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Reviving Johnsonism

After Appomattox the victors dealt with states which had rebelled against the Union as Germany and her satellites rebelled against civilization. The underlying purpose of the peace sought in 1865, although relating to a more circumscribed area, was the same as that sought in 1919—namely, to restore what had been and to safeguard the future. Magnanimity and breadth of vision were needed fifty years ago as now, but for a time a confusion prevailed equal to that of to-day.

The parallelism reaches beyond the purposes of the peace—appears in the arguments of the two sides. Lincoln had waged the war on the ground that no state had a right to secede. When beaten the opponents of union, quickly shifting their position, became loud friends of strict constitutional union. They twisted the doctrine that no state had a right to secede into the doctrine that no state had in fact seceded; with plausible, artificial logic they argued that, no state having been in law out of the Union, all states must be treated in fact as in it. Lincoln's successors were fiercely assailed as false to their own principles; exceptional treatment of the defeated was denounced as the sum of all iniquities. Ears are now afflicted with a similar din of talk directed to proving that the Allies, having contended no nation has a right to rebel against civilization, are estopped from recognizing that some have done so and that others must not be allowed to repeat the offence.

The parallelism goes even further than the field of argument. In 1865 Andrew Johnson, the original "peace without victory" man, became President, and hotly espoused the policy that the settlement must not and could not include any safeguarding coercion of a sovereign state. With great fury he raged up and down the country, misused the powers of his office, attacked Congress and condemned the exaction of guarantees as not only unconstitutional but as a betrayal of the sacred objects of the war.

Many were deceived by the specious nonsense, among them no less a person than William H. Seward, who was, as it were, the Taft of 1865. President Johnson, his mood not dissimilar to that now displayed in Washington, held that the settlement was solely his business and that the elected representatives of the people had nothing to do with it.

History thus repeats itself in the present general policy of the Wilson Administration — namely, Germany, as near as may be, is to be treated as if she had never seceded from civilization. It also repeats itself in the spirit at the White House with respect to the privileges of the Executive Department.

The chapter on the Johnson Administration in "A History of the American People," by Woodrow Wilson, furnishes highly suggestive reading at the present juncture—may be said to foreshadow President Wilson's attitude toward world peace and Germany and toward the legislative branch of the government. The chapter is a prolonged sneer at the reconstructionists who held it indispensable to safeguard domestic peace.

The Johnson policy showed a most suspicious bulge which had the look of the old secessionist cat, and President Johnson notably covered the principles of his party when he put on his hat, often changing between dinner and tea, but these things apparently did not interest Dr. Wilson, the historian. He was not much moved by the Civil War tragedy or by its humanitarian issues, and coolly assumed that in the main Johnson was right. He acknowledges Johnson lacked ability and tact, but seems to attribute his failure to these deficiencies rather than to the badness of his ideas.

Johnson was crude and uneducated, while President Wilson is smooth and scholarly, but it is remarkable to what degree the present Administration's policy is a revival of the Johnson policy. Just as President Johnson, who escaped impeachment and removal through the last hour grace of his opponents, held that the settlement should ignore what was and had been, so President Wilson has proceeded, in his interpretation of the fourteen points, on the theory that there should be a peace without victory—that no safeguarding terms should be imposed, or as little as our allies can be induced to consent to. Likewise, there is strong similarity between the ideas of the two Presidents with respect to the prerogatives of a chief executive.

What About Russia?

Ambassador Francis's testimony discloses complete discord between his views and the views of the Administration. Our government backed the Prinkipo experiment, which involved a recognition of the Lenine régime and joint negotiations with it and the pro-Ally factions. The War Department apparently favors the speedy withdrawal of American troops from Northern Russia. Mr. Francis strongly opposes any recognition of Lenine. As to the effect of a withdrawal of Allied troops from Russia before the Bolshevist terrorism is overthrown, he says frankly:

> "If this Bolshevist government remains in control of Russia peace in Europe is, in my opinion, impossible. Germany will exploit Russia if this disorder continues, and instead of having lost the war Germany will win, and in ten years she will be stronger than she was in August, 1914."

Mr. Francis went all through the revolution, and for many months was in painful contact with the realities of Bolshevism. The attitude he takes toward the Soviet dictatorship is the attitude which Secretary Lansing took when he asked the neutral nations to boycott Lenine's government because it stood beyond the pale of civilization.

It stands there still. Yet, with no evidence in sight of repentance on its part, the United States recently appointed two commissioners to go to Prinkipo to meet commissioners named by Lenine and Trotzky.

So far as Russia is concerned the war is not over and Allied ends have not been attained. Russia is as much a political and military menace as ever. A peace which avoids a solution of the Russian problem will be only a nominal peace. The Prinkipo parley has been abandoned. And the Paris conference is still without a Russian policy.

Yet, as Ambassador Francis declares, Russia, still a belligerent, is preparing to continue the war and to join forces, after the Allies disarm, with Germany, also vengeful and unrepentant.

It is a tragic situation.

What is the Paris conference going to do about it?

An Heroic Queen's Quest

Two wearers of crowns emerge from the war with the admiration of the world. Irrespective of what may be said of other crowned heads, King Albert of Belgium and Queen Marie of Rumania have displayed a fortitude and bravery that have compelled the respect even of their enemies. Albert, returning in triumph to his capital, has seen his people on the way to recovery from the sufferings of war. That goal is not yet in sight for the faithful Marie, who has arrived in Paris as a supplicant before the peace tribunal in behalf of her hungry people. On her breast she wears the French War Cross with a palm, bestowed not in idle compliment to the Queen of an allied state, but, as the citation pointed out, because she was "a good soldier."

All that she has proved herself to be. The daughter of a son of Queen Victoria and a German princess, she has opposed everything German. Her husband, King Ferdinand, with whom she ascended the throne after the outbreak of the European war, is a Hohenzollern with a brother in the German army. How much Marie did to turn him against his natural affiliation may never be known outside the royal palace, but soon after their ascension to the throne Rumania entered the war.

All the world knows what followed. Deserted by Russia and isolated from her other allies, Rumania was overrun by an overwhelming force of Germans and Bulgarians. As soon as her armies took the field Queen Marie donned the garb of a Sister of Charity and gave all her time to the sick and wounded. Until forced to flee before the invaders she gave the greater part of her palace in Bucharest over for use as a war hospital. Oppressed by the double grief of her country's misfortunes and the death of her youngest child, Queen Marie still devoted herself to her hospital work. For days, fleeing before the advancing Germans, she and her family had no home. Writing of this period when she buried her private sorrow in that of her subjects, she said:

"As a queen it was my duty to place myself at the service of my suffering people, to place myself there where I could hear every cry of agony and every echo of suffering and distress."

She earned the title of "the Joan of Arc of Rumania," and when, overcome by hunger and superior forces, Rumania was forced to sign a humiliating treaty of peace, Marie declared she would never acceept the result. At the final review, before the demobilization ordered by the Germans, she exclaimed:

"What a tragedy that this magnificent army must lay down its arms! But, please God, it shall not be for long! I repeat it, it shall not be for long. Germany by her might and brutishness may subdue but she can never crush the spirit of my soldiers. With God's help we shall fight again, and I pray that the day is not far off."

Now, with the fighting ended, she is appealing for food. "We are used to being shabby, and we can go without shoes and clothes," she told Premier Clemenceau, "but we must have food."

The spectre of Bolshevism, common now to all Europe, will not rise in Rumania if the people are fed, she promises. America will wish her the success it would accord to any brave warrior, crowned or uncrowned.

The Red Blood of Nationalism

Chairman Hays says that nationalism will be the keynote of the next Republican campaign. If it is the original Republican tradition will be lived up to. The Republican party's first mission was to uproot slavery and sectionalism and to establish national unity on the basis of liberty and equality of opportunity. It inherited the broad nationalistic ideals of Clay, Hamilton and Washington. It sought to create a free, powerful and indissoluble state.

It has taken the United States more than a century to become a real nation. The separatist tendencies which Washington deplored in his Farewell Address were not eradicated until long after the Civil War. We are just beginning to function as a thoroughly united people. Yet there are those who think that our nationalistic development should be halted before the first milepost has been passed.

Why should the immensely helpful processes of nationalization be checked in the case of the United States—at present only a beginner in the school of nationality? To bring lasting peace to the world is an aspiration which all enlightened men and women share. But there are other ways of guaranteeing peace than tying up with an all-embracing scheme of internationalism.

There is nothing in this country's record which even faintly suggests a threat to the world's peace. There is nothing in Great Britain's record or France's which contains such a threat. Germany's morbid, immoral and militaristic nationalism plunged the world into war. But that hardly furnishes a sufficient reason for distrusting our own pacific nationalism, or Great Britain's or France's. It does not excuse an abridgment of our sovereignty and a departure from our traditional policies on the ground that that way only lies an escape from a calamity such as the world has just gone through.

The United States needs a larger measure of nationalization—political, economic and cultural. It needs that more than it needs the protection of internationalism. To enter a league which will outlaw war is one thing. It is another to enter a league which will undertake to administer the whole world as a political trust. We have still to work out our own problem of nationality, under conditions which separate us as a New World power from the complexities and confusions of Old World politics. Why should we drop that problem and abandon our American mission in order to become a member of an international system whose centre of gravity must always remain in Europe?

Nationalism means more to us than we realize. It is the real factor in our future. It is the one thing which we ought not to sacrifice. And there is no need to sacrifice it for the sake of a world peace. For the peace of the world can be maintained by joint action of those nations which desire it, yet prefer to remain nations and achieve their own destiny as such.

The German Fleet

President Wilson's letter to Representative Alvin T. Fuller is encouraging and indicates that the United States delegation at Paris will stand out against the asinine plan to sink the captured German fleet.

Collecting the captured German warships in mid-ocean, drawing a circle of doom around them, reading their death sentence and then plunging them into the depths would furnish a highly dramatic—not to say melodramatic—spectacle. It would be meat for the movies. It would have something of the pomp and solemnity of an *auto da fé*.

But in these days the *auto da fé* is out of date. Why destroy anything of value merely for the sake of destroying it? The German navy represents an investment of hundreds of millions of dollars. That investment has shrunk. But a certain marketable value remains. Even as junk the German fleet is an asset which can be applied to the payment of Germany's debts to the Allies.

Moreover, it is idle to say that the German vessels are worthless except as junk. After the Spanish War the United States took over a number of small cruisers belonging to the enemy's Philippine fleet. It raised a larger cruiser from the bottom of Santiago Harbor and refitted it as a guardship or receiving ship. Many of the German war vessels are relatively new. They can be used in any navy for various legitimate purposes. Some of them are much superior to the vessels which the minor nations keep in active service.

If Great Britain and the United States don't want the German battleships, battle-cruisers and cruisers France might be willing to take them in partial satisfaction of her claims against Germany. So might Italy or Portugal or Greece or Brazil. Some of the neutral nations—Holland, Spain, Chile and the Argentine—might be glad to pay cash for them.

To sink them would imply a singular poverty of business talent on the part of the peace conference. As the President justly says: "It [the scuttling project] seems to me like the counsel of those who do not know what else to do." It is the duty of the conference to salvage as much tangible property as possible out of the German wreck. Every dollar that can be realized will be needed to square Germany's bankruptcy accounts. And even then the creditors can hardly hope for anything like a settlement in full.

It Doesn't Brush Off Easily

(From The Toledo Blade)

A young man's shoulder is no place for a girl to wear her complexion.

The Conning Tower

Song by Director General Hines:

I've been working on the railroads,
All the livelong day;
I've been working on the railroads,
Just to make the darned things pay.

Red and black flags are permitted in Nebraska for railroad signalling, but the railroads' chief use these days is for the white flag.

"Fair and Warmer; Southerly Winds"

As it might appear in one kind of newspaper.

As though this had not already been a season such as has not been undergone by red-blooded Americans since our nation shook off the yoke of tyranny, the latest announcement by the Administration's paid weather-bureau affronts the patriotism of all of us who have been led to believe that an American winter means a lack of insipid, vacillating, mild weather.

"Southerly winds," indeed! This truckling to political influences is as revolting as it is obvious. How long this sort of thing is to continue unless something is done, we hesitate to predict.

All honor to the patriotic, virile American Senators who have signed the protest against this added insult to our institutions.

* * * * *

As it might appear in another kind of newspaper.

"Fair and warmer: Southerly winds." This is a summary of the past achievements of the President; an earnest of even greater things to come. Never had we had so fine a winter. "It is impossible," said the partisan detractors of the Administration. "There never has been a snowless winter." Did that daunt one to whom precedent is not to be revered merely because it is precedent? No. Like in other matters, he sees no reason for not doing a great, apparently impossible thing merely because it never has been done.

This is the spirit that has won the war—fairness and warmth. And the gentle zephyrs blowing from the Southland, which contributed so many of her brave sons to make the world safe for democracy, are but an added tribute to an Administration which, weathering all storms, sees the harbor, shining fair and warm, near at hand.

Internationalism is sweeping Newark, where at the Typographical Union No. 103 Welcome Home celebration, the members, according to the Ledger, "sang several patriotic songs, including 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' 'Minnie Shimmie For Me,' and 'Ja Da.'"

Gotham Gleanings

—Look out for snow.

—Rupert Hughes is out in Iowa visiting the home folks.

—T. W. Wilson was a Gotham passer-through last Tuesday.

—Miss Crosby Little of here was calling on her sister Tues. eve'g.

—Joe Wise and Mrs. J. H. Wise are the parents of a new baby girl and Joe is handing out the cigars.

—If Art Hornblow is back from France and will tell us the no. of that party he asked us to call up we gladly will do same.

—Mrs. P. Lydig of here was hostess at a lunch Friday for Mme. Barrientos, the festal board groaning 'neath the wt. of viands.

—Mont Glass of New Rochelle is home from Paris, Fr. Mont saw Pres. Wilson, Ralph Hayes and Jimmy Montague "over there," as they say.

—Max Foster is back from France, nearly o. k. from his having been gassed. Max is still angry at Wade Hayes and ye ed for leaving the wash basin on his door, same beaning him when he came in. Just a boyish prank, we thought it.

—Jack Calder of St. Nazaire, Utica, Gotham and Tours is back in the U. S. and in youth's size clothing again. Jack was putting together ambulances when we saw him and his men used to sing to him "Thy mandates make auto trucks assemble."

Greater songs have been written, but no songs sung during the war were more popular than "The Last Long Mile" and "There's a Long, Long Trail," written, one by Sam Hill and the other by Stoddard King, the w. k. contribs.

When $10,000 Was Considered Money

(Burr v. Burr, Hill's Reports, Vol. VII, page 233, 1843)

"With the plain and simple habits of expense to which she has been accustomed during a long life, she certainly will not now require such an establishment as might be thought suitable for a queen dowager. At her age it would be unsuitable, even ludicrous, to lavish the revenues of a principality in the adornment of her person, and she will not require to be fed like the profligate Egyptian courtezan with pearls dissolved in acid. The allowance of ten thousand dollars a year is manifestly extravagant and excessive, if not vindictive, and is obviously, even confessedly, intended for other purposes than expenditure for support and maintenance. It equals the aggregate amount of the salaries of the chancellor, the secretary of state, the attorney general, the surveyor general and the comptroller. Here are five distinguished gentlemen, learned and talented, filling with ability and honor the highest departments of our state government, associating with the most respected classes of society in the state—fully equal it may be presumed to the first circles of Connecticut, of which the respondent was once the ornament and delight; and yet their united salaries do not exceed what the chancellor had thought proper to allow for the suitable maintenance of one woman."

The principal parts of the highly irregular verb, according to Dirge, are Woodro, woodire, woodi, wilson.

The Parlor Bolshevist has a good deal of fun making fun of the Vestibule Anti-Bolshevist.

As we understand the Covenant of the L. of N., it is Dictated but not Red.

F. P. A.

THE CRUSADER

To Have by Taking

The New Socialism No Longer Says, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts," but to the Workers, "Own Them Yourselves"

By Kenneth Macgowan

SEATTLE, March 7.—Here are all the sidelights on the making over of socialism which have been going on since August, 1914. You could probably find every step in the process from the days when the instinctive defensive patriotism of the European workingman was hailed as the bankruptcy of socialism, through the schism that resulted from the reemergence of international anti-war socialism, to the days of October, 1917, when the rise of the soviets turned a large share of revolutionary thought in a new direction. But the thing that the general strike primarily presents is the definite end of the old, routine type of political socialism headed for the nationalization of industry. In Seattle you will find the two kinds of propagandists into which it has now split. One has coalesced with the I. W. W. The other has joined organized labor. Both are headed in the same direction. And it isn't nationalization of industry.

"Soviets," "industrial democracy," "Whitley report," "shop management"—all these common phrases of socialist and labor propaganda, as you hear them in Seattle, mean one thing.

Old and New Socialism

The old platform of socialism used to talk of the "social ownership and democratic management of the means of production." The new socialism vetoes that distinction. It stands for working class ownership and working class management. It is very close to syndicalism. Only some mental provisos for a general oversight of industry by a working class government separates it from communist anarchism.

Seattle shows socialism united in the quest for this end but divided along the way. One section of the old body of party Socialists, tiring of doctrinaire antagonism to labor unions because they didn't carry a red card and pay 25 cents a month to the party war chest, went over into the regular organization of the A. F. of L. These are the sort of men who manage the Seattle labor newspaper, "The Union Record," and dominate in many of the trade union locals. The other type, the "irreconcilables," opposing the war and growing desperately hopeless of winning adherents by the old political processes, have drawn close to the I. W. W. and now fight their battles. They were the first to pick up the shibboleths of the Bolshevists and to call for the "taking over of industry by the workers."

The Police Net's Haul

It is curiously significant that when the authorities in Seattle began their arrests at the end of the "revolution" the trade unions were not the ones to suffer. It was the remnants of the Socialist party that fell into the police net. And they fell in as "I. W. W.'s." Yet the truth is that "The International Weekly," whose office was closed up by the police and whose editors were arrested, was actually not a "wobbly" paper—as every news dispatch stated—but an organ of the Socialist party. Only—in the sort of propaganda it printed—the distinction had ceased to exist.

The weekly carried at the top of its editorial page on each side of the Socialist party emblem the words:

"Advocating the overthrow of capitalism through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

On its front page the week of the strike this "organ of the Socialist party of Washington" bore in three-inch type:

"CAPITALISM TOTTERING."

Another headline said:

"CAN 60,000 WORKERS OPERATE INDUSTRY WITHOUT BOSSES?"

The Workers' Plan

The following quotations come from two leading articles into which were sandwiched statements that there would be no violence during the process of expropriation and that any drenching of Seattle's streets with blood would be "up to the employers!"

"Seattle faces the most tremendous and vital changes that have ever taken place in the history of the American working class. For here in Seattle, peacefully and without violence, may transpire the revolutionary change in the management of industry from the present exploiters to the workers. The workers . . . are not going to stand by and see the industries of Seattle non-productive because it is the whim of the American capitalist class to crush out unionism. The class conscious workers of Seattle insist on a positive policy: the management of industry by the workers with the complete elimination of the boss. . . .

"Unemployment stalks through the land. . . . What is the solution? Surely not the closing down of the shipyards for a protracted period. The shipyards must be reopened; the strikers are the only ones to do it. Then let's do it. The employers may object. That is of no account. . . .

"Since the employers refuse to run industry in a way that provides for the greatest good for the greatest numbers, we, the workers, must. And we can."

The Lure of the Trust

You hear no more talk from these leaders about "social ownership and democratic management." And you find rank and file workingmen who never knew what socialism was all about or who ran away from it when they found the politician installed as the industrial manager, but who now listen with interest and some approval to declarations that the trade unions could or should manage industry.

"Let the nation own the trusts"—the simplest statement of the old socialism—never touched their emotions or their intellects.

"Own the trusts yourselves" is a vastly different proposition. It has an attraction about it that has got to be seriously reckoned with.

The Seattle general strike was a failure as a revolution and a failure as a sympathetic demonstration to force victory for the shipyard workers. But for those who wish labor to think in the way of the "new socialism" its importance and its power are not to be lightly questioned.

The Bolshevik Phantasy

(From The Villager)

LET us hope we are done with the irresponsible prophecies of world-wide Bolshevism; for the time being, at least, events and a few men with courageous faith seem to have outfaced the brew of bragging horror. And it is time; we had been patient longer than the decent spirit of freemen allows with those who insisted that the whole world would be thrown into chaos unless the particular details of their egotism or fear were written into our law. Even Mr. Wilson, visiting these shores, has been constrained to pseudo-secret whispers of the terrible purpose running in the hearts of "plain men everywhere." His intimate and accepted interpreters, it must be admitted, have been less restricted some of them have been childishly frank in revealing the universal upheaval that hangs on our disobedience to the mandates of the internationally minded. Senator Hitchcock, for example, terribly avowed that our hands were tied; it was a choice between one kind of internationalism and another, between the league of nations as it is now presented and a reign of the Trotzky pattern. That such a statement is false is less important than that the generalization back of it is immoral, for, whatever may be true of individuals, nations are never forced, in any great matter, to choose between two degrees of badness. The recent round robin of the Republican Senators, however, has finally disposed of the despicable effort to convert our convictions as to the right and wisdom of the particular league of nations plan before us into a fear of "epidemic" Bolshevism. Whatever else, this much has been settled; our people are not to be frightened into this league or any other league. Safety first is not yet, thank heaven! written on any of the guide posts along the road of our national destiny.

Henry P. Davison's Work

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The war-time organization of the American Red Cross went out of existence on March 1, and the personnel for peace takes its place. May I be permitted to give expression to the sense of great obligation under which the Red Cross rests to its war-time workers, from the lowest to the highest, but particularly to its master spirit, Henry P. Davison, chairman of its retiring war council?

When some one sneeringly asked, on hearing that Mr. Davison, a partner in Morgan & Co., had been made chairman of the Red Cross War Council by President Wilson, "What does the Morgan firm get out of it?" Mr. Davison replied: "The Morgan firm gets out of it with a $1,000,000 subscription to the Red Cross."

As a humble worker in a minor bureau of the Red Cross during the war I was privileged to study and to learn the value of the application of American business methods to a great social enterprise. It is due to Mr. Davison to say that his methods were everywhere adequate to carry through whatever project he undertook.

RED CROSS WORKER.

New York, March 6, 1919.

The Biblical Method

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The editorial "Better Than the Covenant" pleased me very much. The President seems to be under the misapprehension that all who do not approve of the present draft of the constitution for the league of nations are opposed to a league of nations in any form. That is not so at all, but I think very few people approve the form proposed. Some time since the President suggested that nations should settle their quarrels in the same manner as individuals. Very well. Here is Christ's own plan:

"If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or more witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen and a publican."

REV. C VAN OOSTENBRUGGE.

Ulster Park, N. Y., March 7, 1919.

For Marse Henry

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: I arise to nominate Henry Watterson, of Louisville, Ky. There'll be loads of seconds—both Democratic and Republican. He's an all-around American—F. P. A.'s "ideal American." On with the boom!

EDWARD L. KLEIN.

New York, March 5, 1919.

Calm Consideration Now Impossible

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: A league of nations may some day be practicable and a blessing to its makers. No one knows. Certainly among the critics of the scheme blasted by Senator Knox last Saturday no one pretends to know. Personally I believe that any cast iron world obligation would be loaded more with bad than with good. But, whatever be the hidden truth, here are two reasons why each and every plan for such an organization should now be put out of consideration.

The first reason is that to begin an attempt to manage the affairs of the world, when, as at present, almost every government on earth is strained to the utmost to manage its own affairs, would be madness.

The second reason has been furnished by two of the league's very foremost advocates. Shortly before President Wilson left this country for Europe the League to Enforce Peace, William H. Taft president, and in England, Lord Grey, of Falloden, said, in substantially the same words, that if a league of nations is not made now it never will be made.

Whether they be right or wrong, their opinion condemns their ideal as a subject for present consideration. For this nation, under the pressure of duty, to make peace and, still inflamed by the emotions of war, to take the most momentous and adventurous step ever suggested to it, which the sponsors of the proposition confess the nation would not take in moments of calm deliberation, would be flying in the face of every sane principle of government.

PAUL DANA.

Mr. Wheeler's Solicitude

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: If Wayne B. Wheeler, general counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America, considers it secession for New York State to put its own construction upon the prohibition amendment, why hasn't he been as distressed about the "secession" of the Southern states, which for years have very sensibly nullified by construction the Fifteenth Amendment, particularly when the Fifteenth Amendment was the result of a four years' civil war instead of doubtful legislative hysteria?

GERALD MYGATT.

New York, March 5, 1919.