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With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.—From Lincoln's Second Inaugural, March 4, 1865.

The New Crisis

Not since the war began, not excepting the anxious days of the first August and the last March, has news of more serious import come from Europe than was cabled yesterday. The lid is off. The informal censorship, established and maintained doubtless with good motives, has collapsed. No longer is it regarded worth while to irritate, but not to deceive, the American people by descriptions of the inspiring "victories" being won by the American delegation.

It is time for intelligent Americans to open their eyes to the facts of the situation. Rosy romancing is inopportune. And what are the facts? Nothing other than that there is grave danger of losing at the peace table the victory for civilization won on the battlefield by infinite sacrifice. An unregenerate and unrepentant Germany waits and watches, scheming for a settlement that will revive the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and turn Russia and the dissevered Hapsburg lands into areas for German economic and political exploitation.

Practically everything that has happened since the signing of the armistice has been to Germany's advantage. Delay has benefited her. Disharmony has benefited her. The interpretation given to the vague Fourteen Points has benefited her. The ambiguities of the agitation for a league of peace have benefited her. Whenever anything calculated to put Germany under real bonds to keep the peace has been proposed it has been vetoed as born of a spirit of revenge and narrow-mindedness. It has been made to appear that the Allies, not Germany, are in the dock.

To burrow out responsibility for this lamentable condition is profitless. The sorry business began when it suited the partisan or personal interest of political elements in this country to play up the dissemblances rather than the parallels of the peace terms of the Allies as of January, 1917, and the Fourteen Points of a year later. Germany quickly saw the opening to make it appear that she had accepted the American proposals and repudiated the Ally proposals. This was to flatter America and irritate others. The maneuver, as all now can see, has had large success.

It is necessary to make a new start, and this time a right start. The disease being discord, the remedy is in stopping all bluffing, wavering and backfire building. Nothing can be achieved unless there is a basis of mutual confidence. Most unwise and ungenerous has been the aspersion of the motives of our associates, such as has recently occurred in this country, and the consequences are exactly what were to be expected.

With a high resolve to offend no more against the great community of interest, common sense will dictate a programme which has as its first item an effective chaining of Germany and her possible allies, and have as its second item a recognition of the fact that Germany must necessarily be treated in an exceptional way.

The crisis forbids all partisanship or thought of it. It is of no consequence who gets credit or who gets discredit. What Americans demand and expect is

a settlement that will afford some sort of rational guarantee that the grim work of four and one-half years need not be done again. A poor American these days is one who has too much conceit about his own pet peace formula. Dogmatists should be commanded to the rear. The over-wilful are a pest and misinterpret the wish and the thought of America. This must be brought home to the stubborn and self-satisfied.

The Universal Lincoln

The best textbook of Americanism is Abraham Lincoln. He represents our nationalism even more than does the flag. He is our ideals corporealized, vivified, applied. He is puritan, cavalier, shrewd bourgeois, free and easy Westerner, poor white trash, spontaneous democrat.

On this anniversary of his birth in a mud-stopped Kentucky cabin, better than a discourse on the problems of the day is a study of his career and character. Read Lincoln and about Lincoln, form contact with his spirit, saturate yourself with lore of him; you will arise a better man and citizen. He is an antidote to political distempers. He confutes the mixture of charlatanism and superficiality which afflicts the times.

Oh, soapboxer, form acquaintance with the great American before again mounting your rostrum! Oh, super-soapboxer, you of mincing mentality, who rock parlors with the fury of your radicalism, learn something of a great radical, the "black Republican" radical of Civil War days. One can see Lincoln's slow, quizzical smile, born of a common sense that always held the reins and of a humor that never was defeated, as he listens to all-sufficient, self-sufficient and insufficient young men.

Lincoln mastered the alphabet beside the flickering light of the fireplace of the pioneer, with no better blackboard or slate than a bit of shingle. Instead of whining against lack of opportunity, he saw opportunity on every side beckoning to him. He was too busy growing to have time for envy and peevish discontent; was too sane and brave to lead society with that formula of self-confessed weakness, "I've had no chance." Much had been withheld from him, but he rejoiced over what had been granted. Climbing tenement stairs in New York to-day are boys and girls animated with his serene and unconscious faith that within is an empire, broad, virgin and unexploited, and that to develop this is the best service to the world and one's self. Lincoln, differing from the Kaiser, never hailed God as on his side—was too occupied, he said, in trying to make sure he was on God's side.

He walked with greatness when alive. Even more now, though more than fifty years have passed since states and cities were his pallbearers, he walks with greatness. Mankind has filed a lien on him as part of the common heritage of the race, and the bigger the soul the surer it is to react to his spell. And to the humble and the backward everywhere he carries a message of hope and inspiration, thus contributing to that noblest of objectives—namely, the building of men.

On the Mend

Control of the Senate has long been in the hands of limited groups of "elder statesmen." Under the seniority rule the Senators of longest service monopolized the choice places on the major committees. They also dominated the conference committees. There was too much concentration of authority—too much inequality of power. The average Senator did not have a fair chance to develop. The Republican Senate caucus has sought to equalize things by providing that no Senator hereafter shall be a member of more than two major committees. Nor shall the chairman of a major committee serve on a conference committee unless authorized to do so by the majority members of the committee which has charge of the measure sent to conference. This arrangement will open up the conference committees to the younger Senators, who need the educational experience of sitting on them.

The Senate and the House have both steadily lost standing with the country because of their lack of intelligent and courageous leadership. They have been overshadowed by the Executive. They can regain their prestige by cultivating a broader outlook, self-dependence and the instinct of statesmanship. Cannonism was bad for the House of Representatives. Seniority has been a drag on the Senate. Both houses would be wise to loosen the brakes on ambition and independence. Only an ambitious and independent Congress can hope to win back the power and public confidence which the Congresses of twenty or thirty years ago enjoyed.

Hypocrites, Not Dupes

In the testimony of Victoria, the German propaganda agent, the witness said, when arrangements were afoot for the dispatch of a messenger to the German Consul at Amsterdam, that O'Leary repeatedly stipulated "the message should contain nothing against the United States." Assuming the testimony is true, was O'Leary honest in thinking such correspondence could be so denatured as to lose the elements of disloyalty? Did he genuinely believe he could touch German pitch and not be defiled? Or was he merely fixing up an alibi for use should he be caught? Was he a fool who did not know the nature and quality of his act? Did he regard as valid the discrimination he pretended to draw? Similar interrogatories are pertinent with respect to persons more important than O'Leary. For four and one-half

years we have beheld men and groups of men serving Germany in point of fact, yet saying their motive was to serve, or at least not to injure, the United States. Have they been dupes or hypocrites? When their lips have parroted the words of Berlin have they been conscious or unconscious tools?

Common sense seems to require an acceptance of the hypocrite hypothesis. The trouble has been more in badness of heart than in weakness of intellect. Self-deception has seldom victimized the workers for Germany. Whether excusing the Lusitania slaughter or playing the part of sea lawyers or calling for a negotiated peace or stimulating distrust of our war associates, the promoters of the various phases of German propaganda for the most part have known exactly what they were doing.

The Cost of Idle Machinery

The freight movement on our railways now runs above a billion ton miles per day. The sum is so staggering that no one can visualize it. An average horse cannot haul ten ton miles a day—that is, carry a ton load a distance of ten miles, day in and day out. So to perform the freight service of the railways alone would require above a hundred million horses, possibly nearer two hundred millions in reality.

Every one can imagine what it would mean to have any considerable part of such a number of horses idle and, as the phrase goes, "eating their heads off." But we never stop to think that idle machinery involves almost as great an economic loss if a corresponding amount of machinery is standing still. We can visualize the horse as a "hay motor" and see him doing a certain amount of work on a certain quantity of hay and oats. If he is idle, we can see the hay and oats disappearing in sheer waste; and if the thing be on a scale vast enough, we can be properly appalled. It is different when we think of an inanimate machine. When it stops, if it be for not too long a time, there seems no waste corresponding to that of the living animal. Nevertheless the loss to society is, to all intents, the same.

If a certain number of people save up a billion dollars to buy locomotives, cars and steel rails, all this machinery and mechanical power must yield a certain result. If they do not, not only these individuals but the whole community or nation in which they live are poorer for the fact. This is more evident in other lines than in rails. Take the boot and shoe industry. It is now largely the product of machinery. In this country that represents a very large investment of capital. If the boot and shoe machines are idle, the community is poorer in a double sense: It will have fewer boots and shoes to wear, and both the labor that is employed thereon and the capital invested therein will have less income to spend and, therefore, make a lessened contribution to the fund or flow from which the whole community derives its sustenance. It follows, therefore, that when a great strike is declared this not only decreases the income or living fund of the striking employes but of the whole community as well. We can see this clearly enough if we could imagine the farmers on a strike through the crop season or planting time, so that a whole year's crops were lost. The effect would be catastrophic. The nation would feel itself, and rightly, upon the verge of bankruptcy. It would be scarcely more disastrous if the railroads were to stop for sixty days and, likewise, if there were a stoppage of all the steel mills and factories of the country for even a short period.

A man cannot grow rich working only half a day; neither can a nation. Where there is a great strike everybody is poorer because of it. The country has less of things to use and enjoy than if every one was working on full time. Economic depression a little resembles a great strike. Because of a maladjustment of business or a lack of confidence, or whatever it may be termed, the flow of goods and products of the country is materially decreased. But, meanwhile, the living needs of a hundred million souls must be met. If later the supplies of goods are found to be short, then we have to pay much higher prices for the diminished quantity. How unintelligent, therefore, that what we call "uncertainty about prices," whether they will hold or fall, should interfere with the production of goods and even threaten to retard industrial processes. Goods are essential. Prices represent merely the relation of one thing to another. You cannot eat them or wear them, and yet they do affect the supply of what we eat and wear, because we have never found a way to readjust them easily and scientifically, by forethought.

Brothers

Lincoln Roosevelt
February 12, 1869—October 27, 1858
Each, chief of his land, and his land's defender,
As heroes are, was strong and tender,
And destined hope of his nation.
The life of one seemed renunciation;
Of the other, vigor and ardor of earth,
Builded, we know now, of early death,
Of invincible hunger for health,
Untempered by easier wealth.
Their was like cleanness of body and soul;
Stainless, reproachless, in atom and whole,
Spirits in bodies how differently masked,
Souls that of life, the seeker, asked
One thing—to be safe for Liberty.
Brothers, they, in that family
In which the world's first of gentlemen,
Their Elder Brother, taught to them
All that was noble, fearless, good;
Love, and courage, and brotherhood.
ISABEL FISKE CONANT.

With the Customary

Eastern barrier, blind left eye, blue enamel color—
Lost and Found advertisement in The Times.
I never lost an azure pup.
A Boston, semi-blind one;
But I can tell you, down and up,
I'd rather lose than find one.
We hereby warn the War Department that unless we receive our December pay before we make out our 1918 income tax schedule we shall charge the amount to bad debts.
"It is a fact," declared Third Deputy Police Commissioner Porter, "that some of those drafted into the Army were not of the better class." Dear! dear! in a war of democracy, too!
One simply can't understand the French.
They distrust the Germans.
F. P. A.

The Conning Tower

IN A NEW ENGLAND GARDEN

ABOUT a sun-filled knoll, in hail
Of the back kitchen-door,
She dug and set and mulched and trimmed
For thirty years and more.

It was a tidy garden-spot,
All stiffly laid by plan;
The beds were parallelograms
And straight the footways ran.

It was a decorous garden-spot,
Sober, discreet, and tame;
No fulvous lilies loling there,
No peppy's ardent flame.

No motley tulips, well-beloved
Of Omar long ago,
No roses, redolent of dreams,
Would in that garden grow.

But pale alyssum, salvia,
Potunias and sweetpeas;
Quaint little pinks, calendulas—
Such seemly blooms as these,

I tiptoed round the paths with her;
She smartly picked a spray
Of this or that, and, as she talked,
Wove a hard, tight bouquet.

"The woman here next door will call
To daughter or to me,
'Hello, sweetheart!'—she always talks
So sentimentally.

"Why, all throughout our married life
I don't suppose I heard
My husband (he died some years back)
Ever employ that word!"

How strange it seemed! She felt a pride
That one to her so near
Had never cared to name her fair
Or tell her she was dear!

G. S. B.

Reviewing Mr. Archie Austin Coates's "City Tides," the worshipped Dial observes that "the poorer side is probably due to the fact that one influence other than inspiration and Masters played a part in shaping these creations; a newspaper 'column.' That sophisticated brother of the Poets' Corner does much, perhaps, to arouse the interest of the average reader in things literary; but there is, too, a tendency to 'smartness' which is amusing on the way downtown, but falls flat, for some reason, between the covers of a book." Isn't the Dial a little too generous? Shouldn't it have said "part of the way downtown?"

As to the average reader, we should like the Dial's or anybody else's definition of that elusive target of the average editor. If he is the kind of reader who, after the publication of Archie's "Here Are Ladies," wanted to know where the series could be had in book form, it may be interesting to know that he was of varied degrees of education, wealth, literacy, and sex.

THE DIARY OF OUR OWN SAMUEL PEPPY

February 8.—Early up, and to breakfast with my wife, her low spirits raised by a picture of a kitten O. Herford had drawn for her; and I promised her she should have a kitten of her own when she recovers, if that we do have a house to live in again. For, albeit I have opposed, for fifteen years, that she have a kitten, yet now I doubt that I shall say nay to any wish she may have.

9.—Miss Irene Franklin to visit my wife, and B. Green, and R. Spillman, and Miss Kitty Russell and S. Whitman, and so many people my wife had not seen in five months, yet was calm throughout their stay. Stopped late and thence to the train, but the tram-car broke down and I had to walk a kilometre to the station, and when I came to my berth I heard opposite, in berth No. 10, such a snoring as shook the car, and even the porter did comment on it, saying, "Some thunder."

10.—Saw R. Boyden the barrister from Boston emerging from berth 10 this morning, and greeted him; and he denies he was snoring last night, forasmuch, he saith, he did not board the train till past midnight, and I heard these sounds at ten minutes to twelve. To my office, where all day, and to A. Boyden's to dinner, where are Misses Edna Ferber and Lola Fisher and Miss Bull, and F. Fox and Edith, and Mr. Bartlett and R. Boyden; and there was a merry evening of it, and Edith played and sang, and Edna very droll and winsome, and Mistress Lola asked me to come to see her, and told me where she lives, too, which is a rare thing for ladies to do when they say, "Come to see me."

11.—N. Levy from the District Attorney's office took me to lunch, of capon livers and figs; and Mr. Hawley to see me, for news of his son Boz, with whom I had many merry times in Paris, and I told him all about Boz, save about the day he had aphasia. Talked to my wife over the telephone this afternoon, and she says she is better than she was yesterday; and I pray she may soon be whole again. Much talk about my Lord Woodrow and the French, and this and that, but I have great trust in him and his stolidness or firmness.

"Speaking of Bolsheviki activities," says "The Washington Post," "what about this movement to confiscate all the intoxicating liquors cached in cellars, garrets, garages, and other convenient hiding places against the national drought that is to descend upon the country on July 1." . . . The rumor of this projected invasion of personal liberty is growing." Let "The Post" be not alarmed. We are a broad-minded people, and personal liberty is a sacred thing, though, of course, anybody who wears a red tie, or asks what Bolsheviki means, ought to be shot at an early hour.

Eliminated

(From The Detroit News)
When a young man advises a girl to stop boxing lessons she need not waste her time in figuring on a proposal from him.

Lincoln and England

An English view of the Great Emancipator's diplomacy and its effect on the present day affairs

By Lord Charnwood



WHAT is admitted to be one of the best biographies of Lincoln is the work of an Englishman, Lord Charnwood, published in 1916. Lord Charnwood, who is soon to visit America, discusses in one chapter Lincoln's foreign policy with particular reference to its bearings on relations with England.

The question what was his influence upon foreign policy is more difficult than the general praise bestowed upon it might lead us to expect; because, though he is known to have exercised a constant supervision over Seward, that influence was concealed from the diplomatic world.

For at least the first eighteen months of the war, apart from the lesser points of quarrel, a real danger of foreign intervention hung over the North. The danger was increased by the ambitions of Napoleon III in regard to Mexico, and by the loss and suffering caused to England, above all, not merely from the interruption of trade but from the suspension of cotton supplies by the blockade. From the first there was the fear that foreign powers would recognize the Southern Confederacy as an independent country; that they were then likely to offer mediation, which it would at the best have been embarrassing for the President to reject; that they might ultimately, when their mediation had been rejected, be tempted to active intervention. . . . The Emperor of the French, though not the French people, inclined throughout to this policy, but he would not act apart from England; and the English government, though Americans did not know it, had determined, and for the present was quite resolute, against any hasty action. Nevertheless, an almost accidental cause very soon brought England and the North within sight of a war to which neither people was in appearance averse.

Neither the foreign policy of Lincoln's government, nor, indeed, the relations of England and America from his day to our own can be understood without some study of the attitude of the two countries to each other during the war. If we could put aside any previous judgment on the cause as between the North and the South, there are still some marked features in the attitude of England during the war which every Englishman must now regret. It should emphatically be added that there were some upon which every Englishman should look back with satisfaction. Many of the expressions of English opinion at that time betray a powerlessness to comprehend another country and a self-sufficiency in judging it which may humbly be claimed were not always, and are not

Russia Their Horrible Example

Germany's Profit by the Mistakes of the Bolsheviks

By Elias Tobenkin

BERNE, Jan. 21 (By mail).—Russia's chaos seemingly is proving the greatest stimulus to orderly government in Germany. It is the mistakes and excesses of the Russian revolution that are now teaching the German Socialists moderation and are charting the course of the revolutionary government at Berlin. The policy of that government seems to be to use Russia as an example, not only before the people but in its own conduct of affairs. Whatever was done in Petrograd must not be done in Berlin seems to be the motto of the Ebert régime.

The Russians ushered in their revolution with a delirium of celebrations; the Germans are asked by their revolutionary government not to indulge in holidays, for holidays curtail production. The Russian revolution was ushered in with strikes; the German Socialists leaders warn the proletariat that strikes at this time, even when justified by conditions, are nevertheless undesirable, as the country needs the maximum of production to get back to normal conditions. The Russian revolution has attracted great masses of workmen to the cities. In Germany the city proletariat is earnestly requested by the Socialist government to scatter as much as possible in the provinces and find work there. Only by work and ever increased production in every field of industry can the new government be successful and the revolutionary achievements be made permanent, the workers are told, and the workers of Germany, trained in discipline, obey.

An appeal to the German workmen to scatter through the provinces as much as possible, signed by the heads of the government—Ebert, Scheidemann, Dittman, Landsberg and Barth—is the chief feature in the Socialist papers of Germany that have just reached here. It is entitled "An Appeal to the German Workmen from the German Government," and says in part: "The war has made us poor, the defeat poorer. Our soil is neglected and drained, our cattle have been slaughtered, our means of communication have been reduced, the productive means of the country partly ruined. . . . Workmen, in your hands, and your hands only, lies the possibility of averting a great catastrophe. You must bring to life again our shattered economic institutions—your workmen must see to it that we are spared hunger, civil war and all that comes in their train. You must work. Socialism demands that you work. Socialism can only exist on a foundation of work. He who goes on celebrating when he might have been working is making himself and others poorer. He is sinning against his people and its socialist future. . . . Workmen, do not remain in the big cities, where industry cannot take care of you all, because there is not enough coal and raw materials. Go to the country, seat-

Adams Bear Apples to Eves

(From The Concordia Kansas)
Last Thursday quite a number of the men folk of the Methodist Episcopal Church took it in their heads to go to Ladies' Aid and surprise them, giving them a treat with fine apples costing 10 cents a pound, or about 6 cents apiece, and were splendidly received and cordially invited to come again. Between thirty and forty ladies were present. Such is what makes life worth while.

No Honor Among Pirates

(From The Baltimore American)
A Gotham bandit tried to rob a waiter of his tips. Even professional courtesy is neglected in these sordid days.

Will Germany Fight Again?

By William L. McPherson

THE Allies won the war when the armistice with Germany was signed on November 11 last. Will they have to win it over again before they can enforce terms of peace?

Clemenceau says that the peace conference proceedings mark "a lull in the storm." Truculent talk in the Weimar Assembly supports that view. The German people do not yet acknowledge defeat. And they will do whatever they can to evade its penalties.

Can they renew the fight if the peace terms do not please them? In a military sense Germany was beaten to her knees last fall. Ludendorff's armies surrendered because they were unable to escape envelopment and destruction. But the German troops did not become prisoners of war. They gave up most of their heavy artillery, field artillery, machine guns, aeroplanes and trench mortars. But they didn't throw down their rifles. They withdrew beyond the Rhine an organized, veteran army. Nor have they been demobilized to any great extent since. There are still 2,000,000 German troops available for a war of liberation, such as Prussia fought against Napoleon in 1813.

The armistice terms were defective in not providing for immediate German demobilization. Now the Allied armies are being rapidly disbanded. It has been assumed that Germany would bow without protest to the mandates of the peace conference. So long as the Allies hold the line of the Rhine in sufficient force Germany must accept what is offered her. But if the French, British and American armies of occupation are prematurely reduced to skeleton strength, Germany may be emboldened to resist peace conditions which in her opinion are too onerous to be imposed on an "unconquered nation."

Germany's military position has been greatly weakened by the loss of the left bank of the Rhine and the Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz bridgeheads. She has been cut off from Austria by the creation of the new State of Slovakia. A strong and hostile Polish republic has been established on her eastern frontier. If Essen is taken over by the Allies when the armistice is renewed this month, Germany will lose her biggest war materials plant. Yet her situation will still be less desperate than Prussia's was after Tilsit. She might be able to defend herself and possibly to secure a modification of the peace terms if the Allies yield to the impulses of war weariness and attempt to throw the burden of enforcing the treaty on an unstable and non-militant society of nations.

Foeh could conquer Germany with the forces he now has in hand. The question is whether he could conquer her three months or six months hence with the forces, and especially the reserves, which will then be left him.

The blockade didn't starve Germany out. If it had done so, Ebert would never have said the other day in the Weimar Assembly: "Hunger is preferable to disgrace and deep privation is to be preferred to dishonor." The old German army always had plenty to eat. The new German army will not go hungry.

In dealing with Germany the only sure weapon is force. The force which Germany is gathering to combat the decisions of the peace conference can be met only through the maintenance of Allied armies powerful enough to keep those decisions alive.

Mr. Wilson's Gifts

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: As an employer of labor I tried for three months to get helpers who were either college graduates or technically trained. I should like to say a word in favor of a suggestion which appeared in The Tribune suggesting scholarships as Roosevelt memorials.

For some centuries the business world has paid the price the public should pay for training its workers, many of whom are thrown on the scrap heap after ten or twenty years of untiring effort, poor conditions and more or less unsatisfactory work.

There is no better way to usher in the reconstruction period than by standing firmly for education, and therefore for better work.

To educate our boys and girls in the name of Theodore Roosevelt would mean to build into both mind and character the ideals of our great America. To offer this training to the war workers who are now seeking employment would be our deepest form of gratitude. I should like to quote a few words from a recent poem by Sulamith Ish-Kishor: "Oh, boy with deep bright eyes and crippled foot, Oh, soldier with the face made old with war. We promise you, by every wound you bear, A nation's homage and a nation's help."
W. E. LAWRENCE.
New York, Feb. 7, 1919.

Eliminated

(From The Columbia State)
Dr. Koo is to be present at the peace conference. Oh, fair dove; oh, fond dove!

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A Gotham bandit tried to rob a waiter of his tips. Even professional courtesy is neglected in these sordid days.

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