The Oregon Statesman

"No Faror Sways Us; No Fear Shall Awe" From First Statesman, March 28, 1861 Sheldon F. Sackett - - - Editor and Manager. THE STATESMAN PUBLISHING CO. Charles A Sprague, Pres. . . Sheldon F. Sackett, Secy. Member of the Associated Press

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Welcome, Legionnaires

"For God and country, we associate ourselves together for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the great war; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."-Preamble to the American Legion con-

The World war started 25 years ago this month. That is a quarter of a century-a long time for recollection to remain vivid. Most Americans have rather a hazy recollection of the war's beginning, because it seemed at the time remote. Less than three years later it was brought nearer home. Of its concluding year, our memory is clearer—but to no others are William Thompson and Richard its events so sharply etched as to members of the organiza-

tion to which Salem becomes host today.

There is significance in the flight of years since the fort were kept besieged 31 days, World war. For now there is peril of another great war, more when they were rescued by the devastating than the last. Many writers have agreed that this two companies under Colonel Bunew war would already be under way-except that the world recalls the nightmare of the last one. Yet with the passage of the troops a schooner from Port time, a new generation has arisen which knows not the hor- Orford effected a landing, and rors of war.

"Men do not willingly die unless they are fanatics," writes Frank Gervasi, correspondent just returned from Europe. "So they must be keyed up to the point of fanaticism in the conviction that there is a cause worth dying for. The task of establishing such a cause and arousing mob enthuiasm is the work of skilled propaganda experts. This process is called 'emotional conditioning' and it has already been begun in the United States. . . . No harder task faces Americans than that of silencing the warmongers, the bellicose intellectual patri- tribes for some time that suspiots, who are the conscious or unconscious allies of foreign proselytizers."

Gervasi may be stretching a point. Members of the Am- an anniversary ball was given at erican Legion are not conscious of having been fanatics about | Gold Beach, or Whaleshead, near the job they undertook 22 years ago. Sergeant York, the war hero, says he didn't know what he was fighting for, and doesn't know yet. Somebody showed the boys of '17 a job and of his men, a few being left to they went and did it. "A fellow knows he's going to see a hard | guard camp. row of stumps, but if the rest can stand it, I can," remarked one rather mature soldier boy. The younger ones marched away in a spirit of high adventure. Few analyzed the problem attacked with such suddenness of necessity or futility of war-until they had gone too far to and fury by a large number of

That analysis came later. The chances are that every participant in the war made it at some time. When the American Legion held its Oregon convention in Salem ten years scene of the massacre, was witago there was no immediate threat of war, yet Albert Rich- ness of much of the terrible ard Wetjen, noted writer then a Salem resident who had slaughter and mutilation, and fought in the British army, wrote for The Statesman's special able to identify those concerned

"If the young of every nation could be impressed with the truth about War; could be shown the shattered bodies left after the charge; could hear the endless crying of a human thing hung on the wire; could watch the twisting agonies that come after gas; could the young of every nation learn of these things before marching away in the glitter of an old-age illusion, it is safe to predict there would be no Wars. Every Legionnaire knows this. And it seems to me there is no finer task for the Legion to undertake than to insist upon this. War is terrible!'

The American Legion has sometimes been accused of militarism-principally because its experiences have led it to of the Mackanotins tribe, who had insist upon preparedness and because it has resented that por- a village on the south side of the tion of the pacifist doctrine which disparages the heroism and river opposite McGuire's, who sacrifices of soldiers of the past. It is safe to say, on the contrary, that the American Legion is in its own characteristic breed, who had been with the hosway, the strongest single force against war that exists in this tile Rogue Rivers all winter, was country today-strong because it knows, on this subject in their camp, and they wished whereof it speaks.

We aren't no thin red 'eroes and we aren't no blaggards too, But single men in barricks, most remarkable like you; And if sometimes our conduck isn't all your fancy paints. Why, single men in barricks don't grow into plaster saints."

-Rudyard Kipling in "Tommy Atkins." Toss a large number of young fellows, all strangers, into Wright's heart, as subsequently situation of close association and they're bound to make learned from the Indians themstrenuous effort to impress one another. The impression they selves, was cut out, cooked and strive for may be their own version of manliness, and as likely as not that version will be devilishness. It may or may not of cannibalism to make thembe founded upon natural inclination, but once established, the selves able to emulate. impression has to be maintained. So the impression of devilishness that boys in their early twenties built up as army recruits, has been preserved in their capacity as American Legion members, especially in moments of relaxation. In an- killed. The persons who suffered ticipation of the Legion convention here a decade ago, Salem were Ben Wright, Captain Poldid a bit of trembling at the knees, fearing what might hap- and, Lieutenant B. Castle, P. pen to some of its sacred institutions and its morals.

Somehow these things managed to survive; the convention didn't seem, in retrospect, to have been so terrible, except

perhaps to the ultra-pure.

The devilish boys of '17 were then in their thirties. Now they're in the forties; a little gray, a trifle stout, some of them, but still full of pep, still thriving to maintain that ear two sons, John Geisell and four ly impression—especially when out of town and relieved of children, while Mrs. Geisell and the necessity for setting their teen-age sons and daughters a two daughters were taken into good example. Sometimes we suspect their heart isn't in it any more, if it ever was. But they'll still go through the motions. The convention will be lively, the boys will have a good time but they won't tear the town apart. If there is any hoodlumism it will be the work of younger outsiders taking advantage of the occasion.

No longer fearful, Salem greets the Legionnaires today and sincerely hopes their visit here will be pleasant and that the impression of the state capital they carry home with them will be favorable. Citizens as well as the host Legion posts have joined in elaborate preparations to entertain the visiting veterans. One remaining requisite is a warm greeting. The weather is doing its part; the citizens may be trusted to chosen to command. He concen-

An anonymous correspondent, obviously a Townsend club member, asserts that the apearance of an item about a Townsend club dispute on The Statesman's front page, whereas other Townsend news goes on inside pages, is proof of this newspaper's unfriendliness to "the plan." We thought The Statesman's attitude had been made clear long ago; friendliness to the Townsend clubs, belief that the movement has been ficiently strong to deliver them. beneficial in keeping the needs of the elderly citizens before the public, belief that "the plan" has some features which are preferable to the present social security program, skepticism iness as a recovery measure. As for The Statesman's front page, its news is never selected on the basis of dice for or against any movement or issue. The selection is made on the basis of timeliness and our judgment of news

Whalers, according to the Christian Science Monitor, are scarce at the fort, the Indians complaining about so much radio broadcasting—the whales unteers, but they kept a careful forced to retreat in haste to the won't bite, or at least they aren't caught on heavy broadcast days. It's the same old struggle between sport and industry that we've had here in Oregon.

Basil Rathbone, most accomplished sneerer of the curtained from the cows feeding near that cinams suit to be a lover of dogs and other that the courtained from the cows feeding near that the courtained from the courtained from the cows feeding near that the courtained from the c

dumb animals. Another illusion destroyed.

Bits for Breakfast By R. J. HENDRICKS

Inquiry concerning the massacre of a Fresno, Cal., man's grandfather and uncles by Indians Feb. 22, '56:

(Continuing from yesterday:) Resuming the Bancroft account: "The persons billed in the first attack were Benjamin Wright, John Poland, John Idles, Henry Lawrence, Patrick McCullough. George McClusky, Barney Castle, Guy C. Holcomb, Joseph Wilkinson, Joseph Wagner, E. W. Howe, J. H. Braun, Martin Reed, George Reed, Lorenzo Warner, Samuel Hendrick, Nelson Seaman, W. R. Tulles, Joseph Seroc and two sons, John Geisell and four children; Mrs. Geisell and three daughters being taken prisoners; and, subsequently to the first attack, Henry Bullen, L. W. Oliver, Daniel Richardson, George Trickey and Adolf Schmoldt-in all

"Warner was from Livonia, N. Y., Seaman from Cedarville, N. Y. The drowned were H. C. Gerow, a merchant of Port Orford, and formerly of N. Y., John O'Brien, miner; Sylvester Long, farmer, Gay, boatmen; and Felix McCue.

5 5 5 "Those who took refuge in the chanan sent by General Wool. . . A few days after the arrival of the women and children at the fort were sent to that place, while Buchanan commenced operations against the Indians."

So ends the Bancroft account. (Comment further along.) The account of Frances Fuller Victor in her "Indian Wars of Oregon," page 379, follows:

"So quiet had been the coast cion of their intentions was al- 11:30-Piano Quiz. most forgotten; and on the night of the 22nd of February (1856) the mouth of the river (Rogue river), which was attended by Captain Poland and the majority

"Early in the morning of the 23d, before the dancers had returned to camp, the guard was Indians that but two out of 10 were able to escape. One of these, Charles Foster, being conin it, who were seen to be such as lived about the settlements, and were professedly friendly.

"Ben Wright (Indian agent) was then at the house of J. Mc-Guire, about four miles from the coast, and between the volunteer camp and Whaleshead. Early in the day, and while Captain Poland was with him, Wright received a visit from some Indians came ostensibly to inform him that Enos, a notorious halfto have him arrested.

"Without a suspicion of treachery, Wright and Poland repaired to the Indian village, where they were immediately seized and killed, with the most revolting bloodthirstiness, being mutilated beyond recognition. eaten, in admiration of his courage, which they hoped by this act

"Every house on the river below the big bend, 60 in all, was burned that day, and 26 persons McClusky, C. H. Holcomb, Henry Lawrence, Joseph Wagoner, Joseph Wilkinson, Patrick McCullough, E. W. Howe, J. H. Braun, Martin Reed, George Reed, Lorenzo Warner, Samuel Hendrick, Nelson Seaman, W. R. Tulles John Idles, Joseph Leroc and captivity. Subsequently to the first attack, Henry Bullen, L. W. Oliver, Daniel Richardson, John Trickey and Adolf Smoldt were killed, making 31 victims of this massacre. Seven different points on the south side of the river were attacked within 12 hours, showing how well concerted was the outbreak.

"When the alarm was given at Gold Beach, some of the officers of Captain Poland's company were still there, and Relf Bledsoe, first lieutenant, was at once trated the men, women and children to the number of 130 at the unfinished fortification known as 'Miners' Fort,' which they hastened to complete and to stock with provisions at hand, and otherwise to prepare to stand a siege-for slege it was likely to be, with no force in that part of the country, either regular or volunteer, suf-

"Charles Foster by using great caution reached Port Orford. earrying the news of the outbreak. But Major Reynolds, in command of the post, dared not divide his handful of men, nor would the citizens of Port Orford, only about 50 in number at this time, consent to the withdrawal

"Once an attempt was made to (Continues tomorrow.)

Former Governor Indicted in "Hot Oil" Case



Richard W. Loche (left) former governor of Louisiana and Seymour Weiss are shown as they arrived at the federal building in New Orleans to post bond following their indictment on charges of conspiracy to violate the Connally Hot Oil act, and with conspiracy to defraud the United States,

Returns.

KOIN-WEDNESDAY-940 Kc.

6:15-Market Report. 6:20-KOIN Klock. 7:00-It Happened in Hollywood.

8:15—When a Girl Marries.
8:30—Romance of Helen Trent.
8:45—Our Gal Sunday.

9:00-The Goldbergs. 9:15-Life Can Be Beautiful.

Radio Programs

7:15—Organist. 7:30—Orchestra

10:30-Dog Race 10:35-Orchestra.

11:45-Sports Final.

7:15-KOIN Klock.

9:30-Consumer News. 9:45-Yours Sincerely.

10:00-Big Sister

10:45-Orchestra

10:15—Aunt Jenny. 10:30—Organist.

12:45-Stepmother.

2:15-Hello Again.

4:15—Singer. 4:30—Roadmaster.

5:30-Philharmonic

6:45—Melodies. 7:00—Amos 'n' An 7:15—Little Show.

9:15-Orchestra. 10:00-Five Star Final.

10:15-Nightenp Yarns. 10:30-Orchestra.

7:30-Orchestra.

here Tuesday.

June 14.

retroactive.

6:30-Women's Fashions.

2:45-Singer.

11:00-This and That,

11:30-Swing Serenade.

11:30—Swing
11:45—News.
12:00—Pretty Kitty Kelly.
12:15—Myrt and Marge.
12:30—Hilltop House.

1:00-Scattergood Baines.

1:15-Dr. Susan. 1:30-Singin' Sam. 1:45-When We Were Young. 2:00-Fletcher Wiley.

3:00-Newspaper of the Air. 4:00-Shadows.

5:00-Knickerbocker Playhouse.

8:00—Honolulu Bound. 8:30—News, Views and Sport Reviews. 8:45—Sagebrush Symphony.

Parole Law Eyed

As to Retroaction

Legal action to determine

whether penitentiary inmates re-

ceived prior to June 14 are sub-

ject to the provisions of the new

state parole law approved by the

1939 legislature, was being con-

One section of the parole law

provides that its provisions are

vides that the provisions are not

etroactive. Another section pro-

ecently that he intended to com-

mute the sentence of a large

number of penitentiary prisoners

in order that they might receive

the credits intended by the legis-

lature in passing the new parole

Sprague announced

7:45-News.

7:45-Tropical Moods.

8:00—Sports Reporter, 8:15—News, 8:30—Baseball, 10:15—Crchestra,

11:00—News. 11:15—Portland Police Reports. 11:18—Organist.

KSLM-WEDNESDAY-1360 Kc. 6:50—Custer Allen. 6:45—Milkman's Serenade.

7:30—News. 7:45—Mountaineers. 8:00—Morning Meditations. 8:15—Haven of Rest.

8:45-News. 9:15—Everett Hoaglund Orchestra. 9:30—Surprise Your Husband. 9:36—Will Hartzel & Gang.

10:00—Freddy Nagel Orchestra, 10:15—News. 10:30-Morning Magazine.

10:45-Women in the News, 10:50-Hollywood Kibitzer, 11:00-Len Soluo, organist. 11:15-John Agnew, organist.

11:45-Value Parade. 12:15-News. 12:30-Hillbilly Serenade.

12:36 Noveltunes 12:45-Musical Salute.

1:00-Len Salvo. 1:15-Interesting Facts.

1:30-Jane Anderson. 1:45-Al Sack Orchestra

2:00-Let's Play Brid 2:15-Johnson Family.

2:30-News. 2:45-Mauhattan Mother. 3:00—Feminine Fancies, 3:30—Chapel Moments, 3:45—Fulton Lewis, Jr.

4:00-Chuck Foster Orchestra, 4:30-Goldman Band Concert.

5:00—Seger Ellis Orchestra. 5:15—Shafter Parker. 5:30—Rhapsody in Wax. 6:00—Raymond Gram Swing.

6:30-Work Wanted.

7:00—Westernaires. 7:15—News Behind the News. 7:30—The Lone Ranger. 8:00-News.

8:30-Paul Pendarvis Orchestra Soft

9:00-Newspaper of the Air

10:00-Don Francisco Orchestra 10:30-Johnny Cascella Orchestra.

:00—Tomorrow's News Tonight. :15—Benny Goodman Orchestra. :30—Můzzy Marcelino Orchestra.

11:45-Midnight Swing Session. KGW-WEDNESDAY-620 Kc.

7:00-Viennese Ensemble. 7:15-Trail Blazers.

:15-The O'Neills 8:30—Stars of Teday. 8:59.40—Arlington Time Signal.

9:00—Singer. 9:15—Let's Talk It Over. 30-Meet Miss Julia.

45-Dr. Kate. 00-Betty and Bob Grimm's Daughter

-Betty Crocker. -Story of Mary Marlin.

Pepper Young's Family.

The Guiding Light.

Backstage Wife.

Stella Dallas. 12:30-Vic and Sade 12:45-Midstream.

15-Tio. 30-Hollwood News. :00—Art in the News. :15—I Love a Mystery. :30—Women's Magazine

3:00-Easy Aces. 3:15-Tracer of Lost Persons. 30—News.
45—Orchestra.
45—Orchestra.
45—Orchestra.
45—Orchestra.
45—Orchestra.
46—Orchestra.
46—Orchestra.

-Kay Kyzer's Kollege. -Orchestra. -Orchestra. -What's My Name

-Concert Orchestra

8:30 George Jessel's Celebrities 10:30 Orchestra.

KOAC-WEDNESDAY-550 Kc. Weather Forecast 11:00-Variety.

6:00—Dinner Concert.
6:15—News.
6:30—Farm Hour.
6:30—Farm Hour.
8:15—Music of Czechoslovakia.
8:30—Guard Your Health.
8:45—Music of the Mastera.

KEX-WEDNESDAY-1180 Mc.

- Musical Clock. - Family Altar Hour. -Financial Service. Business Parade.

Market Quotations.

Lost and Found Items. 0-Dr. Brock. 0-Farm and Home.

-Patty Jean. 9:45—Singer. 10:00—Home Institute. 10:15—Roy Shields Revue. 10:30—News. 0:45-Singer

:00—Fashion Msicale.
.45—Between the Bookends.
:00—Club Matinee. News.
Dept. Agriculture.
Market Reports.
The Quiet Hour.
Corchestra

Curbstone Quiz.
- Pinancial and Grain Reports. 2:20-Musical Interlude News.
Ink Spots.
Melodic Strings.
Orchestra.

ls Calling. 3:30 Gloutter is Calling.
4:30 Ransom Sherman Presents
4:30 Musical Vignettes.
5:00 Horse & Buggy Days.
5:30 Marian Miller.
5:45 The Cowboy Rambler.
6:30 Symphony Orchestra.
6:30 Violin Recital.
6:45 Preshest Thing in Town.
7:00 Frank Watanabe.

gather potatoes from a field in daylight, but soon the men employed discovered the wary foe creeping upon them in the shelter

Putnam Defends Teaching Styles

Ideal to Build Individual Intelligent, Truthful, Cooperative

Education and educators of today should not be criticized for only a negative initiative of its their apparent disagreement as to own. methods of accomplishing their aims because such confusion is not peculiar to education, Rex ership of the president with the of the mob than they are afraid Putnam, state superintendent of public instruction, told the Salem Kiwanis club yesterday.

nations seek to perpetuate their explained, because they seek to develop a community of individual souls who are intelligent, truthstriving toward the golden rule, developing strong bodies and strong minds, mastering skills and a wide fund of knowledge, attaining definite standards and values, accepting civic responsibility and "holding fast to our ideals of free-

Mrs. Alice Tipton Mrs. Alice Tipton, 78, Salem

resident for 15 years, died a few days ago at the home of her daughter and son in Las Vegas, N. M., it was learned here yesterday. Eight children survive, including Gladys, principal of the Grant school, Mrs. Lois Beck, instructor

sidered by relatives of convicts at Parrish, Stuart of Salem, Frank and Mrs. Alice Meade of Portland. Under the 1939 law the new Mead of Los Angeles and Dave parole board fixes the minimum and Lou of Las Vegas. sentence of prisoners. The maximum sentences are fixed by the judges. The law became effective

Verdict Is Guilty In Kufner's Case

A justice court jury yesterday of drunken driving.

Kufner gave notice op appeal from the court's imposition of a 30-day jail sentence and \$100 fine. Bail undertaking for \$250 previously posted was continued

Young Mountain Mother



Mrs. John Stackhouse, 14, who lives in a mountain cabin near Pennsboro, W. Va., proudly holds her second child, just born to her. Mrs. Stackhouse's first child died a month after it was born. She still plays with dolls.

On the Record

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

President Roosevelt has sufered in congress as complete a deleat as it is possible for the chief executive of a nation to suf-

some as an inexorable retribution for mistaken policies; by others it will be welcomed as the beginning of a new era and betparty politicians of the opposi-

sition is in the saddle in Wash- to do it. before a new election, the oppoington, congress will go home n recent times.

citizens, and especially those who the garden, sought to alleviate the are not immediately engaged in sufferer's misery by shooing away the political game, will, however the flies. But be inclined neither to rejoice nor wretch implored him to leave to condemn, nor to sit down upon them alone, "These flies," he the ground and tell sad stories said, "are already satiated. If you of the death just where this shoo them off new and much wholesale sweep of the new deal more greedy and hungry ones by congress, this general emascu- will come in their place." lation of executive powers, this large-scale nay-saying leaves us. We may well ask why it has hap- rid of one set of parasites withquire what has happened. And it would be well for us to ask what next.

For congress, although it has has said "yes" to nothing new. It has taken away the initiative

Whether these imposing vetoes how things turn out. If econ-Educators do have certain def- the general international situa- tyranny. inite principles which they believe tion improve congress will get the should guide their efforts, Put- credit. If, however, conditions people will put their destinies nam said. Those in totalitarian deteriorate there will certainly be into the hands of any one, any a renewed clamor for the leaderparticular state by education from ship of the president-or for early childhood of a type that de- other leadership of an even more to a mob tyranny. They will prives the people of initiative in radical nature. For the people prefer Caesar to an incompetent thought and action, he declared. | are not today-if they ever were Principles guiding "education for -under the discipline of any tomorrow's America," Putnam's party. They want certain probsubject, are distinctly different lems solved or, at least, they from the totalitarian theory, he want to reach a tolerable modus vivendi.

It seems to me that the imloving, unselfish and cooperative. passe reached between congress made the disorder of the second Putnam enunciated a set of ed- and the executive during the sum- French republic unendurable. I ucational principles which he said mer session of congress is due to pass over more recent history. vere designed to perpetuate and two things, for one of which the When something occurs over and improve democracy. They call for president may justly be held re- over again in history, repeatedly. sponsible, the other of which is and without more than minor inherent in our system of government.

When Mr. Roosevelt went into office in 1933 he went in as the leader of the nation. That is a position which, in a country as volatile as ours, with as articulate a public opinion and as many organized groups, it is extremely difficult to maintain. The president, however, had a very good Dies at Las Vegas start; first, because there was an almost universal demand for leadership in recognition of an emergency, and, secondly, because he had peculiar gifts for leadership.

> Greatest among them was an awareness, not very clear, not well formulated even in his own mind, not reduced to even basic principles, hardly more than a hunch—but, nevertheless, a hunch—that existing needs and had an easy way out. He assastrends demanded new techniques of government action.

Mr. Roosevelt never made the

mistake of believing that the dictatorships were merely the personal work of ruthless and amdictators had ridden into power on the waves of real needs, real problems, real trends and the inreturned a verdict holding Ed-ward Kufner guilty of a charge government had shown in dealing with them. The necessities which fascism and communism both have recognized and met, each in its own peculiarly objectionable way were first the need the productive, economic forces of capital, management, and labor should have a share of politithe community as a whole, and that the automatic operation of something that could not be depended upon, and that, indeed, was never a "law" at all.

The president also accepted the thesis that t he need of keeping the people working and fed is a primary function of government, i. e. of politics; that it was the function of government to protect the physical welfare of interpretations of those rights the nation and to create a solidarity against atomizing and destructive forces within and without it The articulation of this awareness and not his radio voicemade him the leader of the nation. He was not listened to because he said "My friends" in an excellent Harvard accent but because what he said was in the back of most peoples' minds.

In order to maintain this leadership the president had to be an extraordinary statesman, persistently and courageously appealing to the source which offered him the leadership in the first place; the decent enlightened opinion of the country. In or-der to maintain his leadership he would have had to have certain basic principles as guides, a limited program which could be at all points justified in reason, and therefore designed to appeal not only to interested groups who would directly benefit by reform but to a wide margin of people who would support him not out of interest but out of conviction. This marginal body of the disinterested but convinced is the most important asset a democrats not dangerous.

taking action is in a peculiarly vulnerable position. Dictators can correct their mistakes by "pursonal embodiments of the results of the very more for them than he has they will seek another leader they will seek another leader. of their own miscalculations, Dictators can kill their enemies-an

enormous advantage, in one way, for men of action.

But democratic leaders can, at best, only make partial purges. fer. This fact will be hailed by The purged comrades live on and may, at any moment, become unpurged and extremely vindictive. Democratic leaders have to live with their enemies. Therefore, they must think not twice but a dozen times before creating them

unnecessarily. But the democratic leader must be equally careful of his friends. ter times; the For they can be more embarrassing to him than his enemies. All political leaders attract to themtion, whether selves the "lice of politics, planinside or outside ners of sly involution for their Dorothy Thompson the President's own preferment," to quote Walt party, are gleeful; the New Deal- Whitman. And this is particuers are dolorous, and it is ru- larly true of any leader who sets mored that many of them in out to right existing injustices Washington are putting out feel- without any very clear idea in his ers for new jobs. Sixteen months own mind as to how he is going

There is a story of a sultan's slave who was bound to a tree after having said one of the in the potentate's garden and loudest and most universal noes cruelly whipped until his back was bleeding. A swarm of flies had settled upon his wounds. A The more thoughtful of our good Samaritan, passing through

So the problem of the reformer is always a problem of getting pened; and we must certainly in- out creating a new brood of less satiated and more hungry ones. If, for even a moment, it is believed that the democratic leader is overthrowing the oligarchy said "no" to a great many things, to cast its spoils to the mob he will have the mob behind him with a vengeance.

But the leader of the mob is not the leader of the people. The people are infinitely afraid of will be bad for the personal lead- the mob. They are more afraid country at large will depend upon of the old oligarchy; they are more afraid of the tyranny of the omic and social conditions and mob than they are of any other Confronted by the mob, the

> person, who will save them from it, preferring a personal tyranny senatorial oligarchy constantly threatened by a Spartacus or a catiline; they will choose Napoleon over the directorate: they will prefer Napoleon the Third to coterie of haphazard and half-baked theorists and demagogues who preceded him and variation, one must give it the earnest attention that so significant a phenomenon deserves.

> Therefore, the democratic reform leader must be less concerned with the danger from the old powers he intends to curb than he is with the possible menace from the new powers that he is creating. For it is on them that he is most likely to be wrecked

This is not only true of democratic leaders but of all leaders. Mr. Hitler's first serious menace did not come from any remnant of the previous regime-neither from the aristocracy, which he deflated even further than the republic had deflated it, nor from the socialists or communists, but from the nazis led by Roehm. He sinated his too zealous fellow travelers.

But the president, with his eye on the economic royalists, on the oligarchy whose powers he wished discipline, I believe sincerely bitious men. He realized that to the greater good of the community, has neglected to look into the credentials of his most ardent yes-men, or foreseen the possible results of his own poli-

To take examples: It was a highly necessary thing in this country, and long overdue, that the grip of business management over labor should be relaxed; of organizing a society in which that the policies which condoned the employment of labor spies, strike-breaking thugs, the dismissal of men for trade-union cal responsibility— of conscious membership, the high-handed reresponsibility for the welfare of fusal to bargain collectively, the authoritatrian and imperial attitude toward workers of certain laissez faire economic "law" was industrial leaders should be challenged and supplanted by the recognition of specific workers' rights and by specific mechanisms for the protection of those

rights. But it does not follow that carte blanche given to labor organizers to extend the rights of workers according to whatever may exist in the minds of the energetic and ambitious labor leaders will establish justice. It is far more likely to bring about disorder and deadlock.

The democratic reform leader who grants wholesale new rights without reciprocal obligations puts himself into a dilemma. It is infinitely harder to with draw or modify prixileges once

granted than it is not to grant them in the first place. Those who are seeking privileges are at first modest in their demands and grateful for whatever is granted. But whatever has once been granted assumes, in their minds the nature of "right." It immediately has tradition

He who has granted it becomes the prisoner of his beneficiaries. If he seeks to modify or diminish or more closely define a right once granted he is not only a "reactionary" he is a traitor! Since in the granting of the right he has already made one set of enemies he can not afford to make enemies of the newly created friends. Therefore, he lays himself open to blackmail. And, gradually, he loses the reins ic reformer can have, for it alone of government. They are taken not dangerous.

In the supporters and beneficiaries, who speak and act for him, fighting for him against

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