

Building Loans
Jazz Defined
Select Government

Letters to the Tribune's Editor

Oaths for Teachers
Hayti's Struggle
Capital and Labor

I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it.—Voltaire to Helvetius.

Two Views as to Debs

Georgian Sees Him Guiltier Than Bergdoll—Legion Post Commander Would Free Him

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: You make the statement: "It is good to know that the new Administration is considering the case of Mr. Debs with an open mind and a generous spirit." In other words, you might as well say that the old Administration was biased in its consideration of this criminal's case. Now, who in your opinion, is responsible for the fact that any one should become biased as regards this criminal? Who did all the talking about our going to war against Germany, for which he was convicted? Why should not any born American have a biased feeling toward him, when he himself admits the fact that he is guilty of this crime?

What would have been your attitude as regards this criminal should Mr. Wilson have invited him to come to see the Attorney General, as Mr. Harding invited him to come, to "lay his case before" the Attorney General? Of course, we know what you would have written in your editorial regarding this.

What did you have to say regarding Grover C. Bergdoll? Now, why draw any distinction between these two cases? Bergdoll is an individual and just kept himself from going to war, while Debs did all within his power to keep all of us from going to war against Germany. Why did you criticize the War Department for granting Bergdoll any clemency as regards his hunt for his buried treasure in the mountains of western Maryland and yet defend an administration that allows Debs to make a trip unguarded to lay his case before the Attorney General, when the simplest child in America knows this case? Understand, now, that I am not defending Bergdoll, for he is guilty as an individual, while Debs is guilty on a wholesale scale, knowing at the outset that he was wrong—"wrongheadedness" or not.

Mr. Daugherty says: "The Debs case stands alone." Indeed, it does stand alone. That is the very reason that Debs should remain in prison the full term of his sentence. But why should it stand alone to such an extent that Debs should have to come to Washington to see the Attorney General, when the Attorney General, if he knows about the events during the war, knows that Debs is serving a just sentence and, even more, a minimum sentence for a maximum crime?

HUGH F. DICKSON,
Savannah, Ga., March 28, 1921.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: When it comes to preferring slackers, conscientious objectors, traitors and persons who did nothing at all to help the cause of our country in the great war over men who served her faithfully, we are all heartily in accord with the protest of the American Legion. Those men who risked all for the love of country have the respect and gratitude of the nation. None is more deserving of it.

As a post commander in the Legion I may perhaps be permitted one criticism—one warning to my comrades in the Legion. The greatest danger that we face is the danger of becoming an obstacle to the restoration of peace in the world. We must not be jingoists and we must not be against everything on general principles.

The other day, when it became known that Debs had visited the Administration in Washington and it was rumored that steps toward his release from the Federal jail might be taken, at once there arose from Georgia the protest of the American Legion against the liberation of Debs. The national commander of the Legion was exhorted to take the proper steps to prevent it if possible. It is a breach of faith with the members of the Legion to free this man, they say. Cannot the Legionnaires see where our duty lies?

It is not to avenge our personal grievances for past acts that we exist to-day. The past should as far as possible be a closed book. We have done a great work and a greater work lies before us. Let us not hinder or obstruct it by allowing childish grudges to outweigh every other consideration. Our duty is still to our country. How can we serve her best? How can we serve her at all by insisting that Debs stay in jail?

But we can serve her by tacitly, at least, consenting to his freedom, because we thereby show that we do not stand in the way of a tendency toward peace between capital and labor. Debs was nominated for the Presidency and received the votes of a very great number of our fellow citizens. These are now all in favor of his release from jail regardless of the reasons for his incarceration. His release would do much toward showing the desire of all Americans to return to normal productive bases the economically divided factions of the country.

K. P.,
New York, March 29, 1921.

Hayti's Uphill Road

Foreign Dominance Has Kept Her Back, but Export Figures Show Progress

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Alberto Stephen Marzo, in a letter to The Tribune, would make it appear that my defense of Hayti was based on sentiment. He asserts in particular that 1915 exports showed rather an insignificant increase, compared with exports of 1794, the year of the first uprising. Exports increased from 9,000,000 pounds in 1794-'96 to 27,000,000 pounds in 1815. Every history of the Haytian revolution concedes that at the first uprising of the slaves almost all the plantations were destroyed. In 1790 70,000,000 pounds of white sugar and 68,000,000 pounds of coffee were exported. In 1800-'01, under the administration of Toussaint l'Ouverture, when reconstruction began, only 16,540,000 pounds of sugar and 43,220,000 pounds of coffee were exported, according to M. Volje, then Administrator Général des Finances.

The War of Independence, which began in 1802, was a war of destruction on both sides. When the Haytiens became masters of the land everything had to be rebuilt. Seven hundred and eighty cotton plantations were destroyed, and it was only during the United States Civil War that attention was given to cotton, for paid labor could not compete with slave labor. Before the insurrection the population was estimated at about 700,000 inhabitants. A census in 1805 showed less than 400,000 souls. Of these a very limited number could read and write. The ex-slave had to become an educator. Educators—lacking the most needed capital, a developed mind.

Progress is made only through intercourse with superiors or study. The slaveholder was far from being a civilizer. Fear of an attack by France, that recognized the republic only in 1825 and then on condition of a heavy indemnity, kept much energy devoted to military preparations, energy that could have been used for educational purposes. The expectation of being brought back into slavery was not an incentive to work.

It is unfortunate that your correspondent did not specify what he meant by civilization. Is it the dance that is not quite over, over there? Was slavery civilization? Were there not penalties for teaching a slave to read even the Bible? Was not a law passed forbidding colored men to be sent to France for their education?

Your correspondent refers to conveniences of modern cities and sanitation as being non-existent. Considering the wealth of the Haytian people, not the riches of the land, after having paid over 90,000,000 francs to the French the country could ill afford to be unable to do make the expendi-

tures for some of the modern conveniences, their cost being prohibitive. That business has been in the hands of foreigners is unfortunately true, not only in Hayti but in different parts of the world. India, for example. The reason is plain for Hayti. Emigrating generally from industrial centers, steeped in business from early youth, the foreigner receives every facility from his country, every door is open to him. The dark-complexioned Haytian as a learner in industry is most unwelcome. He is a steady loser, a victim of circumstances, in face of a better armed competitor. Politics for a while offered better returns, so he went into politics. To-day there is a different mode of thought. Where workers could be trained capital has been invested with handsome returns.

JEAN G. LAMOTHE,
New York, March 30, 1921.

Wilson's Place in History

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Your editorial "Places in History," ancient President Wilson, recalls an observation of Arthur Train's in The Saturday Evening Post: "The ideas of gentlemen and sportsmen as to what is done and what isn't done haven't changed since Fabius Tullius caught snipe in the Pontine Marshes." One of these ideas, it seems to me, is expressed in the old saying of giving a man his due.

Time alone will tell the tale of Woodrow Wilson in its true perspective, but that does not prevent a recognition here and now of his two greatest achievements. First, he was the President of a nation and the commander in chief of an army which by an exertion as great as any known in history, made possible the triumph over the Central Powers. The ultimate responsibility was Wilson's, and as such the glory is his. Secondly, he voiced the aspirations of the people for and wrote the fundamentals of a new era in international intercourse. He failed in leading on to this era and making concrete his abstract ideas, which was his greatest failure. But surely it was a tremendous thing to have been a John, a voice in the wilderness.

Consequently it would seem reasonable to presume that if the winning of a world war, waged on a scale hitherto unknown, and the ushering in of a new international order are events destined to take rank with the big things in history (and who at present would feel safe in denying it?) then Woodrow Wilson is assured a position among history's elect, because he was a chief actuating factor in those events.

HARRY S. KLINGLER,
Miami Beach, Fla., March 25, 1921.

Teachers' Loyalty

Oath of Allegiance Recommended "Early and Often"

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Your editorial "Oaths for Teachers" is to the point, and you cover the entire subject by saying: "No loyal teacher or loyal teacher-candidate will object to taking an oath that is required in virtually every other branch of the public service, and which the highest as well as the lowest of public servants are obliged to take."

Let me add that those in charge of the children, who will make the future citizens of this country, should not only take the "oath of allegiance," but, like Caesar's wife, they should be above suspicion when it comes to loyalty and devotion to the Stars and Stripes.

Should there arise even the shadow of a doubt as to the loyalty of a principal or teacher in our public schools, that alone should disbar this person from being placed in a position where he or she could sow seeds of disloyalty. Some time ago a girl in the graduating class of one of our high schools refused to take the oath of allegiance, and a few weeks later received her diploma. At the time I was kept from making this public by my daughter, who was one of the graduates at this high school.

I trust that the Board of Education will see to it that from kindergarten to college teachers and pupils take the oath of allegiance early and often.

T. L. GRANT,
Brooklyn, March 28, 1921.

Colombia's Bad Claim

Facts of the Panama Revolution Reviewed

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: All who favor the Colombian claim, whether in speech or article, base that claim solely on our moral obligation. They all, save for a few rabid ones, admit freely the legality of our acts in the Panama Canal preliminaries.

The Panamanians had rebelled numerous times, and in the two years from October, 1899, to September, 1901, had started distinct revolutions against Colombia and the gang at Bogota. The final revolution in the latter part of 1903 was assisted by a Frechman, a former De Lesseps Company official, M. Philippe Bunau-Varilla. Our part in that consisted, to quote William Roscoe Thayer, in "sending three government vessels to keep the transit across the isthmus free, and to prevent landing of any armed force, either government or insurgent, at any point within fifty miles of Panama." This order was not at all unusual, for similar ones had been issued during former upheavals, even as late as 1901. Panama won her revolution and the purchase price for the Canal Zone went into her pockets rather than into those at Bogota.

I do not see any reason why we should pay any amount as a consolation prize to Colombia, for this canal was not built for our good alone, but rather for the good of the world. Colombia had a chance to cooperate and at the same time realize a goodly sum on an unused and nearly lapsed charter. Nor should she be rewarded for playing fast and loose in her diplomatic relations. Moral obligations we have, and those we must recognize. The greatest of these is the obligation to conserve the people's money and to allow no flimflamming of this country on sentimental and visionary grounds. When Colombia can show us facts as a basis for any claim, then let us act at once.

ISABEL Y. DOUGLAS,
New York, March 30, 1921.

State Loans for Housing

Adverse Comment on the Bill Introduced by Senator Cotillo—The People Pay

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: The country west of the Mississippi was practically unsettled until railroads were constructed. Some hardy pioneers from all states to the east had taken Horace Greeley's advice and gone West, old men with their families as well as the young.

Government land was free and of but little value. These settlers were extremely poor, and the shotgun or rifle was depended upon to furnish food until something could be grown from the soil. Log cabins or sod shanties of small size were built for shelter.

As the railroads were pushed across the plains the settlers rejoiced in being able to market the surplus products of the soil, and more so in having a substantial value given their claims immediately. Hundreds of millions of capital was expended on these railways and billions of dollars added to the value of lands, nearly all of which went to poor settlers.

The railroads for a number of years did not pay operating expenses. They were built for probable future revenue based on the growth of the country. Towns sprang up as if by magic along the railways and the cry was for more capital to build water works, electric light plants, the telephone, street car lines and paving, all of which were secured.

Capital was sought everywhere to invest in plants of various kinds to give employment and thus build up the towns and aid the farming community. Capital was and is concentrated labor and could be had, because the country was on a sound basis, some one had saved up money instead of spending it, people were anxious for investment and had faith and courage to put the

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Your correspondent L. Gollander is wholly at sea in the matter of jazz music. This naive and inspiring utterance of America is akin to Whitman's "barbaric yawn" as the expression of a people vigorous and emotionally untamed. As such it is just as valid as the folk-expressions of other peoples, and it is ridiculous to complain of its lack of the solid qualities which would serve to "cultivate the

mind to a better understanding of the finer things in life."

Give us time. A fine flowering of culture comes only with time and artistic sophistication, given the fundamental requirement of a rugged, vigorous growth of folk-art upon which to build. That we have, or are developing. And it is a happy augury for the vitality of American music of the future that we have such a vibrant, healthy, autochthonous growth at the beginning.

HAROLD ROSS,
Blue Earth, Minn., March 28, 1921.

A Good Word for Jazz

Team Work Needed Now

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: As reported in The Tribune, the latest item at Albany respecting the housing situation is a bill introduced by Senator Cotillo authorizing loans by the state to a total of \$100,000,000 on a 4 per cent rate, and up to 75 per cent of the appraised value of the newly completed housing.

If this method of dealing with the matter is advisable, it does not appear why the sum should have been limited as above. The amount necessary for New York City alone would be not \$100,000,000, but in excess of \$300,000,000. Moreover, Senator Calder has reported a million deficiency in homes throughout the United States, so that it does not appear why the Federal government might not make loans on the same basis, involving an aggregate of something in excess of \$3,000,000,000.

The state would thus become a gigantic real estate speculator, with the people as involuntary stockholders and liable, through taxation, for all losses. The people would, of course, have to make good by taxation the difference between the rate of interest paid by the state and the rate paid on the new building loans. Where a builder chose to abandon an uncompleted building the state would have to finish it and become both a dealer in real estate and a landlord—an incompetent in both capacities.

The rate of 4 per cent is considerably less than half the reasonable value of the money as loaned on such a precarious rate as three-fourths of the value of the property, and equivalent to many millions of bonus to the builders. In New York City the builder is exempt from taxation, and if presented with the equivalent of half his interest rate the inducement to build would amount to about 8 per cent of the value of the operation.

It would seem absurd for the state to go into the matter to the extent of a single hundred millions, for it would at once drive out of the mortgage market all corporate and individual investors. Apparently, those who advocate it have not considered it in all its aspects. It is only another evidence of the absurdities to which the representatives of the public are driven in carrying out the public resolve not to treat with justice the owners of existing buildings.

If the logic of this proposition leads to a \$3,000,000,000 investment by the Federal government, one might go a step further and provide in similar fashion for \$5,000,000,000 more for the production of business and factory buildings, making a sum total of \$8,000,000,000, a little item which would cause no worry to either the amateur or professional uplifter.

The situation would not be very different if the action of the state had

driven the farmers out of business and they were being inveigled by huge bonuses to go back to work, only perhaps the folly of the initial action in that case would be a little more obvious.

NEW YORK, MARCH 29, 1921.

CARLES E. MANIERRE.

"Better People" Rule

Hoi Polloi Have Little to Do With Guiding Our Ship of State

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Roosevelt was a great enunciator and exponent of Americanism. What did he mean by this? Were his American ideals different from what has always existed in America since Washington's time? He feared socialism, anarchy, Wilson's supernaturalism and all sorts and conditions of hypochondria. Did he wish to overturn our great selective system and give us in its stead an elective system?

We all, of course, thoroughly believe in Roosevelt's "vital Americanism," and wave our flag accordingly. We like to hear the words "red blooded American," "patriotic and loyal citizens."

Do we mean the ideal or the actual? The answer would seem to be that we mean our ship of state directed in the long run, as Lord Charnwood said recently, in The Contemporary Review, by our "better people"—by our aristoi—and not by our common people or hoi

polloi. We have so far sailed on in a most satisfactory manner. Circumstances have made us the richest, most powerful and most comfortable nation on the globe.

We must conclude that our selective system has proved itself the best possible system—it has kept our government calm, conservative and enduring. It is not well to yield to the turbulent hoi polloi. Sometimes selection prevents great popular heroes from receiving their due reward, as in the case of General Wood, but was not Harding selected for us? And is he not a most excellent type of come in just now when we want oil poured on the troubled waters?

When the people cry loudly for a person or a thing they are generally wrong and their wishes are properly denied them by the wise party managers. In the last analysis we ought to be very well satisfied with things as they are. When we shout for "Americanism" let us understand what it really is, namely, our selective system, government by our aristoi.

J. S. WOOD,
New York, March 30, 1921.

Reverent All-Americanism

To the Editor of The Tribune.

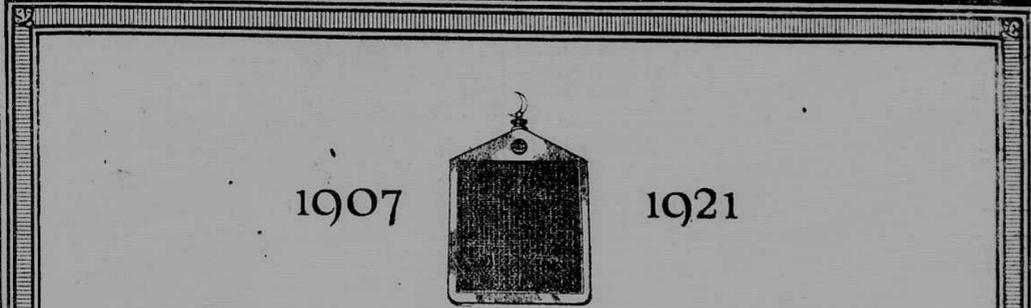
Sir: In a day when materialism is reported to be to the fore and the things of the spirit on the decline it is a significant incident that the All-American meeting at Madison Square Garden the other night was opened and closed with prayer.

It has been suggested that the reason for the apparent failure of a "workable" League of Nations is the fact that the name of God does not appear on the document. Nor, as far as were reported, were any of the sessions of the peace conference opened by an invocation to the Prince of Peace.

By such an invocation the meeting of a week ago was placed upon the highest plane, that of a double allegiance—allegiance to God as well as to country, an inseparable union.

If I am not mistaken this incident was unique in the records of political meetings in the City of New York.

E. H. B.,
New York, March 29, 1921.



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