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First to Last—the Truth: News—Editorials—Advertisements

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Burlesonism

In the category of things which we generally prefer to be public owned are highways, post roads, sewers, water-works and postoffices. Other things may have to be added in the fulness of time and experience.

As to whether the telephone and telegraph should be added opinions may rationally differ. But even those who may have thought that for ultimate and practical reasons the total means of communication should become a monopoly owned by the government, as the postal system already is, will perhaps be now persuaded that the difficulties are two and insuperable, namely: Burleson and Burlesonism.

Burleson is a feudalist in politics and a Junker in technique of administration. Burlesonism is fantastic. Having seized the telephone and telegraph companies under pretence of war necessity, Burleson now proposes that government ownership is imperative as a means of national defence, that it is an implied moral obligation under the Constitution, and that it is essential to the welfare and prosperity of the nation, painless and harmless.

Burlesonism proposes, most insidiously, that it will be costless. This costlessness is the part of the argument probably that will have the greatest impact upon the imagination of the multitude. Therefore it deserves special attention.

Burleson, talking Burlesonism, says public utilities corporations expect to earn between 7 and 8 per cent on their capital, whereas the government can expect to borrow money with which to buy them out at 4 1/2 per cent.

The difference between what Mr. Burleson thinks the public utilities corporations expect to earn on their capital and what he thinks the government would expect to pay for capital might be as high as 3 1/2 per cent a year, which, plus the economies to be expected from the consolidated working of all the lines, would pay for all the telephone and telegraph properties in a few years.

It is a beautiful argument—too beautiful to bear analysis. In the first place, public utilities companies do not earn 7 to 8 per cent on their capital. Not even the great American Telephone and Telegraph Company does that. In the second place, if the government went in for business on a large scale it could not borrow money at 4 1/2 per cent. It has been paying 4 1/2 per cent for Liberty bonds, which were sold not to investors but to patriots. Thirdly, the economies to be made possible by government operation have yet to be proved.

The Postoffice Department is not a monument to economy or efficiency, and that is Mr. Burleson's own job. The next largest demonstration of government efficiency is in the railroads, and the case there is that after less than a year of Federal operation the government cannot afford to keep the railroads and the owners cannot afford to take them back.

The government's record with respect to its general reputation in business are such that no investor would put a dollar with it, except that it had behind it the power to make good its deficits by taxation. Even then it is the slowest pay and the worst debtor in the world.

Mr. Burleson's record and reputation aside, any man who came to a bank with such a prospectus as he offers to the public, based wholly upon three expectations, would be laughed away; and if a

bank by chance did back him with it and it were a national bank the Controller of the Currency would shut it up.

Mr. Secretary Glass

The new holder of the Treasury portfolio has the universal good will of the country. We entertain high expectations of the financial policies which he will pursue. There is one, we trust, which will be close to his heart; that is to establish, on a firm basis, the independence of the Federal Reserve Board, free from all political pressure and any kind of outside domination. If we mistake not, Mr. Glass is one who deeply appreciates the desirability of such independence.

There is still a vacancy on the Federal Reserve Board, traditionally belonging to the Middle West. It is highly desirable it should be filled by some man of high character and unusual economic and financial understanding; a man of sufficient weight to add materially to the prestige of the board. The matter is serious for a variety of reasons.

It is currently reported that when the embargo was laid upon exports of gold a resolution of protest by the Reserve Board was spread upon its minutes; in a word, that it acted under pressure from and in deference to the administration of the Treasury. Whether this be true or not, we are sure it would eminently make for our financial health if the new Secretary were to indicate clearly that the Federal Reserve Board shall be an independent and quasi-judicial body—as Mr. Warburg has finely phrased it, a sort of financial supreme court that should be above any outside interference from whatever administration is in power. The responsibility of the board and the benefits which would accrue from the existence of such a body are too great for it to be in any way subservient to pass-political ends. This latter was indeed the gravest danger feared for the Federal Reserve system. It still so remains.

The Casualty Blundering

It is impossible for an outsider to apportion the responsibility between the War Department and General Headquarters in France, but there can be no question of a tragic incompetence in the handling of our casualties. The American people had steeled themselves for the necessary cost of the war. They were ready for the truth. Instead they have met concealment, delay and misconception, with resulting shocks calculated to harass the most resolute of minds.

The record is before the public. Up to November 23 the casualties were arriving very slowly, perhaps a thousand a day, and the totals were far under 100,000. That figure, in fact, was named in Washington as the estimated probable total. On that day it was suddenly announced that the completed casualties would reach 236,117. The wounded figure alone jumped from 46,512 to 179,626. The country was shocked and surprised. There was a strong demand for more candor and speed in the announcement of casualty lists, and the publication of names was speeded up considerably.

A week later, on November 30, another increase was announced to 262,693. And yesterday 40,440 new casualties were reported by General Pershing, making a total of 302,693. In this final increment the largest item is in severely wounded, 39,371. Whether further additions are coming no one knows.

All that is asked is a consistent policy of frankness and promptness, with no misleading statements either from France or Washington—and all speed in the publication of the detailed lists. For thousands of American families the tragedy of the war is still alive and threatening. The government owes it to the nation to do its utmost to reduce this suspense to the lowest terms and avoid every sort of needless shock.

Sugar Coated Calories

Even wholesome food can be made attractive, it seems, in the newer education. We grown-ups, reared upon a theory which viewed the path of virtue as necessarily steep and only forbidden fruit especially toothsome, may know nothing of this modern ingenuity. But to younger generations, not so Puritanically endowed, why not another philosophy?

Such is the view of the Child Health Organization, now cooperating with the National Child Labor Committee. 'At this seasonable time it issues its "Child Health Alphabet," comprising "Digestible Health Facts for Young Children," wherein we read such tidings as the following:

"C is for Cereals, And Cocoa, too; Consider the Calories Coming to you."

An echo of the war and the food that won it persists in this more subtle appeal:

"P is for Prunes, Potatoes and Peas, And Patriots who will Be glad to eat these."

The whole is concocted into an invigorating pamphlet, illustrated in color. If not as persuasive and engrossing as the propaganda in favor of plums conducted by little Jack Horner, or in favor of custard pies conducted by Charlie Chaplin, it is certainly better than uncoated calories as they are issued to the intellects of grown-ups.

The real point is that we know much more about health to-day than we practise, and that every possible means is needed to teach young and old humans that living is an art, not a wild scramble, and that certain rules must be followed if we would be happy and healthy. Infiltrating the fundamental ideas into children's minds is probably the most valuable of all methods of starting the

new era. The Child Health Organization, with its campaign directed at teachers, parents and legislators, does the sensible and practical thing in carrying its warfare into the nursery.

Your Red Cross

The Red Cross insists upon your having a heart in addition to a dollar—and it means what it says. It is a fund of good will and generosity and love for the stricken and starving that it is seeking to collect quite as much as a fund of dollars. The spirit of the organization is wholly American and democratic. It needs the larger help of the well-to-do. But it could not operate effectively; it could not speak and act in the name of America were it not backed by the great mass of American men, women and children.

That is why, we conceive, the Red Cross enters a foreign country with so warm a welcome. That is why our observers in Europe all report that the help rendered by the Red Cross to the families and fighting men of the Allies has brought America closer to the hearts of the people than any other agent. Charity does not always thus endear. The cause of the complete understanding, of the unalloyed appreciation and good feeling, is exactly the fact that not official or perfunctory aid was given, but rather the personal sympathy and helping hand of another people, of other families, across a sea; not a government, but friends.

It is your Red Cross that you have joined—and are going to join before the week is out. Not only your dollar will travel around the world and make America a word of healing in strange lands but your heart and good will as well.

Mr. Cobb Jumps the League

Only, we suppose, upon the secret archives of Mr. Frank Cobb's soul are the real reasons for his incontinent return from the peace table written. Was Colonel House less than cordial? Did Mr. George Creel hog the wireless to the exclusion of America's greatest Administration editor? No one can say; perhaps no one can ever say. But Mr. Cobb, rushed from his sanctum to the firing line, has rushed back again with not a kind word for any one in his pen. The President was applauded. But let him beware! It is all a fatal blunder. And, worst, the nations of Europe are so un-American as to be positively alarming. This is, of course, important and true, but we had learned to suspect as much from divers other travellers—the "Innocents Abroad," for example. And many Americans grow in time to rub along quite handsily with Europe.

Anyhow, Mr. Cobb has jumped the league of nations after a week's time. Let the new internationalists put that in their peace pipe and smoke it!

Five Years of Prosperity

There was the most definite sort of confidence in the statement of Judge Gary in yesterday's Tribune as to the outlook in steel and in general business. The head of the Steel Corporation sees no difficulties save the needful readjustments to a peace basis, and even this should be easy if our business men

"face the task of readjustment confidently and courageously. With the will to ease the strain of a return to more normal conditions, even though that should involve in cases some sacrifice of the abnormal profits realized in the last four years, then we have nothing to fear. There is no reason why America should not take and hold the financial, commercial and industrial leadership of the world."

Judge Gary says that it was to facilitate this process of readjustment that he advanced the proposal, adopted last week by the steel trade, of lowering prices moderately and maintaining wages at the present high level. He added:

"It seems to me that if business men generally were to follow a similar course we should presently have a price level, perhaps but little below the present one, in the stability of which there would be the widest confidence. Then, the cost of living having been reduced first, the wage readjustment might be made without working hardship and business-men would go ahead with the projects that have been deferred owing to abnormally high prices. That is what is needed."

Looking forward, beyond this period of readjustment, Judge Gary can see in the next five years only "the most progressive, prosperous and successful of any like period in our history." With a substantial addition to our productive capacity by the war, and billions added to our available liquid capital, this would seem as safe a prediction as can be made.

Enlisted men will hereafter be permitted to retain articles issued to them by the Red Cross or other relief organizations under the new ruling of the adjutant general, who had previously held that all wearing apparel thus received must be returned.

Airplane mail still comes high, but at only twice the usual railroad postal rate. A reduction from 16 cents an ounce to 6 cents has been made by the Postoffice Department.

Why Purple Prevails

(From The Meriden Journal) It is felt that two-cent postage will not be sufficient to run the Postoffice Department, as it will take so much money for marble postoffices in crossroads towns having a Congressional drag.

For Father as Usual

(From The Jacksonville Times-Union) Poor father—as Christmas approaches he knows he is going to get it in the neck as usual in the form of a cravat.

SHOES & SHIPS & SEALING WAX

MOTHERS! MOTHERS! the name than which nothing is dearer, Hallowed by sacrifice; radiant in joy! Man in his weariness understands, clearer, Love and protection that sheltered the boy.

Some of us swept to renown and attainment; But it could not operate effectively; it could not speak and act in the name of America were it not backed by the great mass of American men, women and children.

That is why, we conceive, the Red Cross enters a foreign country with so warm a welcome. That is why our observers in Europe all report that the help rendered by the Red Cross to the families and fighting men of the Allies has brought America closer to the hearts of the people than any other agent.

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Mr. Cobb Jumps the League Only, we suppose, upon the secret archives of Mr. Frank Cobb's soul are the real reasons for his incontinent return from the peace table written.

Now that the government has told us we can eat all the sugar we please, somehow we've suddenly lost our desire for candy.

BACK HOME STUFF!

Griff Buzet was the Beau Brummel and social lion back home. He owned the Merchants' Hotel, but Dud Hanley ran it for him. Griff was prematurely gray and had puffs under his eyes. He was the first man in our section to lead a German. He bought his liquor by the case from Louisville and wore a full dress suit when he went to the opera house.

When Diamond Jack's Medicine Show played in the Academy lot Griff Buzet gave a dinner in the private room of the Merchants' Hotel for Miss Tottie Le Mont, the soubrette of the troupe, and it was said around town that some prominent men in town were there, and that champagne was served and that Miss Le Mont wore a spangled dress and smoked a cigarette.

Griff knew a lot of stage people and was an intimate friend of Boono, the Hypnotist. Griff's carrying-on never seemed to hurt him with the ladies. He got up all the dances that were given in the Elks' Hall, and he staged "Ben Ali" for the Young Ladies' Guild, and brought a troupe of red Zouaves in silk bloomers from Columbus to appear in it. He liked to get his name in "The Leader" and was a great friend of Editor Sim Nash. His picture was in "The Cincinnati Enquirer" the year they got out their big Centennial edition.

He wore a black Ascot tie held by a stickpin designed as a jockey's cap and whip. He always went with what was known as the "younger crowd." He had the best room in the Merchants' Hotel and every Sunday afternoon he would have a poker game. When the hotel burned down it was found that he was heavily in debt. He went West with Dr. Kirk Wood, and people heard that he had a big ranch near Tucson and was becoming prominent in politics.

Personal to D. F. T.—Yes'm. Blue. "When some one goes and kicks the milk pail over in Russia," says Uncle Abimelech Bogardus, of Preakness, N. J., "I s'pose we'll say we never knew conditions was so serious. That's what comes of readin' newspaper reports—and never believin' 'em."

Villa is planning a new raid on the United States, reports from the border say. Go easy, Pancho! The guy that chased you last time has learned to catch what he goes after.

Let the Navy Salute

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: There seems to be no national reception for the returning soldiers. The time for such a reception is immediately they arrive in home waters. A simple reception which would not only be effective, but acceptable, to the returning boys is that the United States warships should remain at anchor near the lanes which the foreign steamers take coming to the harbors and that some salute be instituted for these men as each steamer passes. In the harbors the patriotic pilots use their whistles and on shore the whistles are also used, but there seems to be no national recognition. The booming of guns would not only gladden the soldier's heart, but stir the pulse of all who heard.

This matter has been brought to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy, but up to this date appears to have been overlooked. We have plenty of powder and the ships. This is a national reception which could take place in every port of entry.

LLOYD TAYLOR. New York, Dec. 14, 1918.

The Usual Features

(From The Detroit News) THE GIRL WHO CAME BACK. With the usual added features. Such, we presume, as pencilled eyebrows,

AN ALTERED VIEW OF THE WELCOMING PARADE



The Manoeuvre

By Frank H. Simonds

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THE first days of the President in Paris supply clear evidence as to one of the greatest of the many perils which beset his pathway. In France, as in Britain, there are elements, radical, Bolshevist and, as they were described with accuracy only a few months ago, "defeatists" who are eagerly hoping to use the President in a campaign to rehabilitate themselves politically.

It is only a little more than a year ago that Clemenceau, came to power amid the familiar assertions, which found ready echo in certain quarters in America, that his hour would be brief. Refusing to make ignoble and unpatriotic concessions to the Socialists, he faced their opposition and conducted two campaigns, the one against the enemy in the field, the other against the foes at home. Until the very hour when by his courage and constancy the victory was assured Clemenceau had to fight against the intrigues and the open attacks of those very men who are now most outspoken in their welcome to the American President.

The manoeuvre in all this is patent and it is reproduced in Britain, where the men who desired to make peace two years ago, who despaired of victory or held victory of lesser account than the realization of their private or political ends, are making the same motions. Clemenceau one day reached the point where it was no longer possible to attack him directly. The supreme triumph was assured, arrived in no mood to permit itself to be misled by little men, to deny its confidence to the man who had given back the lost provinces and won victorious peace.

Thereupon, in France as in Britain, the shift was made to Mr. Wilson, not with his consent or approval. But he became for the men who were willing to lose the war to win political power the sole hope of rehabilitation. If Mr. Wilson were to disagree with Clemenceau, if that disagreement were to become public property, then, because of the President's great prestige, because of his enormous influence as the accepted representative in France of the will of the American people, then, and only then, might the men who had given Clemenceau more trouble than the Germans regain some shreds of popular respect.

This is the circumstance which excites most apprehension in Allied Europe to-day. There is a fear, which finds ready expression in private conversation and veiled statement in the press, that Mr. Wilson, finding certain of his principles necessarily opposed by the official heads of the French and British governments, will be led to appeal over the heads to the people. Such an appeal would mean, in fact, an appeal to the apostles of Bolshevism and of defeat, to the extreme radicalism which yearns for revolution, not peace. The general state of Europe makes this peril even more acute. More than half the continent is now in a state of anarchy, Bolshevism has swept Russia and invaded Germany; it has its agents and its representatives busily at work in all countries still uncontaminated by its poison. It hopes to conquer France and Italy, even England, as it has conquered Russia and is conquering Germany. If it gains a real foothold west of the Rhine, then we shall see a cataclysm unequalled in human history.

The sole sure barrier to such a catastrophe is concerted and loyal action by the nations which have defeated Germany. The war between Germany and the civilized world is over and the German defeat is complete, but the war between anarchy and order is not over; it is hardly begun. On the decisions of the Congress of Versailles depends the future safety of the world from Bolshevism, from the red terror which has ruined Russia and is marching westward at the present hour.

It is impossible to disguise the gravity of this European situation. The battle is not between liberalism and reaction as we understand it in America. President Wilson will find represented in the British and French ministries all the elements which could find recognition in his own Cabinet. All the elements of order and of discipline stand firmly with Clemenceau and Lloyd George. What is arrayed against both is the element which, gaining control in Russia, has brought anarchy and, seeking power in Germany, is spreading ruin.

Were President Wilson to agree with Lloyd George and Clemenceau, lending his great influence to the making of a treaty in which were written principles subscribed to by all and including compromises made by all, he would be denounced unhesitatingly by those who now are most eager to acclaim him. It is not President Wilson, it is not America, that Bolshevism in France and Britain applauds; it is President Wilson and America as possible agents in breaking the solidarity of the Allies and permitting the men who were willing and anxious to lose the war that they might gain their political ends to regain popular confidence.

The least friendly critic of the President will concede that he has begun his European visit with skill, spoken wise words and shown tact and good judgment in dealing with the first problems. But the preliminaries are easiest. Ahead lies the long period when the terms of the settlement must be debated, and about him are all the temptations to seek to enforce his will upon his colleagues, by employing the real, if desperately dangerous, weapon placed in his hands by the oppositions in each of the Allied nations. If Mr. Wilson foregoes the use of this weapon, if he finds a common ground for action with the representatives of the other governments, peace will be restored and order and security in the world assured.

But if he turns from Lloyd George to Ramsay MacDonald, from Clemenceau to those French Socialists who yesterday acclaimed Caillaux, if he accepts aid in quarters where he would bestow an incalculable blessing merely by such a course, then President Wilson will realize the fears of those in all Allied countries most eager to see the victory they fought for retained, and the struggle against Germany will be followed swiftly by a new struggle against Bolshevism which may complete the exhaustion of civilization.

Why, Indeed?

(From The Hartford Courant) The invaluable "Who's Who in America" for 1918-'19, just out cuts down W. Bayard Hale to a single line, referring to the volume for 1916-'17. In the 1916-'17 volume he occupied about a half column. No reason is given for this sudden shrinkage. The man has come still further into prominence, and the work is supposed to tell all about men of prominence. A good deal more has been said of him since the last volume was printed and there might have been additions, if not also omissions.

A Mother's Protest

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: On October 18 my beloved son fell on a Flanders battlefield in defence of his country. The sorrow of this crushing blow was mitigated by the knowledge that he died in the noblest cause for which mankind has ever fought.

From the beginning of the great war he and I hoped and prayed for victory for the Allied cause, in whose justice we believed with unwavering steadfastness, and when our own country was forced into the struggle, without an instant's hesitation he joined the ranks of the defenders of liberty and civilization. Believing that a German victory meant the overthrow of Christianity itself, our every energy was directed toward helping in the prosecution of the war in conjunction with our allies, who had borne the brunt of the battle for three long years, and any attempt to minimize the crimes of Germany or to stir up an anti-British sentiment we regarded as distinctly unpatriotic, and for this reason Mr. Hearst publication was allowed in our home. Judge, therefore, my feelings on reading that this man Hearst had been appointed by Mayor Hylan as chairman of two committees, one to erect a memorial in France to our sons who had died on the battlefield and the other to welcome our boys returning home! Speaking for one whose beloved form rests beneath a rude wooden cross on a Flanders plain, I can say he would as lief the Kaiser pinned an Iron Cross on his dead breast as that this man Hearst should be chosen by a grateful country to do him honor.

Surely, Mayor Hylan cannot be blind to the feeling of the public on this subject. Yet he further enmeshes himself in this morning's paper by declaring that he intends not only to keep Hearst on the committee for welcoming the boys home, but that he wishes to add thereto the mothers of the brave dead whose voices are forever silenced! The Mayor states, in addition, that those who object to his appointment place personal feelings above patriotism. Was it patriotism or personal feeling that influenced the Mayor in appointing this notorious and obnoxious pro-German propagandist to this office? Here is one mother who not only refuses his invitation, but who regards it as a deadly insult to her martyred son.

EDITH M'GORMICK. New York, Dec. 15, 1918.

Bloody Toys

To the Mothers of America.

Remember: Nine American firms out of ten have consented to receive consignments of German Christmas toys, through Holland, having purchased them before we entered the war.

Only one firm out of the ten—Butler Brothers—has refused to receive them; the others will try to place the toys on sale for your children.

It is illegal to remove the "Made in Germany" sign; so, if they keep the letter of the law, you will not buy these things unknowingly—if you keep watch.

Little children like yours were shot and bayoneted in Belgium, were drowned, mutilated, burned and driven from their homes. The murder of their parents left them orphaned and desolate. Remember, for example, little Felix, eighteen months old, told of by Hugh Gibson, Minister Whitlock's secretary, probably the first Belgian baby killed by the Huns. "No doubt," says Mr. Gibson, "Felix fired upon them."

The German fathers and mothers were not shocked by these acts. They delighted in the "Song of the German Sword," which says: "I have drunk the blood of children, who looked at me with the eyes of a wounded lion." And in another of their infamous poems the soldiers are adjured not to spare children. The words are: "What kind of father should I be, having killed my own enemy, I left my son's enemy alive!"

These are the "kindly" people who decorate Christmas trees for their own children, make toys and sing Christmas hymns. Shall we buy their toys, stained with the blood of the innocent? M. C. S. East Orange, N. J., Dec. 10, 1918.