

THE COURIER

PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN

VOLUME XXXV

Asheboro, North Carolina, Thursday, October 28, 1920

NUMBER 43

WHY THE WORLD NEEDS A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(By Irving Fisher, Professor of Yale University.)

We must prescribe, as one of the final terms of peace with Germany, some other way than war for settling disputes between nations.

The basis proposal involved in the league of nations is simply that in any case a dispute must be submitted to a third disinterested party. If either party to the dispute breaks its agreement and goes to war, that break of agreement shall itself constitute an act of war on the part of the treaty-breaking nation—an act of war upon all the other members of the league; and they mutually agree that, as soon as this act of war has been committed they shall all isolate the offending nation, commercially, financially and personally; in other words, that the nation shall be boycotted. A boycott has the great advantage of immediate application without the months of preparation necessary for military warfare. Military force will not be used except as a last resort and then only at the option of each nation and after recommendation of the council of the league with the consent of all the members.

America's Aid Needed
Thirty-seven states, including all important nations except Germany and Russia, have already joined the league without reservations.

These 37 states are calling to America to join them in this great movement for the betterment of the world.

When once in the league, the United States will be able to protect the interests of the American people and also the interests of all other nations whether weak or powerful because no vital decisions of the council or assembly can be made without the consent of the United States.

Three Reasons for the League
Entering the league of nations is not only desirable but is absolutely necessary. It is an "absolute necessity" for three reasons, any one of which would be sufficient to justify that phrase.

First, it is a nabulous necessity as a means of winding up this war.

Secondly, it is an absolute necessity in order to prevent high taxation and intolerable economic burdens which otherwise would be necessary in time of peace to keep up competitive armaments, armies and navies.

And, thirdly, it is an absolute necessity to prevent a recurrence of the world cataclysm we have just gone through.

First, as to winding up the war, we must not forget that this war has unsettled almost everything; it has destroyed nations; it has created new nations on paper. Some dozen new sovereignties are to be recognized. There are Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, the Ukraine, and the Balkan States, and then there are some semi-independent bodies like Armenia, Palestine and the Caucasus.

These are all, as Mr. Taft has said, so many Cubas, and will have to be treated just as Cuba was treated when we liberated her from Spain and tried to set her up in independent business. Those small states will be even more at the mercy of the great states than Belgium was, if we do not guarantee in some way their independence. If we do not, and their national rights are violated, we shall certainly be involved in another world war, and that perhaps soon. The biggest settlements perforce left to the league of nations, such as reparation indemnity, administration of internationalized areas.

As Mr. Taft predicted, the "peace treaty is as long as the moral law." The text contains some 75,000 words. It will require interpretation and it will require enforcement, and both for the interpretation and for the enforcement we need the league of nations. No set of men about a green table in Paris could be wise enough, said Mr. Wilson, to know what those permanent settlements. The biggest settlements were perforce left to the league of nations, such as reparation indemnity, and administration of internationalized areas.

From this first standpoint alone, then, that of winding up the war, finishing the job, we need the league of nations.

Competitive Armaments
Secondly, we need it in order to avoid a recurrence of what has constituted a veritable curse even in times of peace—competitive armaments. When Germany first increased her army beyond France, France tried to catch up and made enormous sacrifices in taxes. But the instant France did this, Germany strode ahead again, whereupon France tugged and strained in the desperate hope to reach equality with Germany, and so on. In the same way, Germany and England raced each other with respect to their navies.

Such international cut-throat competition in armies and navies leaves the nations, in the end, in substantially the same relative positions that they would have held had there been no increase in armaments whatever. Yet, each must, in self-defense, keep up in this race.

Fears of Business Men
There are business men who are fighting shy of the idea of a league of nations with the thought that it is going to unsettle trade internationally—afraid perhaps that tariff will be disturbed in some way. They are accustomed to the present regime, their business has been fitted to it, and they do not feel at home under some new plan which may possibly unsettle cur-

PRESIDENT WILSON BELIEVES IN THE YOUNG PEOPLE

President Wilson in a message to Democratic League of the Columbia University expressed the belief that the young people of the country would rally to the support of the perpetuation of the high ideals for which we fought in the great war. The President said:

"The young men and women of the country should be even more deeply interested in the critical contest than other Americans for the issues are the issues of the future."

"They will determine the future influences and greatness of the United States in the councils of the nations. They will determine our moral force in all the great pending contests of right with which the world is already quick."

"I believe that the young men and women of the country will see the vision of opportunity which now presents itself and will rally to the support of the perpetuation of the high ideals for which we fought in the great war."

rents of international trade and put them in new situations where they may be injured. But any possible gain that could be had by maintaining the status quo would be offset many times over by the loss from the taxes—enormously high—which would be required to keep up our end in this international competition in armaments."

We have reached the parting of the ways as to or policy on armaments. Either we must compete with the rest of the world, or combine with the rest of the world.

Must Prevent Recurrence of War
The third and most important reason for the league is to prevent the recurrence of a world war. If we have unregulated international competition in armaments it will surely eventuate in war again for exactly the same reasons that it eventuated in war in 1914.

The great war cost nearly 200 billions of dollars and the lives of 7,500,000 men. What is worse, modern war means the mowing down of the flower of our best manhood, healthiest young men and the leaving of their less sturdy brothers (whose defects in stature, lungs, heart, eyesight and other particulars, excluded them from the army) the perpetuation of the human race.

The essential conditions out of which modern wars spring are two: 1, the rapid growth of international intercourse, and 2, the slow growth of international control over that intercourse. Intercourse without control means anarchy. This is the political disease from which the world has been suffering—international anarchy.

We can best realize this if we reflect on the growth of rapid transportation. A century ago the natural barriers of mountains, rivers and distance between countries separated them more than the Pacific ocean now separates us from Tibet. But the railroad, steamship, telegraph, telephone and newspaper have virtually destroyed most of these barriers. This growth of transportation and communication, in the absence of an equal growth of regulation, leads to war and in three ways:

(1)—By making of international trade a great apple of discord, a bone of contention, a prize for which the nations eagerly and selfishly strive. Germany wanted a trade route to Baghdad and Russia to the sea, and these ambitions intersected in the Balkans.

(2)—By increasing the chances of friction or irritation of all kinds so-called "incidents" relating to, or growing out of, the contacts of commerce or trade; have threatened war repeatedly. An archduke is killed. A Lusitania or a Sussex torpedoed.

(3)—By increasing the speed of army mobilization, thus bringing nations within shorter military distance of each other.

As long as communities were isolated there was no need of any law between them. But as they spread out and came in contact, first there were conflicts, then unions. Only after such associations were affected could law take the place of war and peace reign. Only a few hundred years ago Europe was full of walled cities, each with its own army. The cities often warred on each other because there was no inter-city agreement and so there was no other way than war to settle their disputes. Not long ago the states of Germany fought each other as did the various districts of England and France.

The progress of civilization consists largely as Professor Kellar of Yale, expresses it, of the "enlargement of the peace group." Just as ages ago families sank their family feuds and united to form a village, and villages buried the hatchet and united to form a state, so the great states of the world are now ready to disarm and form a great league of peace.

The process can never stop till the "peace group" comprises practically the entire world. So long as it stops short of that, we shall have world wars.

With the league, war will probably be eliminated in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred cases, because it allows international control to grow up to international intercourse and so affords another way than war to settle the inevitable disputes. The national pride which so often leads to war will be transferred to keeping treaties. No longer will a nation need to go to war to "save its face" rather than recede from an untenable position; for the award of the third party will preserve its self respect.

Furthermore, whatever disarmament takes place will tend to diminish the danger of war and reduce its scale if it comes.

VIEW OF A LIFELONG REPUBLICAN

Dr. Frank Crane is one of the most widely quoted men in America. As a writer and lecturer and editor he has achieved wide fame.

His views on public questions are always expressed clearly and forcefully, and they are read by hundreds of thousands of people.

In the September issue of Current Opinion he had a notably fine article on the League of Nations.

Here are some brief extracts: "If you are going to oppose the League of Nations to me, you must propose some other way to stop war, or I will not listen."

"It took the most fearful war of history to induce the nations to get together and consider the League of Nations. Must we wait for another?"

"I have been a lifelong Republican, and my father was a Republican before me. Politicians who are neevved because the league was proposed by the opposite political party, or by a president they do not like, should be willing to swallow their pride and favor the league in spite of objections. 'If they cannot do this they put partisanship above humanity, and are enemies to the human race.'"

And this, mind you, was not written by a Democrat or a strong Wilson partisan, but it was the utterance in the September number of Current Opinion, of a lifelong Republican.

He is a man who realizes that the league issue is vital.

He believes that there is no political issue before the American people today comparable to the task of preventing future wars.

And this "America First" talk that some people are using to camouflage the real issue does not appeal to him.

Yet who will say that Dr. Crane's Americanism is not of a pure and strong and virile type as that of anybody who tries to create the impression that Americanism and the league are inconsistent?

And there are thousands of other Republicans, we venture to say, who hold similar views.

They are not misled to the talk of those who profess to see in the league covenant dangers to "American sovereignty."

They know America can enter the league without sacrificing any principle.

They believe that the highest duty of this nation today is to join with other countries in the perfection of some machinery for the preservation of world peace.

They are not opposed to a league merely because they do not regard it as perfect in every respect.

And we venture to say that, in view of Senator Harding's Des Moines declaration, a large number of such people are going to vote for Cox and Roosevelt.

Certainly we cannot conceive of American voters who favor the league of nations casting their ballots for a man who is pledged to "scrap" the very thing they regard vital simply because a little group of United States senators got together at Chicago and decreed that he should be the Republican nominee for president.

Miss Vivian Cranford Gives Halloween Party.

The Do As You Please club was delightfully entertained by Miss Vivian Cranford last Saturday afternoon.

The lower floor was en suite and Halloween decorations were used. An interesting Halloween contest was the main feature of the afternoon, in which Mary Bulla won the prize, a lovely white holding two crepe de chine handkerchiefs, in its hand.

The hostess assisted by Miss Golda Hayworth, served delicious fruit salad, saltines, and hot chocolate.

Governor Cox's Religion.

Governor Cox is still an active member of the United Brethren church, from which he received the first money he ever earned, by acting as janitor when a boy. His wife and children are Episcopalians.

ment takes place will tend to diminish the danger of war and reduce its scale if it comes.

It is said that human nature itself have war. Human nature is undoubtedly quarrelsome. But if the quarrels can be settled otherwise than by war, human nature is satisfied and better satisfied because the results appeal to the sense of justice, one of the fundamental traits of human nature. So we find that just as fast as social organization supplies enforceable arbitration, war is rejected by "human nature" itself. With a world league of peace, we shall discard war completely, except, of course, occasional civil wars when the organization power proves inadequate to its task of satisfying the sense of justice.

League Now Functioning.

The league of nations, consisting already of the whole world of 38 nations except ourselves, our late enemies and Russia and Mexico, is now functioning in settling the world war in reconstructing the political and economic structure of the world. Soon we may be the only nation outside, and shall be hated for slacking if not boycotted in trade.

It provides for the reduction of armaments, practically disarms the aggressors of the world and will control their armaments when they enter the league—thus saving civilization the burden that would result from the continued competition in armaments.

SEVERAL FATAL AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENTS LAST SUNDAY

Virginia Hall Deaton, three-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. T. Deaton, of Proximity, was killed in an automobile accident on the High Point-Greensboro highway Sunday afternoon. The little girl and her parents and Mr. Charles Stoner and Mr. J. L. Frittle had been to conference in Salisbury. Mr. Frittle was driving, and it is said he temporarily lost control of the car, which accounts for the accident. All of the occupants are suffering painful injuries.

Another automobile accident caused the death of J. E. Webster, of Greensboro. Mr. and Mrs. Webster are aged people. They were walking across North Elm and Bishop streets in Greensboro when they were struck by an automobile driven by L. A. Andrews. Mr. Webster died within a few minutes after the accident, and Mrs. Webster is in a Greensboro hospital with a fractured skull.

The third of the trio of accidents happened near Reidsville Sunday. Lucille Roberson was killed. Miss Annie Roberson and W. P. Daniels were seriously injured when the car in which they were riding ran off the embankment near Reidsville.

INTERESTING SERVICES AT ASHEBORO M. E. CHURCH

The music lovers of the community will miss a great treat if they fail to attend the services at the Asheboro M. E. church, south, next Sunday, October 31. The morning service, beginning at 11 o'clock will be enlivened with special music by the senior choir. Besides singing by the junior choir, the outstanding musical feature of the evening service, 7:30 o'clock, will be a violin solo by Mrs. S. B. Stedman. Rev. A. C. Gibbs, the new pastor, will preach, and, as is his custom, will translate the gospel into the language of today. You, men and women, are invited to come.

NEW JITNEY LINE FROM STAR TO GREENSBORO

Mr. J. A. Glass, of Greensboro, has put on a motor line from Greensboro to Star. This will prove of great convenience to the general public. The following is the schedule:

Leave Star 7:45 a. m.
Arrive Asheboro 11:30 a. m.
Leave Asheboro 12:45 a. m.
Arrive Greensboro 12:45 p. m.
Leave Greensboro 2:30 p. m.
Arrive Asheboro 4:30 p. m.
Leave Asheboro 4:45 p. m.
Arrive Greensboro 6:45 p. m.

GOVERNOR BICKETT SPEAKS

Governor Bickett spoke at the courthouse in Asheboro last night. His speech was chiefly devoted to the reevaluation act and the amendments, and was clear and convincing.

HAMMER.

To write of the candidacy now being conducted in the seventh district by W. C. Hammer, Democratic nominee for Congress is to write biographically of one who is destined to take a place of prominence in the next Congress. Mr. Hammer is a man uncommonly well qualified for a seat in Congress. He has a personality that will count for much and which will, undoubtedly gain him friends among both parties in the national legislature, and gaining friends means a gain of influence. He is recognized as one of the ablest lawyers in North Carolina and will make a strong and resourceful representative. He will add a considerable measure of strength to the North Carolina delegation.—Charlotte Observer, Sept. 19, 1920.

HAMMER IS QUALIFIED.

William C. Hammer, of Asheboro, who is the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Seventh district, is about as well qualified for Congressional service as any man in the state. He has long been one of the strong, efficient men of the state, having practiced law in the state and federal courts for many years, served as solicitor and district attorney to the highest satisfaction. He has for years been editing a good weekly newspaper at Asheboro, and that too ought to help to strengthen his hand for public service. Mr. Hammer secured the nomination over several very fine gentlemen, his primary vote giving evidence of the high esteem in which his party voters hold him. We believe Mr. Hammer should be elected. He should be, for few men are so well qualified for real helpful service at Washington.—Salisbury Post.

The Issue.

"We will accept any reservation that helps to clarify."
"We will accept any reservation that helps to reassure."
"We will accept any reservation that helps to strengthen."—Governor Cox.

"I do not want to clarify these obligations. I want to turn my back upon them. It is not interpretation, but rejection, that I am seeking."—Senator Harding.

"I leave you with the message that I am for peace rather than war; that I am for progress rather than reaction; that I am for prosperity based upon the readjustment that recognizes just one principle—the principle of the square deal, the principle of the Golden Rule."—Governor Cox.

PRO-LEAGUERS URGED TO GIVE VOTES TO COX

Over 100 Former Republicans and Progressives Unite in Statement—Theodore Marburg Among the Signers—Patriotism Above Party Is the Burden of Their Appeal to Nation.

New York, October 17th.—A joint statement by "over 100 representative men and women who have usually supported the Republican or Progressive tickets," announcing their intention to vote for Cox and Roosevelt and those Senatorial candidates "who stand honestly and frankly for ratification of the treaty and adherence to the League," was made public here tonight by Hamilton Holt, magazine editor.

Too Late For New League

The statement sets forth that "it is now too late to talk of a new 'association of nations,' to be created under Republican auspices," and repudiating the present Republican leadership that "has permitted the Republican party to become a 'little America' party," urged all Republicans and Progressives to "put patriotism above party" and add their names to the list of signers.

This list, according to Mr. Holt, is increasing daily. An analysis given out with the statement said that it included 15 Republican officers of the League to Enforce Peace, clergymen representing all the principal denominations, the presidents of Oberlin, Vassar, Smith, Bryn Mawr and Mount Holyoke Colleges, several veterans of the great war and nine former Republican or Progressive party managers and office holders. In the last classification were listed Charles P. Howland, of New York; Violet M. Leroy, New York; Theodore Marburg, Baltimore; W. H. Nichols, Bennington, Vt.; Herbert Parsons, New York; Elias D. Salsbury, Indianapolis; Edwin E. Slosson, New York; Richard Wellington, New York, and Alice White, Wellesley, Mass.

The statement declares that the Republican party in "drifting toward national isolation" had repudiated political traditions under which the signers had been reared—traditions emphasizing the international responsibility of America from Lincoln to Taft.

Reservations Maintained

Asserting that they held no brief for the present administration and did not insist "on any particular wording of reservations to any articles of the treaty," the signers set forth that they did not desire that "a cause which should have served to unite all parties in the same spirit of common service, which won the great war should be made a basis of party difference in the present campaign."

"Such Republican statesmen as Andrew D. White, Joseph M. Choate and Elihu Root labored for the development of international law and for the organization of the world through the two Hague conferences" read the statement. "We would continue in the path they indicated."

The statement then cited as proof that "national isolation has never been a Republican watchword. President McKinley's attitude toward China; Theodore Roosevelt's intervention in the Russo-Japanese war; the work of William Howard Taft for the League of Nations; the Presidential candidacy of Charles E. Hughes "as a protest against what he thought at that time was the indifference of the administration to our international responsibilities" and Republican approval of abandonment by President Wilson "of his party's policy of narrow nationalism to advocate a League of Nations."

"True Republican statesmanship would have welcomed and supported the covenant," continued the statement. "It would have seen in the League the one practicable means of restoring and increasing the authority of international law and its agencies designed ultimately to supplant war." Declaring that "during the late war every one agreed that it was imperative to adopt some measures to prevent its recurrence," the statement continued:

"The question confronting America is whether we shall accept the existing League or insist upon a new international agreement having the same object."

Dismissing the thought of a new "association of nations," the statement said:

"The proposal to ask 43 member nations to 'scrap' the existing League, enter another peace conference and agree on some undefined experiment can no longer be taken seriously."

The statement then reviewed the work already under way of various League agencies and said:

"We want our country to stand first in the councils of nations. We want our country to share fully in the great decisions which are shaping the future of the world. We cannot endorse Senator Harding's policy of 'America last.'"

In closing the statement said: "In the absence of definite assurances that the Republican candidates will use their full influence to bring the United States into the League with such reservations as may be acceptable to the American people, we urge all Republicans and Progressives who put patriotism above party to join with us in working and voting for James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and for those Senatorial candidates who stand honestly and frankly for ratification of the treaty and adherence to the League."

MR. W. J. BALDWIN, FORMER RANDOLPH CITIZEN, WRITES

I am always pleased to get The Courier. It is a welcome visitor in my home every week. I am always glad to read the needs of my old native county Randolph but do not love to think of the good old county in which I was born and raised being under the control of the Republican party and with all the good people that I used to be associated with in Randolph, I feel sure that they are getting tired of Republican rule and false promises and extravagant expenditure of money and feel sure on November 2 that the good people of Randolph will roll up a good Democratic majority. There is nothing that would afford me more pleasure than to be there and help you out in this election in putting Randolph under Democratic rule. I am glad to be able to say that while the Republicans are working harder than they have ever been known to work during the history of Wayne county and are using every under-mining scheme possible we are going to roll up the largest Democratic majority that has ever been known in Wayne county.

With best wishes for The Courier and the Democratic party, I am, Yours very truly,
W. J. BALDWIN,
Goldsboro, N. C.

A WOMAN TO WOMEN VOTERS

Much has been said during the past few weeks about the question of women in the present political contest. Speeches have been made and articles written with a view to enlisting their support for or against the League of Nations and other issues.

But we have seen nothing quite so good along this line as a communication in Sunday's Greensboro News from Mrs. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs.

Mrs. Hobbs is a woman of ability and influence.

What she says on any subject is entitled to weight.

Following are some extracts from the communication to which reference is made:

I do not relish all this "One hundred per cent American" "America first" propaganda to the exclusion of other nations, not because I am not a loyal American, but because I am, and because I believe with Lincoln in setting the captives free, whether they be slave men or enslaved nations. I believe absolutely in the wisdom and integrity of President Wilson. He has doubtless made some mistakes, but compared with the lessons he has taught the world they are personal and trivial. Are we, just because he has had his own individual idiosyncrasies which rub our feelings the wrong way, to trample underfoot the magnificent world order which he has launched for the good of mankind? Will we be so blind, so prejudiced that we will prefer to allow the Turks to carry on their favorite pastime of massacring the Armenians rather than to endorse the only feasible means of preventing this? "He is an autocrat," it is said. Pray what is our senate? It controlled the Republican convention. Lodge, Smoot, Watson, Crane, Penrose, held secret council and decided matters. I do not like bosses. I do not like for North Carolina to be bossed by a Democrat or by a Republican, but I had rather stand with Taft—I am sorry Mr. Taft does not have the courage of his convictions and "vote as he prays"—and endorse the league of nations than to follow Lodge and his assistants and vote against the greatest means ever devised to stop the insensate slaughter of my fellowmen and the barbarous appeal to physical force to settle difficulties.

From the time when as a small girl I heard the awful news that Lincoln was killed I have been almost more interested in politics than anything outside my home and church except education (I consider that both are a part, or should be, of Christianity), and now that an opportunity is mine to bear a testimony against war and brutality and strife amongst nations and for brotherhood and fair dealing, I shall do so and vote for Cox, not because I think he is the strongest man the Democratic convention might have nominated, but because he represents the finest force in American aspirations. All this hue and cry as to his temperance principles is beside the point. He can not change the 18th amendment. This is a decoy to lead us from what is the question of the day.

This is the expression of a thoughtful woman who loves peace and who feels that America should be one of the leaders in the world effort to preserve it.

We believe her views are typical of those of hosts of other women who have studied the League of Nations proposition.

MR. L. BANKS HOLT, OF ALAMANCE COUNTY, DEAD

Mr. L. Banks Holt, a Confederate veteran and manufacturer, and one of the state's most prominent citizens, died at his home in Graham, October 25. He was a son of the late Edwin M. Holt, one of the most prominent cotton manufacturers of North Carolina.

McSwiney Dies on 74th Day Fast

Terrence McSwiney, lord mayor of Cork, the most prominent of Irish hunger strikers in Brixton prison died Monday. Mayor McSwiney was entering upon his 74th day of his hunger strike, as a protest of two years' imprisonment.