japan wanted the territorial, military and economic settlements made first plan of having two divisions of the league.

might be made according to the French one, as planned for the council of the plan of having two divisions of the league. secret treaties: a peace based upon the necessities, in- all the settlements were to be made terests and fears of the great nations. The league was

peace of the world-America's supreme concern-soundly guaranteed.

Lloyd George stated that he agreed to this, and suggested that the question of had intended, he would so place the powers. He the league of nations be taken up at the exemplified it in these early days of the next meeting, and that those present lay conference. No matter what happened down the general principles and then aphe moved straight forward toward his point an international committee to work ervation on the constitution of the League. • • • next day

> formed of delegates. Lloyd George answered that he thought it would be desirable to have qualified persons on the committee. "President Wilson then explained for

by the heads of states as the basis of the had gone about drawing up a constitu-House to rewrite it. He had then rewritten Colonel House's constitution to passed by all the nations, an action any one they choose and discuss with which later proved of unexpected imwere adepts in the preparation of such studied the plans prepared by General portance. The league project was thus Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil, and then fairly launched. Wilson, in a powerful he had rewritten the constitution once more. Finally he had had a talk with Mr. Bourgeois, and he was glad to say that he had found his ideas in substanthe League out of the council and into tial accord with Mr. Bourgeois, General Smuts and Lord Robert Cecil. "Mr. Balfour suggested that the presi-

dent's draft be referred to the com-"President Wilson thought it well that the committee be formed of those men who had already studied the question.

"Mr. Lloyd George agreed to this, and as he would like to have both General Smuts and Lord George Cecil on the committee, he suggested that the committee be composed of two persons ap- of chances for them either to get the pointed by each of the delegations of the great powers."

first time, of what the Americans in- ant that caused the president to accept tended to do-if they could. Wide differ- the committee idea, but the council itself was already overwhelmed with the problems of Russia and Poland and of a world still in chaos. or the world was not waiting either for the Council Nevertheless, the president still hoped of Ten or for a League of Nations comthat the League would be discussed, so mission! It was everywhere in dangerous temporarily, out of the way so they far as its general principles were con- flux. On January 19, for example, there could proceed to the business that really and not of neutrals. He was most anx- sordid motives undisturbed underneath,

drifting toward revolution. the minutes record: lutions regarding the League of Nations,

which had been in the president's hands allowed a voice in the formulation of for a week and the amendments rethe league. So, for reasons of expediency, it was

part of the peace."

Under this provision the settlements with the small powers in a minority of

"This league should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace." In short, he wanted the league

DIVERSION BY LLOYD GEORGE ment. It was not Wilson's principles meeting." Here follows the discussion in this amendment. If he that caused the trouble at Paris, but the secret minutes: could get immediate consideration of the principles of the league in the council council on record that the league could not be sidetracked. While this resolu-Baron Makino, the very n the constitution of the League. • • next day (January 23) Lloyd George the drafting committee. Perhaps it "President Wilson asked whether precipitated the attempt (which will be might be better to have the great powers Lloyd George contemplated a committee described in the next chapter) to divide nominate their own, representatives, up the German colonies along the Brit- and also name the small powers, who ish dominions, the French and the should likewise have representatives on Japanese-which in itself was an attempt to sidetrack the league and get the settlements on the basis of the secret lisquissed by the council itself, and its the information of those present how he the "new order." On January 25, dur- the opinion of the thoughtful men repagreements rather than on the basis of ment, and thought it most desirable that tion. He stated that he had taken the ference, while the conflict over the col- sought. Would it not be well to have onies was raging in the council of ten, these resolutions of January 22 were the great powers authorized to call in speech on that day, drove home his main contention that the league was to be "the keystone of the whole pro- It seemed to him that it was most ad-

gram" of the peace. meeting. Settlements may be tempor- powers, if they were called in as friends ary, but the action of the nations in and advisers. Furthermore, in that way the interest of peace and justice must the great powers would avoid the diffi-

How far any of his hearers sympathized with this point of view may be work was as much for the great powers doubted; but they accepted the resolution providing for a committee to draft There were still plenty covenant to suit them.

DISBELIEF IN THE LEAGUE There can be no doubt that the other heads of states-not one of whom really believed in it, but not Lloyd George)— that the bureau ask the small powers to considered that in referring it to a compete to get together and name five. The response of it under the floating is to a compete the floating in the considered that in referring it to a compete together and name five. The response of it under the floating is the constant of the constan

On the following day (January 22) as nearly a debating society—by adding on a large committee. It would be far "Mr. Lloyd George read certain reso- tions as possible. Clemenceau, Lloyd itions regarding the League of Nations, George and Sonnino, who had been so members to it from as many small naand they were accepted with certain intent upon excluding the small nations amendments proposed by President from the effective deliberations of the Vilson."

These were the British resolutions now insisted that these small nations be

one in typewriting and one in his own agreed to allow delegates from five small handwriting (see fac simile)—were of powers on the commission—a number immense significance. The printed text which was increased to nine after the This league should be created as each had two delegates, there was thus

A COLLEGUY IN THE COUNCIL all the settlements were to be indeed according to the old ideas, and then a second congress which would "discuss a society of nations."

This coincing in the secret second congress which would "discuss once so subtle, so insignificant, so touched, indeed, to the understanding touched, indeed, to the understanding that it is here remind, with irony, that it is here re-

President Wilson observed that as a practical matter he would suggest that thought it most necessary that the great an initial draft for the League of Nations be made by a commission appoint-This draft and ask all to come in with them. word, the drafting would be done by thus got the league idea temporarily the great powers, and the result sub- sidetracked in a committee and then mitted to the criticism of the small they had overloaded the committee,

"Illoyd George thought that inas- for the small powers; so that they bould much as the League of Nations is to be, be left free, in their small council of in fact, a sort of shield of the small the great powers, to settle and divide powers, they should be represented on up the world as they pleased. But the drafting committee. Perhaps it president, although severely hampered the commission

"President Wilson stated he would prefer to see a more elastic arrangethe commission of 10 to be appointed by representatives of the small powers those features of the scheme most likely to affect the latter? Moreover, they need not confine themselves to a few visable to proceed in this way. Much "This is the central object of our more would be gotten out of the small We can set up perma- culty of seeming to pick out men whom nent processes. We may not be able the small powers should themselves to set up permanent decisions."

"M. Clemenceau observed that the as it was for the small powers. He thought it most desirable that the great of the war every one had thought, talked and small powers should get together, and written about some great vague covenant was ready and accepted as connected. It was important to let the in the final settlements to prevent the they were at that moment trying to do public feel that their work was conwith German colonies or else to get a sected. He suggested that the great thought they would be only too glad the Japanese never let go emotionally! tives of the great powers. He proposed ble expression to this great hope than sponsibility would then be theirs. He of a current of sentiment or of political spoke, of course, of belligerents only, expediency, leaving harder and more cerned, in the main councils and by the was a political crisis in Italy and the interested them: the division of the colheads of states. On January 21 hetold general elections in Germany, both of onies, the assessment of damages against possible, and he hoped the commission the Germans, and so on. And they would be appointed at once.

word he said and came to Paris determined to do what he had agreed to,

memorated neither by songs nor by legdeavors which, while deforming and lore of the Russian peasantry contains not a word about the 10-year periodlessness, duplicity, deceit, light-headedness and petty egotism incapable of ap-

his psychophysical energy, creating in But all this left no trace in the life time something beyond the conceptions or memory of the Russian peasant. In the legends of Italy there still lives the memory of Fra Dolcino, the Czechs remember Jan Geier, the French heroes the human spirit, only that which in-orease the external prosperity of life, English the name of Watt Taylor. About all these men there remain among the common people songs, legends, tales. The Russian peasantry does not know its

ATTEMPT OF COSSACKDOM Lot less in might and widespread in its sweep was the rebellion started by Ural Cossacks, under Pugatchov, in the days of Catherine the Great, which was last fighting attempt on the part of Cossackdom against the regime of the state," as the historian S. F. Plat-onov defined it. Also Pugatchov, even as all the other less important political movements of the Russian people, passe without leaving any clear memories in

It is fit to add to this judgment the conclusion of a certain foreigner who carefully observed the Russian people "This people has no memory for history. It does not know its past and apparently it does not want to know it. CZAR WAS WARNED

me that in 1913, when the three hundredth anniversary of the Romanoff dy

really the same. Don't you think it is of falsehood and social hypocrisy, but ficulty were they beaten off by the it is also he who constructed the troops and Boyars and tradesmen. Finally, this first mighty rebellion of the always kept silence in reply to serimits him to see with terrible clearness passants was flooded in torrents of it its neither the result of cunning nor the construction. serious?"

"President Wilson observed that it | what had been promised. on a large committee. It would be far

at this point-to examine the genesis of Wilson's determination to make the committee of a few men prepare and League "an integral part of the general treaty of peace," and, indeed, the most important part. It was no sudden or "Balfour understood it was in-tended that the committee should, from feint as some of the diplomats seemed time to time, consult the members of the to think. He had been wrestling with the problems it presented for remember that the small powers were It had been gradually evolved, and in years, throughout the ordeal of the war. becoming very restive, and felt they had his mind was the inevitable and logical been locked out, so to speak. Why not result to be achieved from American inlet President Wilson prepare a draft for tervention in the war. What other inimmediate consideration by the commisterest or purpose had America than to secure from these settlements the future permanent peace of the world? The diplomats of Europe had no conception

> tion upon this point, His thinking on this subject had gone through three distinct stages, each corresponding to the changing attitude of America toward this world conflagra-

> of the depth of the president's convic-

Early in the war he began to see that powers should make the conference feel be profoundly affected; that our isolathat they wanted the smaller powers, tion as a nation was henceforward im-"We are participants, whether we Lloyd George and Clemenceau had

would or not, in the life of the world. · · · We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe or Asia.' He said this in an address to the

League to Enforce Peace, May 27, 1916, FACING REALITIES IN PARIS more than a year before America entered the war. If this great new fact was true, then what should America What should she demand in place of the security of her former, but now something that the others had never in inevitably disappearing, isolation? She the least calculate upon. They had could arm herself, become a great milltary power; this was what the nations of Europe were doing. He rejected this idea utterly. The only alternative was some form of international cooperation; president himself became a member and in which America could lead. She should therefore join with the other nations of the world "to see that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression, and thus preserve peace in the world In short, there should be an asse tion of nations. This logic seemed to him unescapable. But at that time we were neutrals; the present war must be settled "as the belligerents may agree." We could have nothing to do, "as the belligerents may of course, with the terms of the peace. We might come into the association of nations afterwards.

"Our interest is only in peace and its the deadly earnestness and determina- future guarantees," In other words, the belligerents were did not realize at the time that the clearness with which he had made up his mind as to his course or to what the peace table), and we were to come depths his convictions went, that he in afterwards as a member of the asrepresented not only the ideals and tra- sociation of nations to hold the world ditions of America, but the hope of the steady.

world. During the tragedy and suffering BELLIEFS THAT THE WAR BROUGHT But, the fiercer grew the war, and the essential settlements made before the and that their work should be intimately association of nations that must emerge into it, the more earnestly the president began to ask himself concerning the re- friendship," for the redemption of the into the League of Nations commissionbegan to ask himself concerning the re-lationship of this association of nations with the terms of the peace. He still envisaged a peace by negotiation, a 'peace without victory," as he told the powers name two representatives apiece British as well as Americans, included it envisaged a peace by negotiation, a and the small powers name five. He in their declarations of policy. Only "peace without victory," as he told the senate on January 22, 1917; and he still itself. believed that the future peace of the world could not be guaranteed without the participation of the United States, But he had seen the passions of Europe rising to greater and greater heights: he had begun to perceive how difficult it treaty of peace should leave it, by self-would be, sin such an atmosphere of determination and by vote of three hatred and fear and greed, to get a fourths of the member states.

It is most impressive and necessary ture association upon the justice of the

But when we took the great plunge WILSON'S MIND MADE UP into the war itself, in April, everything was changed. We were no longer neutral; we were fighting side by side with the allies; we would have to sit in at the peace table. It would be a peace with victory, imposed, not negotiated. America would be in it; Germany out of it. We now became deeply involved was indispensable to guarantee the peace in responsibility for the terms; we could no longer stand aside negatively and say, "It is up to you to make a just settlement, or we will not guarantee it." Consequently, the president devoted a might arise out of the treaties, could be great deal of hard thought and effort to the formulation of terms such as the United States could undertake to support positively and guarantee. The association of nations always appeared along with these terms. It was the last of the 14 points in January, 1918.

But it was not until September, 1918 (Metropolitan opera house speech) that he comes finally to the decision that the constitution of the League of Nations is an element in still further hardening his America, whatever the outcome, would peace settlement itself," because "without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws." But much emphasis is still laid upon the terms of peace, The price all must pay is "impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed." Again in his "armistice speech" to congress, November 11, he reinforces the

Then the president came to Europe

and began to face the stark realities there. He felt in the very atmosphere the opposition that was growing up, the "slump in idealism." An avalanche of problems, expressed in petitions, appeals, demands—all for the realization of some immediate or material interest descended upon him. He began to feel that "disinterested justice" would not purpose of securing the acceptance, by be easy to obtain, despite the solemn engagements taken. He began to see how January 25, of his central principle that enormously difficult it would be to as- the league must be an "integral part of sure the full justice of all the terms. He confesses in his speech at Man-chester, England: "I am not hopeful that the individual terms of the settle-ciples of the league discussed and the ment will be altogether satisfactory." purpose, seems only to have hardened it. was soon to make the League of Nations For he is still convinced that the great interest and need and hope of America ization was being entrusted, almost as is future peace. In order to secure this important, at least in the public eye, as in an anarchic world, from which inustice cannot be immediately abolished, the chairman of it. Indeed, those long there was a greater need of the league than ever. It was even more important than the terms. He tells his hearers tober 28, that "the key to the peace was ! the guarantee of the peace, not the items early battles. The great conflicts were idea, the logical next step-for if the accepted the idea of the league covenant individual terms are not satisfactory as a part of the treaty, it was on the there must be machinery for changing assumption, of course, that it would be them-that the league would also "provide the machinery of readjustment and satisfy them. Consequently, they-* * * the machinery of good will and the French especially-carried their fight

It is most important to bear in mind that Wilson's original concept of the guarantee article in his draft constitution for the league included provision for modifying the status quo as the "just peace." He therefore began to considered always that Article XI of be concerned about the terms of the the final covenant—which he called his peace. He tells the senate that before "favorite article"-also served this pur-

we guarantee the peace it must be pose by making the guarantee flexible. "worth guaranteeing" in itself. We are He never conceived of the guarantee to the fuas saddling an unjust settlement forever upon the world.

The president's mind was therefore fixed regarding the relationship of the league to the treaties of peace long before the conference opened. It must be of the world, because it was the only instrument that, by adjusting such future causes of war, especially those that used to prevent nations from flying again at one another's throats. In short,

for, peace and security (without great armaments) after the war. As the peace conference developed, still another reason, not originally in the president's mind, for insisting that league and treaty go together became determination. This was the doubt that now began to grow whether if the league were not made an inseparable part of the peace, accepted then and there, the assent of all the powers (perhaps even America!) could be obtained—at least for a long time. He had not originally foreseen any reluctance to enter the league-had not the nations all been for ?-and when such reluctance appeared

it only emphasized his conviction that

league and treaty must be accepted as

one act.

t was the only thing that would give

America what, primarily, she had fought

This was the situation up to January when the famous resolution regarding the League of Nations was adopted. It was a fight skillfully carried on by the president, and he had, to an extraordinary degree (in these early battles) won his points. He was getting the machinery for the creation of the league well started; he had achieved his great all nations, at the open conference of the general treaty of peace." ciples of the league discussed and the elements of the program adopted in the But all this, instead of weakening his supreme council, as he had hoped, he commission, to which the task of organmeetings in the Crillon to discuss the new league for a time almost blanketed the work of the council of 10.

But these, as I have said, were only He now advances the further to come later. While the allies had the kind of a covenant that would please as they thought, in a commi This remarkable coup of the mate skill by Lloyd George, will be described in the next chapter.

Gorky Sees Failure Of Soviet; Declares Dream Is Impossible

By Maxim Gorky

he conditions existing in the land (Translated by Isaac Don Levine) Copyright, 1922, by Universal Service)

I am asked by people whom I am acned to regard with respect what I think of Russia. What I think of my country, or to put it more accurately, of the Russian people, of the peasantry forming its majority, distresses me greatly. It

would be easier for me not to answer and temptingly lures one on the question, but I went through and WHAT HISTORIAN SAYS know too much to have a right to silence. However, it should be understood that I condemn and justify no one. SORRY HE'S RIGHT

I simply narrate here how my numerous impressions shaped themselves. An opinion is not necessarily a condemna-tion, and I should not be sorry if my ons should prove to have been erro-

In the essence every people is an elemental tide of anarchy. People want to eat as much as possible and work as little as possible. They want to have all the rights and have no duties. The atere of lawlessness in which mankind has been accustomed to live since cient times has induced it to believe legitimacy of lawlessness, in the cical naturalness of anarchy.

s applies especially closest to the masses of the Russian peasantry which hind legs, sees about him the monuhave experienced a more protracted and mental achievements of the labor of his brutal period of servitude than the ancestors. From the sluices of Holland sant has been dreaming for centuries for a state which would have no right great works of England to the mighty to influence the will of the individual Silesian foctories, the whole face of

HOPE HELD IMPOSSIBLE In the impossible hope of attaining

squality for all, while the liberty of every one remained unlimited, the Russian people endeavored to establish such a state in the form of Cossackdom of the Ukrainian "Setch." n now there still lives in the dark il of the Russian sectarian the vision

cestors, such carries and people live there unus-turbed, knowing nothing of the "anti-cestors, Such Such conventions of stions, ted painfully by the convulsions of

progress of civilization. he nomadic instinct has not yet van-

firmly on a chosen point and influence Disappointed by results of the great upheaval the Sussia, Maxim Gorky fied the Soviet republic targets—at least this desire is very sories of articles since he left his native land the surrounding environment in his interests—at least this desire is very weakly developed. And when he resulted to the revolution and ruthlessly holds up to the full target the conditions criticism for the leads to the revolution and ruthlessly holds up to the fruitless struggle facing him. Those who endeavor to contribute to the life of the village something of themselves, omething new, meet with distrust and hostility on the part of the village which either squeezes or throws them out of its midst. But it happens even more plower again faces the naked earth and frequently that the reformers, in conflict again it demands of him penal labor. with the insuperable conservatism of

The gifted Russian historian Kosto-

and temptingly lures one on.

the Russian village, desert it themselves,

There is plenty of room elsewhere; the

empty plain extends in all directions

maroff says; "Opposition to the state always existed among the common peoeple, but on account of too extensive geographic expanse of the country it took the form of desertion from the duties imposed by the state on the people and not of active resistance and fighting." Since the days to which this refers.

the population of the Russian plain has increased, the "geographic expanse" has contracted, but the psychology of the people remains the same and finds its expression in the curious proverb-"Do not desert your job, but don't work."

VIEWS VAST ACHIEVEMENTS The western man from his early childhood, as soon as he can stand on his oples of Europe. The Russian to the tunnels of the Italian Riviera and the vineyards of Vesuvius, from the Silesian foctories, the whole face of and the freedom of his actions; of a Europe is thickly covered with the state having no power over man. grandest incarnations of the organized will of men-a will which set for itself the arrogant goal of subduing the elemental forces of nature to the prudent interests of man.

"The earth is in the hands of man, and he is its real master." This impression is absorbed by the child of the West and it rears in him an appreciation of the worth of man, of respect for of a fabulous "Messianic Kingdom." It his labor and a sense of personal imsto somewhere at the "border of the portance as an heir to the wonders of the works and creations of his an-

Such ideas, such sense and appreciations, cannot arise in the soul of the Russian peasant. The limitless plain on which are thickly crowded the wooden d from the Russian peasant. He re- straw-roofed villages has the malignant rds the toil of the plougher as a curse property of desolating man, of sucking God and is sick with desire to move out his aspirations. The peasant will com one place to another. He is almost sometimes go out beyond the pale of mits cking in an aggressive desire to settle his village, gaze into the surrounding all h

waste flooding his soul. Nowhere around him are there any lasting signs by enemies. The cities? But they are far away and not much more civilized than the villages. On all sides is an endless plain and in its center an insignificant little man, cast upon this lugubrious soil for penal servitude. And the man is cloyed with a feeling of indifference which kills his capacity to think, to remember the past, to work out ideas from his experience. historian of Russian civilization, characterizing the peasant, said to him: 'Many superstitions and no ideas."

CONFIRMED BY LORE This painful judgment is confirmed by the entire Russian folklore.

Unquestionably the Russian at "the living gold of the sumptuous fields," is beautiful, but in the autumn the Then the severe, six months' long winter arrives. The land is dressed in a dazzlingly white shroud, storms rage suffocated from idleness and loneliness in the cooped-up, filthy cabin. Nothing remains of his labor but straw and a thatched hut which three times in the life of every generation is wiped

The technically primitive toil of the village is unbelievably oppressing and the peasant calls it "strada," from the Russian verb "to suffer." The burden of his toil, as against its insignificant results, deepens the instinct of private property in the peasant, making him almost immune to the influence of the doctrines which ascribe all human evils

to the power of this very instinct. LOBOR IS VARIED

The labor of the city dweller is varied, firm and lasting. From the formless umps of dead ore he creates machines and apparatus of amazing intricacy, vitalized by his mind. He has already subjugated for his lefty purposes the HE WAS MURDERED forces of nature and they are to him He was murdered. The what the Djins of the oriental tales were o King Solomon. He had erected around ed czar. him an atmosphere of reason, a "second pre-tender who also represented himself as nature." Everywhere he sees his energy the son of the Terrible Ivan, and there embodied in a variety of mechanisms and things, in thousands of books and pictures, and everywhere are the marks of grand torments of his spirit, of his Bolotnikov joined the second pretender, dreams and hopes, his love and hate, his received from him the right to command doubts and beliefs, his sensitive soul in a small detachment of the pretenders which there burns an inextinguishable followers and marched with them to thirst for new forms, ideas, tasks and Moscow, preaching to the serfs and peasa poignant striving to discover the seants as follows: crets of nature and find the sense of "Kill the Boyar

SPIRIT IS FREE Enslaved by the authority of the state, his spirit remains free. And by this very freedom of his spirit, he destroys the versions of flesh and spirit, the creator

waste and after a while will feel this and involuntary wrongs, the minute his eyes were dug out, and he movements of his eternally dissatisfied drowned. of labor and creation to be seen. The MARTYR OF ENDEAVOR estates of the landlerds? But there Being a great sinner againg are few of them and they are inhabited Being a great sinner against his negh-

bor and perhaps a greater one against himself, he is a martyr of his own endesolating him, yet give birth to new and ever newer torments and joys of His spirit, like that of the accursed Ahasterus (The wandering Jew) marches into the infinity of the future, somewhere towards the heart of the cosmos or into the cold emptiness of the preclating the common needs." universe which he will perhaps fill with PEASANT IS IGNORANT of the present-day intellect.

Instinct considers important only the utilitarian results of the progress of even though it be a clear and base lie. INTELLECT UNSELFISH

Intellect finds the process of creation important in itself. The intellect is vengeance. foolish like the sun, it works unselfishly There was in Russia once a certain a dazzlingly white shroud, storms rage Ivan Bolotnikov, a man of peculiar for-furiously and menacingly and man is tune. As a child he was captured by the Tartars in the course of one of their raids on the border towns of the Muscovite kingdom. As a youth he was sold into bondage to the Turks, and slaved on the Turkish galleys. He was edeemed from slavery by Venetians and after living in the aristocratic republic of the Doges for a while, he returned to

This occurred in 1608. The Muscovite Boyars had just poisoned the gifted Caar Boris Godunov and murdered the cler, daring enigmatic youth who, assuming the name of Dmitri, the son of Ivan the Terrible, occupied the Muscovite throng and attempting to vanquish the Asiatic habits of the Muscovites, told them to their faces:

"You consider yourself the most righte ous people in the world, but you are deprayed and wicked, you love your neighbors too little and you are not disposed to do good."

He was murdered. The crafty, double minded prince Vassili Shuisky was elect-Then appeared the second pre-"Kill the Boyars, take their wives and all their goods! Kill the merchants and the wealthy people and divide their

TORRENTS OF BLOOD This tempting program of primitive sleged Moscow and only with great difmicroscope of self-crticism which per-mits him to see with terrible clearness peasants was flooded all his own vices and crimes, his wilful blood, Bolotnikov was

property among yourselves.'

The name of Bolotnikov has not been preserved in the memory of the peasantry, his life and activity are comends. And altogether the verbal folk 1602-1613-of bloody chaos, which the historian characterizes as "a school of licentiousness, lawless, political sense-

heroes, leaders, zealots of love, justice,

Fifty years after Bolotnikov, the Don Cossack, Stephen Razin, raised in rebellion the peasantry of nearly the entire Volga basin and advanced with them toward Moscow, aroused by the same idea of political and economic Almost three years his bands robbed and slaughtered Boyars and merchants. He stood his ground in regular battles with the armies of the Czar Alexeif Romanoff. His rebellion threat- does not materially differ, or differ at ened to spread to the whole of the peasant Russia. He was defeated, and then of other credits which had been prehe was quartered. Only two or three pared for other nations when the armis songs remain of him in the popular memory, but the genuineness of their popular origin is in doubt. Their meaning was unintelligible to the peasantry.

The Grand Duke Serge Romanoff told

Nicholas was in Kostroma, Nicholas Michailevitch, another grand duke, who was the talented author of a whole series of solid historical works, said to the czar, pointing to the mob of thouantiquated forms of life and creates new communism attracted to Bolotnikov tens cannot greatly the same as they his life painfully stremous and full of vices, but beautiful in its fullness. He is the instigator of all social ills, of perversions of flesh and spirit the creates between the communism attracted to Bolotnikov tens cannot greatly the same as they were in the seventeenth century, when the armies of Car Vassili, which were in the seventeenth century, when they elected Michael to the ctardom, really the same. Don't you think it is

House Approval of Loan to Liberia Wartime - Obligation

lution to lend \$5,000,000 to the republic of sired to use the money as follows: Liberia. The launching of the loan at this time, derived from taxation in the United States, is so unusual that interest is being aroused as to the reasons for it. The explanations of the proponents of the measure did not prove very convincing, in view of the circumstances of the loan. It was said, as the principal reason, that this credit had been promised to Liberia in return for Liberia's declaration of war on Germany at a time when the allied nations needed the palm oil produced in that country, and that the country's word having been given by President Wilson, the United States cannot repudiate it.

On the other hand, it was brought out in the debate that Liberia's position all, from one and a half billion dollars tice came, and which were withdrawn after the armistice, because the United States did not wish to continue in the By some it was said that the country republic of Western Africa, after ask-

ing it to enter the war, but it was shown that no such consideration was shown to Cuba, which entered the war for the same reasons, and in Cuba this country ecially interested because semi-guardianship under the Platt amendment, to which may be added sympathy. The record shows that on April 21

1919, the United States notified the Cu-Europe has made it unnecessary for the government of the United States to make further advances to your government, the secretary of the treasusy has directed me to advise you that the unexnded balance of the credit established in favor of the Cuban the amount of \$5,000,000 has been with With the loan, there goes into Liberi

an American commission of three, with salaries of \$15,000, \$10,000 and \$6000. That commission is to have practica control of Liberian affairs. No concess sions can be granted without its assent As to the \$5,000,000, \$2,100,000 of it is to pay, past indebtedness of Liberia, contracted before the war, and \$1,600,000 is to go to certain banking interests to take up floating and other indebte Then part is to go for good roads schools, sewers and public improve-

Washington, May 20.—(WASHING- When President King of Liberia asked TON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL.)— for the loan, which was in the critical At the direction of the administration the period of the war, January, 1918, he set house, by a close voe, has passed a reso- forth the purposes for which it was de-"A loan of not less than \$5,000,000 to

enable the republic to cancel the refunding loan of 1912 and to establish a receivership under American control alone; to take up our internal floating indebtedness; to stimulate agriculture, education and industry, and to inaugurate such public works as will operate he complete financial and economic rehabilitation of the country." The action of the house, if ratified by the senate, means a receivership of

Liberia in the hands of an American commission, as stated in so many words the president of the black republic. Liberian finance is in a bad way, and her bonds have greatly depreciated. This action by America will make the bondholders whole. The most of them reside in Europe, it is said. Senator McNary believes there is a

future permanence for the farm bloc in the senate. He is not one of those who think that its work is to end with certain specific measures which have been in part enacted. These measures will be succeeded by

others, he believes, in which agriculture will have peculiar interest. not favor a long program of radical reforms, such as might excite antagonism and misunderstanding.

provision of adequate personal credits, the widespread business depression in so that they may secure long time loans Cuba since the war, which would seem to to carry them in their business such as especially commend Cuba to American other men in business secure. This is not a new subject and numerous solutions have been proposed. The purpose of the bloc is to sift down the subject ban minister that "in view of the fact and bring the weight of farm organthat the termination of the fighting in izations to the support of a single plan, gratory treaty and law, including ducks, To this end the bloc proposes a novel thing. It has named a committee of The bill has been amended to exempt seven to conduct unofficial hearings for from its operation and penalties the its own information. It will invite retary of Agriculture Wallace and representatives of farm organizations premises. The hunting license, it is pro-throughout the country. Others inter-vided, would be issued by postmasters. ested may appear and present their An amount equal to 45 per cent of the views. The task will be similar to that of a regular committee of congress, with the hope of framing a bill which will be generally acceptable, with the united strength of the bloc behind it.

The bill would suthering appropria The committee of the bloc has been

chosen with care, four Republicans and three Democrats, headed by Senator Capper of Kansas, who is also the chairman of the bloc; McNary of Oregon, Ladd of North Dakota, Jones of Washington, Swanson of Virginia, Kendrick of Wyoming and Harrison of Mississippi. The Oakland, Cal., Chamber of Com-merce has added its protest to others

not unite and push forward instantly with the division among themselves of the spoils of war-the German colonie -before the president's committee could old diplomacy, engineered with consum-

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received by the interstate commerce commission from the Pacific coast against the recommendations of the tentative report on transcontinental rates made by W. A. Disque, attorneyexaminer for the commiss

Oakland's objections are presented in a brief filed by E. W. Hollingsworth, attorney for the chamber of commerce, in which he says:

"It is not our desire that any unjust injury be done to the water lines serv-ing our ports. It cannot fairly be said that any unjust injury would be done to the water carriers by permitting the railroads to engage in competitive business, unless it is first conceded that the water carriers are rightfully entitled to retain all the business which they have just taken away from the rail lines.

"If it is true that the water lines will be injured if the railroads are permitted to participate in the business, it is equally true that the railroads will be injured if the water lines are permitted to retain all the traffic which they have taken from the railroads. Viewed in that light, injury to one or the other systems of transportation will result, no matter which course the commissio follows, and we urge that no unjust injury would be done to the water carriers from approval of the application, whereas a denial of the application would impose a restriction upon the railroads which would prevent them rom competing for a fair share of the raffic upon terms of equality.

"Every advantage or benefit would occue to the Pacific coast from an approval of the application is one to which we are rightfully entitled by virtue of our geographical location. It would be a gross injustice for the commission to deprive us of those natural and inherent rights by declining to permit rail carriers to engage in competition.

"Congress did intend, and so specifically stated, that relief should no longer be granted on the ground of potential water competition, but not that the comnission should feel any greater hesitancy now than it has in The latest objective of the bloc is the granting fourth section relief on the ground of active water competition."

> The house committee on agriculture has made a favorable report on the bill of Representative Anthony of Kansas to extend the migratory bird law to require a federal license of \$1 per annum for shooting game protected by the miplover and snipe.

Sec- owner of land and members of his immediate family who hunt on their own

The bill would authorize appropriations to the extent of the total sum paid for licenses for the other expenses of the bird protection service, including cooperation with local authorities, investigations and publications, to be expended under a federal bird refuge commission consisting of the secretary of agriculture, attorney general, postm general, two members of the senate and two members of the house.