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KING LEGION ,

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LEGIONNAIRES DEMANDING THE BONUS ON THE
STEPS OF THE NATIONAL CAPITOL

College of the Pacific
Stockton, Calif.

KING LEGION

MARCUS DUFFIELD



New York

JONATHAN CAPE & HARRISON SMITH

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Over in England they say, "The King can do no wrong. Long live the King!" But here in America we say, "Our Legion can do no wrong. Long live the American Legion!"

MRS. DONALD MACRAE, JR.,
*President of the American
Legion Auxiliary, 1930.*

FOREWORD

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THE American Legion has become a mighty power in the land, and by every indication its influence is increasing.

In September, 1931, Major General James G. Harbord, chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, told the New York state convention of the Legion that the Legionnaires should "take political leadership into their own hands and assume the responsibility of shaping their country's policies, both foreign and domestic." He prophesied that within the next fifteen years the Legionnaires would "dominate both the state and federal governments, have a majority in both houses of Congress and have one of their number in the Presidential chair."

General Harbord's prophecy was well on the way to fulfilment when he made it.

What is this Legion that may dominate the Government? How is it exerting its power? In what direction is it endeavouring to guide the country's course? These are the questions with which this book is concerned. The book is not a history of the Legion, but is intended, rather, as a character study. The hope is to offer a few suggestions about the possible effects of the Legion upon the nation.

Little has been published in book form about the organization. There are two histories that cover only the early years; beyond that point the story must be pieced out of the Legion's records and other source material. The effort in this book is to allow the organization to tell its own story, as far as possible in direct quotations. Special care has been taken to quote fairly to avoid distortion of meaning.

The author is grateful to the officials of the Legion who have generously made available its records; and to the other organizations and individuals whose assistance in furnishing file material and documents has been invaluable. Among them are Roswell P. Barnes, the National Council for Prevention of War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The editors of *Forum* and *Scribner's Magazine* have kindly consented to the use of material previously embodied in articles in those magazines.

The book has been made possible by the extensive help throughout of the author's wife, Margaret Doty Duffield.

M. D.

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SEMI-OFFICIAL GODFATHER

ON a May afternoon in 1919, press dispatches from St. Louis carried the story that America's war veterans, meeting in a great caucus, had founded a patriotic society. The new organization was to include all the nation's ex-service men and was to be called the American Legion. Editorial writers commented on the news the next morning with perspicacity. Almost all of them were impressed by the society's possibilities as a power in the land. "The American Legion," said the New Orleans *Item*, "is certain to shape and control the destinies of the nation in the years to come to an extent of which the wise will refrain from even suggesting the limit."

The young Legion took much the same view. Colonel Henry D. Lindsley, formerly the mayor of Dallas, who was chairman of the St. Louis caucus, told the assembled delegates, "It is going to be within your power to say yes or no to many of the great problems of the United States."

Time has borne out those predictions. No one realizes it better than the Legion itself. "Never before in the history of America," said the National Commander in the third year, "has such a great force in our national life appeared—never has such power and prestige been granted—

never has such responsibility and opportunity existed for any organization. I quote to you the words of one of the greatest soldiers of modern times, 'The American Legion is the cradle for the whole future of America.' "

The problem which presented itself immediately after the War: What will the nation do with its returning soldiers? has been reversed. The question now is: What will the returned soldiers do with the nation?

This problem is an old one. Only recently in civilization have warriors given up the rule of organized society. Tribal chiefs were monarchs by virtue of their personal strength, feudal lords because of the man power they controlled; modern dictators have had the money and the ammunition. For civilians to win the right to rule away from soldiers has been no easy task, and in a good many nations they have not won it yet. Even in countries where civilian government has been established, the old rivalry for power occasionally flares up. When war comes, civilians must of necessity relinquish the reins; after the war they are likely to have some difficulty getting them back.

The ancient legions of Rome, home from wars, took the affairs of the empire into their own hands so successfully that in time they came to the point of setting emperors on the throne at will and toppling them off again.

Europe is having somewhat similar experiences with her World War veterans. Former officers formed the backbone of the Fascist revolution in Italy which displaced parliamentary government. An ex-soldier leading veterans usurped the government in Turkey; a similar group took over Poland's destiny. Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the veterans' choice, alone seemed capable of bringing order out of chaos in Germany. A National Chaplain of the American Legion, the Reverend G. R. Wilson, noting these turbulent happenings, wisely observed that the advance of an army

against a foe may not turn out in perspective to have affected human affairs so critically as the peaceful invasion of its own home country by that same army disbanding when the war is over.

In nations where civilian rule is firmly grounded, no such violent upheavals take place. But the former soldiers make their influence felt nevertheless. They form veterans' organizations, and as the organizations grow in numbers and in power, they become increasingly important factors in the conduct of public affairs. To point out the far-reaching influence of groups of veterans is not necessarily to condemn it. In some cases the guidance of ex-soldiers in matters of state may be wholly good, in some cases debatable, and at times perhaps unwise.

America has had past experience with this aftermath of war. The country is still feeling the influence of its earliest patriots as interpreted—with possible alterations—in the public expressions of the many Sons' and Daughters' societies headed by the Daughters of the American Revolution. After the Civil War, the Northern veterans banded together in the Grand Army of the Republic. At the height of its power, the G.A.R. played a considerable rôle in determining the country's course. The Presidents from Grant to McKinley, with the exception of Cleveland, were extremely sensitive to its wishes.

After the World War, the general expectation was that a new, modern G.A.R. would be formed. A score of small veterans' societies sprang up both in America and among the troops in France, and the promoters of each rival organization struggled to attain for it the large membership, the power and the prestige that would make it the successor to the Grand Army. The American Legion was to be the one to outstrip all the rest and dominate the field of veterans' societies.

The story of why the Legion won the day and gained pre-eminence furnishes clues to the Legion's nature, and helps to indicate the directions in which the weight of its influence is being thrown.

In the summer of 1919, after the St. Louis caucus, Congress was asked to grant a national charter to the American Legion, and in the course of the debate some questions were asked as to how the organization came to be formed. "The genesis of the Legion," said the late Champ Clark, "was this: General Pershing asked the various commands in France to send delegates and representatives to a meeting of the soldiers in Paris at a certain date. Of course, they had all been talking in camp there after the Armistice about organizing something of this sort. I think there were 3,000 at that meeting in Paris. My son, Colonel Bennett C. Clark, was chairman of it."

Representative Huddleston put in a question. "Will the gentleman," he asked, "inform us whether General Pershing called this conference in Paris by direction of the War Department, or merely on his own initiative?"

Champ Clark shied at the question and began over again. "I do not know what happened," he replied. "I am not certain that General Pershing actually called it. But evidently, after the Armistice, it was perfectly natural. They did not have anything to do, and in their camps they talked this thing over, and agreed that it would be a good thing to form a social organization, and patriotic, for the soldiers, sailors, and marines and all the rest who were in this great war. There was no official business about it, and there will not be."

The G.A.R. was not formed until a year after the end of the Civil War, and then sprang up more or less spontaneously at first by the coalescing of a number of local veterans' clubs. The American Legion, on the other hand, arose long

before the Peace Treaty was signed, and from what appears to have been a well thought-out plan. Who thought the plan out has never been made entirely clear. There can be no doubt, however, that if the Army General Staff did not actually father the Legion, at least it was a helpful step-father.

When the Armistice was signed, the American troops in France suffered an emotional let-down. They wanted to go home straightway, and the longer they stayed abroad the more discontented they became. As Allied troops fraternized with Germans, both sides began asking why the War was fought. Talk of the Bolshevik revolution was in the air, of the German soldiers' risings against their generals, of French mutinies. The American General Staff was seriously concerned about how to keep up morale. American bankers and business men who visited Europe returned filled with anxiety. What would be the attitude of returning troops? Might they join hands with the I.W.W. who were creating disturbances on the West Coast and threatening to spread the trouble through the East? Would the ex-soldiers upset things?

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, son of the former President, is generally credited with having been the originator of the idea of the American Legion, but it seems more likely that he was selected for that rôle. Marquis James, a well-informed and enthusiastic historian of the Legion, mentions a conversation early in February, 1919, between Colonel Roosevelt and George A. White, who was attached to General Headquarters. After that talk the plan that was to result in the American Legion took shape.

On February 15, G.H.Q. ordered a group of officers to Paris to discuss ways of maintaining contentment among American troops in France. These officers were drawn from the Regular Army, from the Intelligence Section of the

General Staff, and from various units of the citizen armies. Among the conferees were the men who became the organizers of the Legion, notably Roosevelt, Franklin D'Olier and Eric Fisher Wood. The official discussion of the morale of the troops was dispatched in quick order and was adjourned. Unofficially—since they were all there together—Roosevelt invited the conferees to dinner. He suggested that they organize a super-veterans' society and the idea found ready acceptance. It was planned to call an organizing caucus in Paris one month later.

By what hardly could have been a coincidence, George A. White immediately received orders to make a tour of the A.E.F. that would take him to every unit. Wherever he went, he spread word of the proposed veterans' organization, and suggested that each unit appoint delegates to attend the coming caucus in Paris. At the same time, Roosevelt was suddenly ordered back to the United States, whereupon he immediately undertook the formation of the new veterans' society among the troops in America.

As plans matured in France, sceptical rumours floated about in the A.E.F. One of them was that the new society was to be only for officers. That was quashed by inviting privates to be delegates to the forthcoming Paris caucus. Another tale was that young Roosevelt, an ardent Republican, was promoting the society to further his own political ends. Then news came that Bennett C. Clark, son of the strenuously Democratic Champ Clark, was appointed to be chairman of the caucus. A third rumour was that the new organization was a scheme of the General Staff. Brigadier General Charles H. Cole (according to Marquis James' account) informed White that he looked on the proposed society as nothing but regular army propaganda. At this juncture an unexpected order from General Headquarters denied officers and men selected as delegates the privilege

of attending the caucus in Paris. This was interpreted as putting the whole thing under a handicap.

Despite the seeming rebuff, all the delegates were able to get to Paris. The Army did not pay their railroad fares, but no serious obstacles were put in their paths. Some of the privates happened to be ordered to Paris at the time as orderlies, others to inspect smokeless kitchens or purchase rat poison. When they all arrived, they found a most comprehensive assemblage including representatives from every division. The affair was well ordered: neat printed signs told each group just where to sit. The caucus tentatively formed a veterans' organization and suggested a name, the American Legion. Final decisions were to await the result of a similar caucus to be called in the United States.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt was busy in America. He gathered collaborators to his side, established temporary headquarters, kept telegraph wires humming and set printing presses rolling. A nation-wide skeleton organization was created with committeemen in every state to organize nuclei and elect delegates to the forthcoming St. Louis caucus. Printed placards were posted in every soldiers' and sailors' centre, such as Y.M.C.A.'s, Knights of Columbus houses and demobilization camps. Empty Navy transports going eastward across the Atlantic carried bales of bulletins advertising the Legion to be read by the soldiers on their way home. When the men reached the piers, they were met by Legion representatives bearing more pamphlets. Hospitals got sheafs of leaflets, and the Government wireless sent the Legion message to ships at sea. The mayor of every city and town in the nation was asked to help get the Legion in the local newspapers.

About \$186,000 was required to finance the Legion up to the time of the first National Convention, apart from the

\$178,000 to establish its organ, then the *American Legion Weekly*, of which George A. White was the first editor. These substantial sums were needed to launch the preliminary organization and advertise it before the Legion was formally born or had an official treasurer.

Normally so new a project would have no credit standing. The suggestion has been made that some of the money came from banking and business interests who were worried about the actions of homecoming troops and who had reason to feel sure that the Legion would be a safeguard against the spread of undesirable ideas. In the book *Professional Patriots*, edited by Norman Hapgood, the following letter is quoted as having been written on the letterhead of Swift & Company and addressed to various corporations:

“At a meeting held on December 23, 1919, presided over by Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, here were present representatives of the different stock yard interests and it was voted that they contribute \$10,000 towards a campaign for funds for the American Legion. A national drive is being made for the Legion and the amount asked from Illinois is \$100,000, Mr. James B. Forgan, Chairman of the First National Bank, being treasurer of the fund for Illinois. . . . We are all interested in the Legion, the results it will obtain, and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism. It is important that we assist this worthy work and at the meeting I was asked by the Chairman to write to the different stock yard interests for their contribution. In pro-rating the amount, it was suggested that we use an arbitrary percentage as a basis and the amount you are asked to contribute is \$100.”

If, as seems entirely probable, money for the young Legion came from business interests, there is no necessary reason to interpret this fact as of sinister import or dis-

creditable, except insofar as it was not made public. Such contributions might well have been the result of contemporary hysteria that imbued the donors with a real fear of Red revolution.

The significant points in the birth of the Legion are these:

First, the organization was not entirely spontaneous. It was brought into being with the cordial co-operation of the United States Army General Staff. A society that springs up of its own accord from a natural impulse to association on the part of its members is likely to find its future path made smooth by the genuineness of its original *raison d'être*. A society that is promoted may be under some handicap in having to cast about for methods of holding itself together, in having to seek out common purposes and objectives to supply cohesion. Of course its original backers may be of some aid in this respect.

Second, the Legion was definitely guided toward conservatism by the convictions of the early leaders and supporters.

The natural purposes of a veterans' organization are to preserve comradeship, to look after common interests, and to prolong the men's period of prominence in the country by participation in patriotic affairs. These functions the Legion fulfills. The comradeship is preserved in meetings and conventions. The common interests are looked after by making sure the Government takes proper care of the disabled and is not wholly forgetful of the able-bodied as well. The cause of patriotism is furthered in a dozen different ways, the chief of which are the encouragement of large armaments for the United States and the discouragement of radicalism of any sort.

The Legion's own description of the motives are embodied in the preamble to its constitution in the following words:

For God and country we associate ourselves together for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the great war; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness.

“One of the greatest masterpieces of the English language,” said National Commander E. E. Spafford, “is the preamble to our constitution. Many people have spoken from it as a text.” Unquestionably, the preamble expresses worthy ideals and honest motives sincerely held. As Commander Spafford pointed out, it lends itself to use as a text. It is sufficiently general in purport so that a wide variety of sentiments can be expressed without going out of bounds. The preamble does, however, lack something in definitiveness. Under its flexible phrases multiple objectives have been acquired, all manner of ideas have been vouchsafed.

Since the Legion is a living organism, it has to be observed in action to be understood. Its characteristic traits cannot be lifted out one by one, labelled, and neatly pigeon-holed. The process of dissection and analysis cannot be carried too far without resulting in distortion. In one mood, the Legion is benevolent, taking care of orphans, giving aid in time of disaster; in another, it concentrates on self-preservation, membership getting. Today it is merely out for a good time; tomorrow it may reach for power. Now it is acquisitive, seeking benefits from the Govern-

ment; again it is bent upon doing good, as it conceives good, to the nation. All these phases of the Legion's complex personality mingle with each other, so that no one motive can be singled out for any specific deed.

The shaping of the motives into policies is theoretically in the hands of the assembled members in National Convention. Suggestions are made beforehand, however, by the Commander and the Executive Committee, and after the Convention theirs is the duty of interpreting and carrying out the various resolutions. So the official régime at the top of the Legion hierarchy is actually the dominant factor in making the major decisions. There is, therefore, some slight variation in the organization's policy from year to year attributable to the differing character of the personnel at the top. The variation is much less than might be expected, for the Legion is constantly building up a body of tradition. A comparatively small group of moving spirits remain active in the organization's affairs through the years and those men also are responsible for steadying the keel, and charting a constant course.

As in the case of all nation-wide organizations of the kind, there is further variation among the individual Posts. Naturally they are not all alike, no more than are all the chapters of a national Greek fraternity. Some are aggressive in carrying out Legion policies, others content themselves with more retiring forms of comradeship. The national organization is not able to compel Posts to be energetic in behalf of the Legion projects, but it does have power to expel Posts whose actions are contrary to national policy. There is one frankly rebellious group, the Willard Straight Post in New York City, which on nearly all issues of import is directly at odds with the Legion's pronouncements. Occasionally it causes great annoyance by making known its contrary views in the press. State and national leaders

have furrowed their brows as to whether it would be the part of wisdom to eject the Willard Straight Post, but have decided in the negative. The high reputation of some of its members and of the Post as a whole might bring unfavourable publicity in case drastic action were taken against it. Principally because of this thorn, a rule was passed that no Post be allowed to air its views in public without first passing them through the censorship of the Department Commander.

The Legion is the most ambitious veterans' organization the United States has known both in the variety of its interests and in the efficient methods with which it pursues them. It is not one society, but many: a social fraternity, a collection of civic clubs, a political bloc, and a patriotic organization. It is an American phenomenon which future historians will have to take largely into consideration in describing the path of the United States through at least two thirds of the twentieth century, for the Legion, in its various phases, exerts great influence upon the nation's *mores*, its finances, and its conduct in general.

MILLION DOLLAR CORPORATION

THE Legion is the last word in up-to-date veterans' organizations. There is no air of the amateur about it; twentieth century ideas of efficiency have been applied. Numerous interesting innovations have been contributed to the science of banding former soldiers together. Elaborate administrative machinery has been devised, high pressure sales methods are invoked, and good will assets are assiduously cultivated. The Legion has described itself as "comparable in many ways to a million dollar corporation." The description is apt.

No other veterans' society has achieved the dignity of being created a national corporation by act of Congress. The lawmakers discussed the matter at some length before giving the Legion the accolade. The arguments in favour were that the Legion wanted to do business all over the country, to be able to sue, to conduct subsidiary corporations, and, finally, desired the prestige and distinction attaching to such a formal status. The Congressional charter, contended Representative Volstead, would "assist them in keeping up their organization"; in short, help hold the society together. Other lawmakers, however, pointed out that the G.A.R. prospered without a charter; why did the

Legion need one? Representative Greene of Vermont thought that "the elastic, open-flowing fellowship of a free patriotic organization" ought to be a sufficient bond. But the Legion won the day and the charter from Congress.

As befitting a corporation, the Legion looked about before choosing a seat. Cities competed for the privilege of housing its headquarters, realizing the valuable civic publicity that would accrue. Chicago had a considerable following, but the caucus hooted down the suggestion of bestowing their national headquarters upon a city that had a pro-German mayor. Pointedly the Chicago boosters were told to rid themselves of Mayor William Hale Thompson before seeking the favour of the veterans. The Chicago Legionnaires first felt indignant at the rebuff, then repentant, and they promised to clean house in the next election. The scales finally turned in favour of Indianapolis. That city, backed by the state, offered a free "home befitting the greatness and importance of the organization."

Indiana made good its promise with a building which might be the envy of many a big corporation. Six years saw it brought to completion, and in 1925 the Legion ceremoniously moved into the costly edifice that was described as combining all the advantages of Greek beauty and modern efficiency. The Legion told about it in these words:

Wilton rugs, taupe in color, cover the cement floors of all offices and battleship linoleum is laid in all work-rooms. . . . The national headquarters occupies almost three floors of the new building with approximately 20,000 square feet of floor space. On the second floor is located the administration division which includes the purchasing agent, the supply room, cashier, mailing section, library, general files and archives, membership card files, stenographic pool and the multigraph and mimeograph room. The third floor houses the national officers in

the executive suite which surrounds a central reception room. These offices occupy one-half the floor. The other half of the third floor is occupied by the offices of the division heads. On the fourth floor is located the general stock room, the packing and shipping rooms of the Emblem Division, and the booking and shipping rooms of the Film Service Division. Also on this floor are the fire-proof vaults for the storing of valuable stock of the Emblem Division as well as films and advertising matter of the film service.

The most beautiful and impressive room in the building occupies the remaining half of the fourth floor. It is the national executive committee room. In construction and arrangement it follows the general lines of a senate chamber. It is furnished with 35 desks, seating two persons to each desk. The bronze ink sets at each seat bear the state seal of the Department to which the seat is assigned. The desks and swivel chairs are fixed to the floor and are made of American walnut. Each state or Department provided \$145 toward the furnishing of the desk, chair, and desk equipment.

From his taupe-carpeted offices in the executive suite, the National Commander looks out over his million dollar corporation with its eleven thousand retail branches—the Posts—scattered throughout the United States and, for that matter, the whole world. He is the chief of an elaborate hierarchy. Surrounding him at the apex are the members of the National Executive Committee, a kind of board of directors, who help him formulate the policies and guide the corporation to prosperity. Beneath him are forty-nine Department Commanders, one for each state and the District of Columbia; and at the base of the pyramid, the eleven thousand Post Commanders.

The National Commander more than earns his \$12,000 salary, for his year in office is a strenuous one. He must

scurry about the country speaking at Rotary Clubs, eating hundreds of civic banquets, posing with governors for photographers and being received into honorary chieftainship of Indian tribes. One Commander reported that he spent two thirds of his nights in Pullman cars and in the daytime used fast motor cars and airplanes to keep his engagements.

While representing the Legion to the country at large, the Commander at the same time must see that affairs function smoothly at headquarters, under the supervision of the salaried general manager entitled the National Adjutant. This official is responsible for conducting the various business enterprises. He keeps his eye on two subsidiary corporations: the Emblem Division, which from its battleship linoleum floors sells a complete line of Legion jewellery at an annual gross profit of some \$50,000 a year; and the Film Division, which rents out its own motion pictures. A third subsidiary concern, incorporated in New York as the Legion Publishing Corporation, gets out the handsome and popular *American Legion Monthly*, the official organ. A fourth concern is created anew every year: the Legion Convention Corporation, which manages the annual reunions.

There are numerous other paid officials on the roster. The treasurer handles the annual income (one dollar from each of the million Legionnaires), and keeps more millions invested in sundry trust and endowment funds. The National Judge Advocate is the corporation's attorney. The directors of various commissions and committees also are salaried experts.

A corporation so elaborate must of necessity spend much of its energy in maintaining itself. Members are the life blood of the organization, the stock in trade of the corporation. For a little informal society to dissolve would affect nobody seriously, but to have so great a machine as the

Legion collapse would result in a terrific crash. Careers are invested in it, and reputations. Many persons are dependent for their livelihood upon the Legion, just as upon any great corporation. Others have tied their personal or political careers to the Legion, seeking to rise in the world through it. Since size is so common a measure of success in our time, the Legion must keep growing to exist. Should it begin to lose in numbers, the glitter would fade, the public would have less respect for it, politicians less awe, members less pride. Then would start the backward slide into nothingness, and its officials would lose their importance in the land, its employés their jobs.

Here again, in working out a technique of self-preservation, the Legion has contributed new ideas to the organizing of veterans, has solved the problem by ingenious application of twentieth century methods of efficiency.

No church proselytes more zealously, no insurance company sells its services more energetically. The problem of getting and keeping a membership appropriate to its prestige presents a constant challenge because eligibles do not form a homogeneous group. They are not men who are irresistibly drawn together for the sake of companionship. The shoe clerk from Sandusky, the iron smelter from Pittsburgh, the orange grower from Anaheim, have little in common with each other and even less with the banker from Baton Rouge or the whisk broom manufacturer from Omaha. Likewise, in individual Posts, the college professor, the plumber, the priest, the billiard champion, and the truck driver find few congenial topics for discussion. Not many of them have so strong a sociological curiosity that they would join the Legion only to satisfy it.

True, they were all in the Army. But thousands of them got no farther than the training camps nearest their homes; more thousands got to British camps and were kept there;

others reached France but not the front line. Of the 4,355,000 soldiers mobilized by America for the World War, less than a third fought in the trenches. All of them, as well as sailors and marines, are eligible to the Legion. There is no sure means of telling what percentage of Legionnaires saw actual combat, but it has been estimated that less than one third of them were under shell-fire. One of the most blunt remarks on that topic was made by the outspoken Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler. Some Legion Posts, he said, were only "rockets, run by fellows who never even heard a shot go off in the War."

The fact that not all our men had to reach the trenches is a matter for which America is profoundly grateful. But it does make the Legion's row harder to hoe. Their experiences of war having differed so widely, neither members nor prospects share the common vivid emotions born of fighting together, the common language, the common memories and anecdotes which are the natural heritage and compelling motif of most veterans' associations. The bonds of sympathy and understanding are loose between men who fought at Soissons and those who bayoneted dummies at a training camp, and they tend to become looser every year. If all veterans are to be gathered into the fold, new common interests must be supplied.

The initial promoters of the Legion did their work well; in 1920, a year after the society had been formed, the roll leaped to a quick peak of 845,000. But by 1925 it had dwindled away to 609,407, the low point. The Legion was alarmed. "We must go out and increase our membership," said the National Commander. "It must be done." Membership campaigns became more intense and ingenious schemes were tried out; the pressure for new members has never been relaxed since that time.

National Headquarters sends out bales of free promotion

material. In 1930 the National Adjutant reported that among other things 458,422 pamphlets entitled *Facts About the American Legion*, 441,006 prospect cards, and 8,706 membership campaign manuals had been forwarded to the various Department Headquarters for the use of Departments and Posts.

The real burden of the constant sales drive must fall, of course, on the retail branches. The Post Handbook, a handy guide to Legionism for local officials, is fervent in its advice. "Membership," it says, "should have the constant attention of a responsible officer of the Post. . . . No single factor has so important an influence on the Legion's success as membership."

There follows an outline of the efficient way to get one hundred per cent of the old members paid up each year by sending out formal individual statements and by dignified follow-up letters to delinquents at intervals of two weeks. "Lack of response to two follow-up letters on the part of any member," warns the Handbook, "indicates a serious relapse of interest on the part of that member and it is imperative that one of the committee visit him and find out what is the matter. . . . If he does not respond to the visit of the committeeman, the matter should be reported to the Commander or Post meeting and some way must be found of converting him."

In communities where membership committees literally carry out their instructions it must be a sturdy non-joiner who does not weaken. The gentlemen who call on him are not likely to be amateurs at persuasion. At one Convention it was reported that an attempt was being made to have Post officials conduct salesmanship classes before allowing members to go out to solicit membership. Whether or not this is actually done, the principle is considered sound, for the Handbook states: "Material of the nature of sales talks

on the Legion should be issued so that the canvasser can be better prepared to tackle his prospects."

"Special interest appeals" sometimes are resorted to. One Post gives a paid-up accident insurance policy to its members in good standing. Another once induced the leading motion picture theatre to give each member of the Post free admittance to any one performance during the year on presentation of his membership card.

All manner of contests are held, with prizes for the winners and penalties for the losers. Legion lapel emblems and emblem signet rings are popular prizes. The Walla Walla, Washington, Post lost a membership contest to the Wenatchee Post, so Wenatchee Legionnaires marched on Walla Walla, captured the rival Commander and took him home with them. Clothed in convict stripes and confined in a bear cage, he featured a big torchlight parade in Wenatchee.

McDermott Post of Tucson, Arizona, lost a bet in a membership drive to the Post in Phoenix. Legionnaires of McDermott Post let their beards grow for a month and then drove over to sweep the Phoenix streets.

The Department Commander of Ohio promoted a most successful state-wide campaign in 1931 with the help of a monkey named Susie. Early in the year the Commander bought Susie, who was described as being as obnoxious a member of her species as has ever dangled from a chandelier, and presented her to the district that was at the tail end of the membership procession. Susie screeched and kicked, she tormented dogs, and made herself generally unpopular. Membership in that district improved rapidly and soon there was a lower-rating section for Susie to visit. After that she changed her residence every few weeks. She was passed from district to district, increasing membership wherever she went and causing great merriment throughout Ohio.

"The time should soon come," said one National Commander, "and I think it will soon be here, when any man eligible to become a member of the Legion, who does not belong, will be looked upon with suspicion, and justly so, by the community where he lives."

The necessity of attracting new members by the thousands has played a part in determining Legion policies and, in fact, influenced the whole course of the organization. Specifically, the need of building up good will has resulted in another major innovation in veterans' organizations: the adoption of welfare work and community betterment as a nation-wide objective. Taking a leaf from the book of the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, the Legion encourages its Posts to perform all manner of worthy enterprises for their home towns. To mention that this cue was picked up with an eye to the winning of favourable public sentiment and thereby more members is not to reflect upon the sincerity with which the Posts do their good deeds, nor is it to minimize the praiseworthiness of the work.

In 1925 a Children's Welfare Division was established to carry out a comprehensive child welfare programme with the slogan, "A home for every homeless orphan of a veteran." When the Legion was raising an endowment fund for this purpose it reported, "A survey of the first twelve Departments undertaking the endowment campaign would indicate a unanimity of opinion that this activity has solidified the Legion in the community . . . and that increased membership will naturally follow."

The community service programme has been whole-heartedly adopted and the various Posts have flung themselves into widely diversified activities, each choosing one which seemed particularly suited to the needs of its own vicinity.

Some have carried on emergency relief work when disaster occurred. The Harvey Seeds Post in Miami estab-

lished soup kitchens and gave shelter to the victims of the Florida hurricane, besides helping patrol the devastated area. Posts in the Mississippi valley gave like aid at the time of the flood. In 1930 three thousand emergency relief units, similar in purpose to Red Cross units, had been established by the Legion. Several Posts have purchased ambulances or fire hoses or organized volunteer fire departments for their towns. A report to the tenth Convention listed 150 projects which had been successfully completed by local Legionnaires. The summary included:

Sponsoring 4H club work	Rebuilt widow's home, destroyed by fire
Public health campaign	Industrial and food show
Sponsoring old time dances	Built runway for wheel chairs and planted flowers at G.A.R. home
Comfort stations provided	Providing street lighting
Fostering boys' rifle club	Built movie theatre for city
Establishing World War museum	suppress crime
Co-operating with police to	

In January, 1931, the leading article in the National Americanism Commission's monthly bulletin said, "The relationship of Legion Community Service to Membership activities is so close that it is almost impossible to draw a line between the two. If your Post has been active throughout the year, constantly doing things for the betterment of your community, it is only natural that the members of your Post will be ready and willing to pay the dues when dues-paying time rolls around. Ex-service men of the community, who have never belonged to the Legion, will want to be a part of the organization that is always up and doing . . . The Community Service work of the American Legion is of paramount importance to membership

and its relationship should be emphasized through every channel of Legion resources."

On another occasion, the National Adjutant said in his report, "The Department and Post which centers their attention on community-service programs, embracing such activities as marking aviation fields, organizing junior baseball teams, marking the highways with safety signs, etc., thereby creating admiration, praise, and real interest on the part of the public at large, as well as veterans both within and without the American Legion, need have no concern but what the membership will become all that can be desired. This has been particularly true where Departments and Posts have been willing to devote a reasonable amount of time strictly to membership building in addition to launching these other various unselfish programs."

The *American Legion Monthly* devotes several pages of each issue to the Keeping Step Department, which records the most interesting Post activities. This is by way of giving credit where credit is due and also furnishing suggestions to the rest. It told, for example, how the Post in Merrill, Iowa, once decided to give neighbouring farmers the benefit of its expert marksmanship. Members divided into two rival teams and went out one day on a crow-hunting expedition. The winners shot 243, the losers 161 crows; and the losers, in expiation, buried the 404 birds and gave a dinner for their victors.

In these sundry ways, both large and small, the organization works to fulfil the requirements outlined by its advisors. "The Legion has a harder road in national influence than had the Grand Army," Charles G. Dawes told a National Convention. "Its members are not bound so closely by the ties of sentiment . . . The question of care for war casualties, while of the deepest importance, has not and does not present enough difficulties to demand in itself

the constant attention of a million men. If the Legion is to be more than a loose confederacy of local clubs it must develop national policies that appeal to its membership and which justify their support."

National Commander Bodenhamer reiterated this thought in his report to the twelfth Convention in 1930. "The maintenance of interest in the American Legion has been, and still is, a vexing problem," he said.

III

PROMOTING COMRADESHIP

THE fraternal phase of the Legion comes to flower in the yearly National Conventions. Post meetings perform in a small way the function stated in the preamble, "To preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great War," by affording opportunity to gather together to talk over old times. The Department conventions serve that end more extensively; but the climax comes in the National Conventions which foster comradeship on a wholesale scale. Members from every corner of the nation assemble each fall in some large city and for four days devote themselves to sociability in the mass, which at times takes on some of the attributes of a spree.

Since the memories and incidents of the Legionnaires' dissimilar war experiences are so varied, the Conventions have had to become carnivals that might be relished on their own account. They have accumulated somewhat extraneous features that tend to overshadow the original theme of quiet exchanging of recollections. In fact the Conventions have come to supply to a certain extent the common background which the War itself failed to supply, so that during the rest of the year the reminiscences are of the annual assemblages rather than of the War. The preamble might now be para-

phrased, "To preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the Great Convention."

The Legion, of course, did not originate the idea of the yearly carnival-reunion, but it has added a chapter to Americana by bringing the phenomenon to the highest point of development yet attained. Elks, Moose, Shriners and the like all convene periodically, but their reunions cannot compare with the Legion's. In sheer volume and elaborateness, the Legion outconventions them all. It provides the lushest example of this peculiarly American contribution to the fiestas of the world. Legion week has been described as being like Mardi Gras, Mafeking Night, the Fourth of July and New Year's Eve merged into one. It is the reincarnation of all fictional Paris furloughs. For one thing there are more people; a Legion Convention sets in motion a migration beside which the California gold rush and the land runs in Oklahoma were picnic parties.

Not even the world-wide depression stemmed the tide. Legionnaires look forward to their fiesta all year long. They save bit by bit to enable them to attend, and the Convention fund is likely to be the favoured item in the budget if any extra money comes their way. The man who had charge of the 1931 reunion predicted that the passage a few months before of the Adjusted Compensation Loan Law would increase attendance by thousands. "Lots of men," he wrote, "are going to make these loans to come to the Convention who wouldn't do so for any other purpose." For many Legionnaires, the Convention is their only holiday, the year's big celebration.

Behind the hilarity of the carnival is a remarkable amount of machinery, for the million dollar corporation applies the same efficiency to preserving memories and incidents as to all its other enterprises.

The first problem is the scene of the fiesta. Any city

which plays host is virtually swallowed up for four days. "Kansas City lost its identity," the Legion observed after swarming in and out of there. Nevertheless, cities tumble over themselves to obtain the Convention. Local Chambers of Commerce see an opportunity to get the home town emblazoned in every newspaper in the country; merchants pleasurably anticipate the thousands of dollars that the horde of conventioners will leave behind.

As a result of this eagerness the favour of entertaining the carnival is sought by a virtual system of bidding. At the instigation of local civic leaders, Legionnaire delegates go to one Convention with the prime purpose of getting the next Convention for their city. Hospitality must be guaranteed in a tangible fashion, so the ambassadors take along certified checks for as much as \$50,000, which the home town puts up by way of doing its share in staging a good show. Then they begin pulling threads in the complicated tangle of intra-Legion politics, bargaining with delegates from other cities, trading votes for National Commander for votes for Convention city.

Detroit, the scene of the thirteenth Convention, worked hard for the privilege. She sent her initial invitation in 1926, bidding for the 1928 Convention. The Legion chose San Antonio in 1928, however, so Detroit sent another cordial message asking for the honour in 1929. Unfortunately, the chief bearer of this message no sooner arrived than an unidentified man walked into his hotel room and hit him over the head with a blackjack, and Detroit again lost the Convention while he was in the hospital with concussion of the brain. In 1930 Detroit sent as emissaries her Legionnaire mayor and the Legionnaire who was subsequently elected governor of Michigan, and they succeeded in winning the long sought prize.

Other cities are still trying. In 1929, Baltimore initiated

efforts to obtain the 1932 Convention, and five unrelated organizations including the Chamber of Commerce and the Baltimore Housewives Alliance (Inc.) reiterated the invitation by telegraph. Miami holds the record for persistence. Patiently, year after year, since 1924, she has been dispatching delegates armed with banners and certified checks to attest to her urgent hospitality, so far to no avail.

A host having been selected, preparations begin at once. "The National Convention," its sponsors have said, "with its spectacular parade, the comradeship and color, is the outstanding publicity event of the year for the Legion." The event must be a success, so each day is painstakingly programmed long in advance, and the plans worked out in most minute detail. Hardly has the glow from one Convention faded away when wheels start turning to make ready for the next. This National Convention Corporation begins functioning one year ahead of time and grows progressively busier week by week during the twelve months of its life. By early spring, six months in advance, the executive vice-president has mobilized three hundred workers into committees; by summer no less than four thousand men are setting the stage for the preservation of comradeship.

The transportation committee plots routes from every conceivable tributary town, arranges for special trains and sees to it that the veterans get cut-rate fares. The housing committee arranges to have some of the transportation committee's Pullman cars parked on sidings so that Legionnaires can sleep in them during the sessions, for the available hotel space usually runs short even though the Government lends 20,000 cots for emergency sleeping quarters. Other duties are parcelled out systematically, down to a sub-committee on fireworks. To the publicity committee, headed by a paid director, falls the task of arousing enthusiasm by keeping newspapers throughout the country

supplied with tantalizing accounts, months in advance, of the joys in store. Thirty thousand billboards notified the nation in 1931 that "The Big Parade Is to Detroit."

A day or two before the opening session, the horde starts pouring into the Convention city, and festivities begin at once. Canteens at the railway stations serve coffee and doughnuts and pretty girls in French provincial costumes compose greeting committees. Each Department Commander at the Detroit Convention was escorted to a new white motor car with the seal of his state emblazoned upon it which was at his exclusive disposal, with a white-liveried chauffeur, for the duration of his stay.

Overnight the city's appearance completely changes. There are "Welcome, Buddies" signs on haberdashers' shops, hardware stores and mortuary establishments. The streets are festooned with coloured lights in elaborate design. Flags fly from every flagpole. Banners hang in the windows. In Kansas City a monstrous wood and cardboard doughboy covered the façade of one department store. In Detroit a busy boulevard was transformed into the main street of a French village.

Each Convention city tries to outdo its predecessors in the variety and splendour of entertainment offered to the guests. There are football games, big league baseball games, military demonstrations and fashion parades, as well as land and water sporting events of all descriptions in which the Legionnaires themselves often compete. From seven to nineteen military balls are scheduled, and fireworks displays go on simultaneously. There are band, bugle, drum and drill corps contests, beauty contests and air circuses.

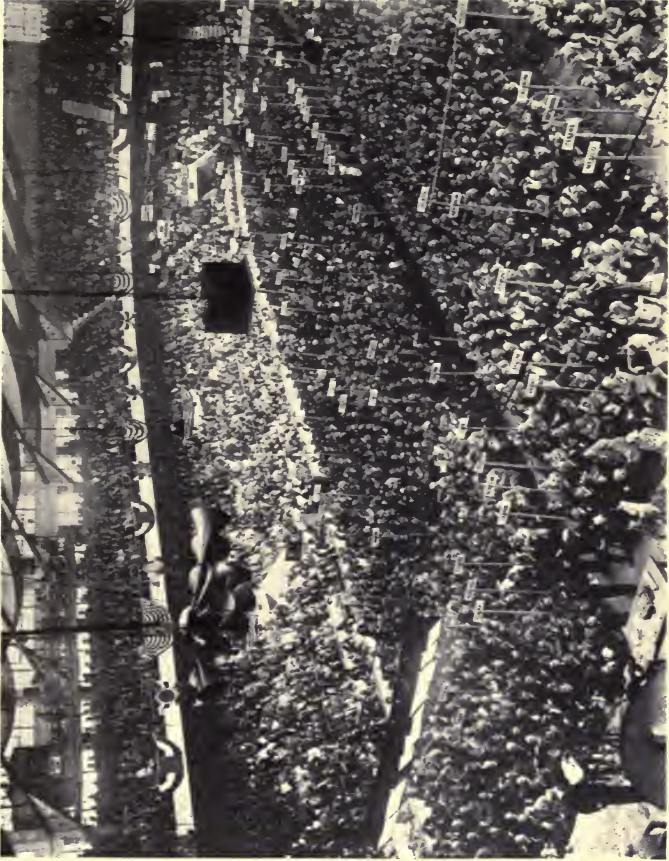
Within the Convention hall an equally glittering programme is afforded, for the Legion is able to present to its members an array of notables such as few other gatherings

can attract. Mayors, governors, senators, generals and admirals all find time to speak before the Legion. The Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the president of the American Federation of Labor, General Pershing and Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, czar of baseballdom, make frequent appearances. At the 1930 Boston Convention President Hoover and former President Coolidge topped the bill.

Interspersed with the addresses are presentations of awards of every shape and variety. The various Legion drill teams and bands take their honours in cash prizes aggregating about \$4,000, which have been donated by the Convention city. The Posts and Departments who gained most members get silver cups, statuettes, flags, and preferred positions toward the front of the parade. Distinguished visitors usually receive their tokens in the form of pets, as in the case of the mayor of Philadelphia, who found himself at the end of the first day possessed of a brown bear, a Rocky Mountain burro and a raccoon. Marshal Foch went away from a Convention he attended owning a wildcat kitten donated by Montana.

The Legion itself ceremoniously receives gifts of gavels, of which it has an assortment probably unsurpassed, including one made from an olive tree in Nazareth and another from the doorstep of a log cabin believed to have been occupied by Theodore Roosevelt in North Dakota. From Alaska came a present with the message, "This gavel is made of the ivory tusk of a walrus, the horn of the wild mountain sheep; the case is made of native spruce and the skin of the seal. The whole represents the skill and labor of my fellow Legionnaires of the Valdez Post of Valdez, Alaska. Alaska is strong as hell for the Legion."

The Daniel Boone Tree gavel proved to be less a gavel than a bone of contention. It was presented by Department Commander Simms of Tennessee, who said it was



PRESIDENT HOOVER ADDRESSING THE BOSTON CONVENTION

made from the wood of a tree in his state upon which the famous pioneer had carved the words, "D. Boone cilled a bar, 1760." Commander Simms declared that the sturdiness of the gavel and its workmanship typified the spirit of the Legion and of Tennessee. Immediately a Kentucky delegate jumped to his feet and asserted that the tree had stood in Kentucky, not in Tennessee. Whereupon a delegate from Virginia rose to say that at the time Boone shot that bear there was neither Kentucky nor Tennessee, but all was in the commonwealth of Virginia.

Meanwhile, a dozen different committees have been framing the organization's programme in much the same fashion as political leaders draw up a party platform for presentation to the entire assemblage at the Republican or Democratic national conventions. The Legion committees bring the results of their various conferences to the floor of the Convention in the form of reports and resolutions, which for the most part are adopted unanimously as read. Occasionally disagreement and a debate enlivens the routine. Business sessions are completed by the elections of officers for the coming year.

The annual parade climaxes the Convention. At ten o'clock in the morning, with a great tootling of bugles and thumping of drums, the first contingent steps out. The streets are lined with spectators; shops are closed for the day. Reviewing stands have been erected at strategic points to provide seats for Gold Star Mothers, for the dignitaries who sit through it all, and for the thousands of persons who bring their lunches and stay all day to see everything. In Boston it took eight hours for the marchers to pass a given spot. For the parade is tremendous. A hundred thousand people trudge all day and sometimes well into the evening. Army planes swoop through manœuvres and dirigibles sail among the clouds.

There are hundreds of bands of all descriptions; the 107-piece bugle and drum corps from Buffalo, the Doodledorfer Band of German musicians from Milwaukee, a women's kitchen band playing culinary implements. There is a kaleidoscope of colour. Gilt trench helmets, Scotch kilts, adaptations of the Zouave fez and swirling red and white capes, bullfighter costumes, purple, orange and green uniforms sweep by.

There are cowboys in chaps from Wyoming, Indians in war paint from Oklahoma. The Leavenworth, Kansas, Post in convict stripes locksteps for a laugh. California brings two truckloads of oranges to throw into the crowd, Mississippi tosses cotton bolls. One *Société des Quarante Hommes et Huit Chevaux* trundles a French box car. Kentucky waves tobacco leaves, and Iowa marches bearing seven-foot cornstalks.

True, the corn may waver at times. In 1931 *The Iowa Legionnaire* held a contest for ideas about how the state should advertise itself in the parade. One of the suggestions printed was this: "If all . . . lay off liquor the day of the parade, leave the bottles, even though they contain only water, and try to march in some kind of marching form, we would not need anything else."

To the public at large, the Legion has described the parade as "an American demonstration of virility and patriotism and moral force."

Neither in the formalities of the Convention nor yet in the scheduled sporting and social events does the Legion's fiesta reach its high point of carnival spirit. There is more hilarity than is noted on the official programme. Even staid Legionnaires are inclined to feel fewer restraints than at home, and the more energetic ones recapture the carefree spirit expressed in the ditty, "You're in the Army now!" They are in the Army all over again, without, however, some

of the steadying influences of war and military discipline. The unofficial aspects of the Convention furnish perhaps the bulk of the material for reminiscences and legends of the common association.

Several observers of Legion Conventions have suggested that the general gaiety is augmented by tippling. This feature is customarily overlooked in the newspapers, but the *Chicago Tribune's* correspondent, hostile to the prohibition law and friendly to veterans, mentioned it with sympathetic amusement. "Never have I seen such a flood of alcohol in one spot," he wrote his paper. "A great deal was brought in, but the local supply was quite adequate to take care of any shortages and was as easy to get as cigarettes. There was, very wisely, not the slightest effort made by local or federal authorities to stop the sale, transportation or drinking of liquor. . . . The supply simply enhanced the carnival spirit and very much increased the pleasure of the majority in attendance."

This description referred to the Louisville Convention. Another of the onlookers was a correspondent of the *Christian Century*, a religious periodical, and he took a rather sterner view. "Louisville," he wrote, "has gone mad. . . . All of us had expected some disorder, but we were hardly prepared for the riotous revelry that is actually taking place. By eleven o'clock last night the lid was completely off and some of us got our first glimpse of unmitigated pandemonium. It appeared that men and women lost every vestige of orderliness and self-respect. . . . Today it is the same story. . . . Whisky is being drunk openly on streets. Tipsy women hang out hotel windows, swearing and shouting. Many of the lewd pranks are unmentionable."

Such comments are not to the Legion's liking, and they have drawn forth protestations of comparative innocence.

The contention is that no convention is free from incidental imbibing, and that the Legion's are no worse than others, although perhaps more frank about it. The National Chaplain vouchsafed his opinion after the Boston gathering in 1930 that Legion Conventions were becoming more sober each year, but commentators on the editorial staff of the Harvard *Crimson* dissented from his view, after watching the assembled delegates at play. "It was merely an excuse," said the *Crimson*, making little attempt to moderate its phrases, "for a wholesale brawl exceeding in its disgusting completeness any similar spectacle which the United States has to offer. Even Boston . . . has seen fit to allow a total relaxation of law and order during the stay in the Hub of the 'buddies' of the Legion, those glorious Americans who fought, the slogan says, to make the world safe for democracy, and who have come back to raise hell annually so no one can forget it."

The fact that some prankishness is in the air has been corroborated by Legionnaires themselves. "Indians ranged through Boston Common uttering wild war whoops," wrote Major Granville Fortescue describing the 1930 Convention for *Liberty* magazine. "Cowboys followed, matching whoop with whoop. Clowns and convicts joined in a chase that sometimes ended in a fight, more often in a frolic, and eventually ended with a Legionnaire mob in all types of fancy costumes singing the highly ribald verses of Hinky Dinky Parlez-vous. . . . All were frankly out on a junket. Exploding cannon crackers in crowded hotel lobbies, throwing furniture out the windows, running Austin automobiles through the storm doors were something else again. These were but a few of the pastimes."

When the pastimes are over and the fiesta is ended, the Legionnaires return to their homes, but their organization carries on. Memories and incidents of the association in

the Great War have been preserved and revived according to the formula worked out by the million dollar corporation. Its directors, fortified by a vote of confidence and a mass demonstration of the power behind them, resume their task of impressing upon the nation the suggestions and demands of the American Legion.

IV

POLITICAL FLIRTATION

THE million men who compose the American Legion would take a large share in guiding the nation's destiny in the natural course of affairs. They are all citizens in the prime of life and voters. The influence of the Legion as an organization, however, is far greater than the total personal weight of its individual members. In union there is always strength, and in a veterans' union the strength is multiplied many fold because of the enormous initial prestige in the public estimation. The nation feels gratitude to the men who defended it, and is inclined to grant their wishes. When veterans espouse a cause, the country is predisposed in its favour.

The Legion is regarded as representative of America's World War veterans. Statistics do not entirely verify this assumption, for the great majority of former soldiers are not members. In districts where the organization is weak, it includes only one fifteenth of the ex-service men; where it is strongest, about one third are members. On the average seventy-five per cent of the country's veterans are outside the Legion and may or may not agree with its views. Since, however, it is the only organized voice, the general public is apt to consider that when the Legion speaks,

America's former service men are speaking. This view is encouraged. "The Legion," said one of its National Commanders, "is recognized as the voice of the American men and women who served with the colors during the Great War—a whole generation."

The moment that veterans organize themselves they are confronted with the problem of how to use the influence gained by so banding together. In earlier stages of civilization, the obvious method was by physical force; under the present governmental arrangements, the equivalent method is by exerting political force. The temptation to take advantage of numerical strength and kindly public sentiment is natural, and strong. An organization that did nothing to push its programme to fulfillment would be a failure in the eyes of its own members. The harnessing of power becomes necessary to success. The simplest way is to regiment the votes of the ranks, and enrol the Government as an ally.

From the point of view of public welfare, a soldiers' bloc has the same disadvantages as any other bloc, in that it is a species of mob action. Lawmakers are notoriously receptive to the suggestions of a mass of voters seeking the same thing. They sometimes are inclined to weigh the effect on their own political fortunes more carefully than the effect on the country's fortunes. Once a bloc finds that it can get what it wants, its wants have a way of increasing prodigiously.

A bloc holds further dangers implicit in crowd psychology. A few persons by force of personality or sheer energy can assume leadership and infuse their ideas into the whole crowd, working a sort of paralysis upon the discriminating judgment of the individual. The members follow, more or less blindly, the advice of the more vocal leaders. The leaders may be acting from entirely pure motives; they

may also be sincere but swayed by outside influences; they may not even be disinterested themselves. A bloc, in short, may be used to further aims which the individual members might not approve if they scrutinized.

From the point of view of the veterans' organization itself, embarking upon a political career is not without its elements of risk. On the one hand, if the bloc oversteps itself ever so slightly, it may defeat its own purpose by arousing antagonism among the public, and turn the initial good will into resentment. On the other hand, if the organization ventures into controversial political issues, it is likely to encounter rebellion within its own ranks. Taking sides in partisan politics naturally would be fatal, for some members are Democrats and others Republicans, so this has to be scrupulously avoided.

The Grand Army of the Republic walked into both those pitfalls. It frankly avowed as one of its purposes "to secure the rights of the defenders of their country by all the moral, social and political means in our control." This was a tactical error, for it laid the way open for criticism on grounds of acquisitiveness. Then the G.A.R. entangled itself in partisan councils by taking a hand in the nomination and election of candidates here and there through the country and otherwise dabbling in local, state and national politics. Internal strife arose and became so strong that in 1868 the national encampment added to the constitution a phrase specifying that the organization did not make nominations to office or use its influence in a partisan way. This provision was strengthened in the following year by resolving that what suspicion may have attached to the G.A.R. as being a political organization was unjustified because it did declare itself "above and independent of partisan feeling and action." Despite the attempts to retrieve its reputation for detachment, the G.A.R. is remembered as

an illustration of the unfortunate consequences of the formation of a political bloc by ex-soldiers.

The founders of the Legion, bearing this in mind, determined that the new organization should steer clear of political reefs. At the same time, they foresaw the necessity of bringing pressure to bear on the Government to put their programme into effect. How to reconcile the two purposes presented a puzzling problem, and the longer the Legion has existed the more puzzling the problem has become.

Green fields of political power beckoned from the very first. The organizing caucus in St. Louis had hardly got under way before ambitious Legionnaires, seeing so many comrades there from all parts of the country and dreaming about the future of the organization they were founding, began to realize its potentialities. It dawned on them that in time they would be a band of men in a peculiarly favourable position for getting what they wanted. They might number a half million members, then a million; a million votes, if at all disciplined, cannot be ignored in any man's republic. They realized, too, that no Congressman would care to lay himself open to a charge of ingratitude toward the nation's saviours, nor would any Senator relish the thought of being regarded as nonchalant about Old Glory.

This feeling crept out by the third day of the caucus. The Legionnaires were denouncing Government officials who freed conscientious objectors after the War, and it was moved to request a full Congressional investigation. The voice of Colonel Herbert of Massachusetts boomed at the chairman: "I move you, sir, that the Convention substitute the word 'demand' instead of 'request' where it says, 'we request Congress.' We are a body large enough and representative enough and powerful enough to TELL Congress

what we want [applause], not to ask it." The motion was unanimously carried. Half a century before, General Alger used almost the same words before the G.A.R. of which he was Commander-in-chief. "Go to Congress and *demand* it, not with bowed heads," he said, speaking of an item in the organization's programme.

The problem of what to say about politics in the Legion's constitution was assigned to a committee, which decided upon the phrase, "the organization shall be absolutely non-partisan and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles or for the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office or preferment." This left room for embarking upon political action so long as no one political party was favoured above the rest.

When the nation's lawmakers were asked to grant the Legion a charter and thereby sanction its constitution as a patriotic society, an important change in the wording of the clause about political restriction was made within Congress. The phrase was amended to, "the organization shall be absolutely *non-political* . . ."

The new phraseology was incorporated verbatim in the Legion constitution, Article Two of which reads:

Sec. 2. THE AMERICAN LEGION shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles nor for the promotion of the candidacy of any persons seeking public office or preferment. No candidate for or incumbent of a salaried elective public office shall hold any office in THE AMERICAN LEGION or in any Department or Post thereof.

Webster's defines the word "political" as "of or pertaining to the exercise of the rights and privileges or the influence by which the individuals of a state seek to determine its public policy."

The Legion constitution, then, would seem to embody a complete and final prohibition of any action, as an organization, in governmental affairs.

The ink was hardly dry on the new constitution before Legionnaires began to regret the presence of Article Two. Between the first and second National Conventions, certain prominent members brooded about the interdiction, and the more they thought about it the more annoyed they became at what they felt was the self-hamstringing of their organization. The revolt grew, until it became apparent that nothing could suppress a contest in the second Convention, which was to be held in Cleveland in the fall of 1920.

“Persons actively engaged in promoting Legion interests,” said an article in the official organ, then the *American Legion Weekly*, “recognize that circumstances have decreed that the Legion cannot ignore the existence of politics, and the demand for a new statement of policy on the attitude of the organization toward politics has been spontaneous.”

The Department of Indiana—home Department of National Headquarters—came to the second Convention with a resolution which would permit each Post to be kept informed by Headquarters on how state and national lawmakers and officials stood in “vote, speech and action on any and all matters pertaining to the welfare of the American Legion.” A prominent California Legionnaire urged a Legion ticket in the field. Oklahoma and Tennessee reported the active participation of Legionnaires in the campaigns of candidates for state and national public office, “the Legion directing attention to the candidates’ war records.” The Georgia Commander wired Headquarters that Georgia Posts were “getting magnificently behind the campaign which has been inaugurated in Atlanta in opposition to

Watson and in defense of the Legion.” (Thomas E. Watson was running for United States Senator.) Then the Commander added: “But we shall scrupulously observe both the letter and spirit of the constitution. . . . Our fight is based on Watson’s war record.”

The National Adjutant (general manager) suggested a slight overhauling of Article Two, so the National Commander appointed, on the first day of the Convention, a committee headed by Eric Fisher Wood to consider it. For three days the committee conferred and chewed pencil ends over the matter of the political clause. It could not very well be altered outright without consulting Congress and it was highly doubtful whether that body would consent to a change. In the last hours of the Convention, Colonel Henry D. Lindsley appeared before the assembled delegates—by this time in a state of ferment—and read the decision which the committee finally had reached by 33 votes to 3. Whereas the charter said the organization should not be political and should not promote any candidacy, the committee believed that Congress never intended to keep the Legion from supporting or even promoting policies and principles. So the committee had decided in favour of “clarifying” the moot clause. “Resolved,” they suggested to the Convention, “that the Legion is not prohibited by its constitution and charter from supporting or promoting those policies and principles which are within the purposes enumerated in the preamble to its national constitution.” It was further recommended that the Legion consider it had the right to ascertain the attitude of candidates toward such policies and principles.

There followed a vigorous debate in the Convention, even vehement. By 963 to 142 the Convention finally rejected the alteration of the political ban, and so rededicated the Legion to strict abstinence from any and all politics.

The next day the National Executive Committee decided that the Legion did not approve of the then Assistant Secretary of Labor in President Wilson's Cabinet, and Colonel Lindsley was named to head a delegation to tell the President to dismiss his Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Two months later the Akron, Ohio, Posts wanted to fight C. L. Knight's campaign for a seat in Congress, and asked National Headquarters if it would be all right. The Commander told them to go ahead. "If the statements about his disloyal acts and un-American utterances are true," he said, "it is the duty of all sincere American citizens to unite to defeat him at the polls."

Puzzled Posts have passed the question to the National Judge Advocate (corporation lawyer) in the hope that he would find some legal loophole in the interdiction. "Various inquiries submitted from time to time," he reported as late as 1926, "deal with interpretation of the . . . provisions of the political restriction clause. It is believed, however, that the field is becoming sufficiently advised that the number of such questions is limited."

The stubborn presence of Article Two, however, could not stop the growth of the Legion's political ambition. Temptation to reach for power was continually being presented, even by the National Commanders.

"In connection with our attitude toward Congress and others in legislative matters," the third National Convention was told, "your Commander has felt that we should act as fearlessly toward them as did our brothers who lie in Flanders' field when they dealt with our enemies."

To the next Convention the enthusiastic Hanford MacNider declared: "All America realizes the Legion's responsibilities, that it is a great, growing and dominant force in the nation's existence. No man can stop it, but it must be our duty to so build it that its tremendous power

and possibilities may be directed that it shall be as it was dedicated to the highest service—to our God and to our Country.”

The same Hanford MacNider, making a speech in Buffalo, New York, pointed out that “The G.A.R. dominated the United States for years after the Civil War although it had a membership of but 20,000 . . .” “What an opportunity for the Legion . . .” he exclaimed. He added that the Legion, of course, was not in politics.

In order to reconcile ambition with Article Two there has taken place through the years a curious artificial erosion of the definition of “political.” The Legion felt from the very first that it should be regarded as legitimate to help the Government see that veterans’ affairs were properly handled, even if that did involve occasional stimulation of the Government. At this juncture a distinction was drawn between matters pertaining strictly to veterans’ welfare, and so-called controversial questions. So long as the Legion refrained from expressing itself on disputed topics, surely it was not in politics.

Gradually the word “controversial” came to indicate issues that were in dispute within the Legion itself. When the Legion could agree on a national policy, no matter how controversial it might be for the rest of the nation, it ceased to be so from the Legion point of view, and issued forth under the simple description “patriotic.” Under this somewhat involved chain of interpretation the Legion now feels itself justified in demanding that Congress take specific action on all variety of matters of grave public concern, many of which are highly controversial, not to say inflammable, and hardly more relevant to the veterans than to everybody else.

The ever-present subconscious comparison with the G.A.R. finally furnished a basis on which the definition of

“political” could be shrivelled to its minimum. The G.A.R. had been in politics; it had allied itself with the Republican party. The Legion allied itself with no party; therefore it was not in politics. Politics was not politics unless one wore a party tag. Thus the Legion could live up to its constitution, abide by Article Two, and still participate in public affairs with an easy conscience.

Under this conception of politics, the Reverend Father Smith was able to tell the 1930 Convention in Boston: “We want you to go home and urge upon your Posts and the individuals therein to get to your Congressmen and to your Senators and to tell them that they have to get back of this bill because we have to have action and have it quick. That’s all!”

Under the same definition, the official organ of the Legion was able to print the following prediction as to the future:

The American Legion is the greatest fraternity that has ever existed, made up of men who have seen service and who as a class will ultimately dominate the country both politically, industrially and commercially.

Now and then there are twinges of conscience and reversion to Webster’s idea of politics. The editor of the Newark *Legionnaire* reminded his readers in 1930 that the constitution prohibited Legion activity in “all political, religious and industrial controversies,” and that no Commander without violation of Article Two could issue any statement on matters pending legislation by Congress.

Legionnaires who are uneasy about the participation of their organization in politics are inclined to lay the blame at the feet of unscrupulous politicians who dangle alluring measures before Legionnaires in the hope of obtaining their votes. This undoubtedly happens. Shrewd lawmakers vie

with one another to introduce bills which will win them the favour of the veterans. Such strategy is effective. And the national organization of the Legion, in order to retain popularity among the ex-soldiers, is forced to resort to the same tactics and push measures that will be popular. This puts the Legion in a somewhat equivocal position. "We do declare," declared the 1930 National Convention plaintively, "that we condemn the practice of legislation primarily designed to attract our votes." The fact remains that the votes are attracted, and the Legion administration knows it.

Perhaps the best summation of the Legion's attitude toward political action was contained in the official organ. "The mistake is frequently made," said an editorial, "of ruling the American Legion out of politics because of its Minneapolis action [the adoption of the ban on politics]. It should be clearly understood that the American Legion is very much in politics. . . . But they are merely keeping their collective voice free from party entanglements. They are not keeping their organization out of the political life of the country but out of the clutches of practical politicians. If the American Legion as an organization has chosen to hold aloof from the old parties, if it is going to work through them rather than with them . . . it is because it prefers being a political spur to being a political asset. . . . The American Legion merely escaped its extinction when, at its charter convention, it refused to divide its strength into rival political camps and cast its hat with a whoop into the political arena."

HOW TO MAKE LAWS

HAVING avowed political ambition, although using different terminology in order to abide technically by Article Two, the Legion does not leave its career in politics to chance. As befits a million dollar corporation, it goes into politics systematically. Bills do not just happen to pass Congress. As the Legion was informed long ago in National Convention, "You cannot get things merely by resolving. Your Senators and Representatives will not vote for legislation you favor unless you bring to bear all the pressure of your local organizations."

When the organization of the Legion was first undertaken, it was necessary to have representation in Washington to obtain the charter from Congress. Thomas W. Miller, later the Alien Property Custodian, was chosen to represent the Legion in Washington with the assistance of Luke Lea, the Tennessee publisher who in December, 1918, had tried to kidnap the Kaiser as a Christmas present for President Wilson. They performed their duties well, and were given authority by the first Convention to remain as agents under the designation National Legislative Committee. Miller introduced John Thomas Taylor, a Washington lawyer, into the committee personnel; they opened

offices, hired a staff, and gradually began creating a lobby. Taylor took over the work when Miller left, and with aggressiveness and skill built up a Legislative Committee which is the envy of lobbyists in the capital. A newspaper correspondent not long ago characterized it as "the most tightly organized lobby which Washington has known since the heyday of the late Wayne B. Wheeler and the Anti-Saloon League." The Legislative Committee costs about \$25,000 a year.

The internal workings of the Legion's political machine, mysterious to the outsider, actually are simple. The secret is organization, alert efficiency, pressure skilfully applied.

Let us suppose, for example, that a group of Legionnaires in Fresno, California, feel that Congress ought to pass a law. Their Post passes a resolution and sends its delegates to the next Department Convention to get the resolution adopted by the state organization. They succeed and delegates from the Department go to the National Convention primed to push the project. There are ways of getting a resolution put through at least one of the various Convention committees, if the sponsor is sufficiently astute. So the Fresno project is endorsed by a committee, passed on to the Convention for approval, and becomes a part of the American Legion's legislative programme.

After the Convention, it is turned over to the Legislative Committee in Washington for action. The director of the Lobby or one of his assistants writes the bill himself. John Thomas Taylor once informally estimated that he personally had written between fifteen hundred and two thousand bills in his ten years as head of the Lobby. A goodly percentage of these bills have become engraved, word for word, on the nation's statute books.

Having written the bill, the next step is to have it introduced into Congress. This is a formality. The Legion

Lobby has, as it terms them, "key men" in all branches of the Government. Whatever the proper committee of the House of Representatives or Senate, there will be found either a Legionnaire or a sympathizer who will not only introduce the bill but see it through committee if possible and right onto the floor of Congress.

Once a project is launched, it is by no means abandoned to Congressional whim. In the Legislative Committee headquarters in Washington is a "status book" in which is kept the daily history of every bill in Congress of interest to veterans. No physician gives more minute and painstaking attention to a patient's chart than does the Legion Lobbyist to this status book. In its prosaic leaves is many a thrilling account of a bill carefully drawn up, introduced, steered into committee, nursed along despite seemingly impossible obstacles, and then triumphantly rushed through Congress in the last hours of a session over the corpses of a dozen luckless measures by dint of manœuvres of politics known only to a seasoned lobbyist.

"It must be recognized," the Legislative Committee once told a National Convention, "that Congress does not lead in settling questions of public, political or economic policy. . . . Legislation is literally made outside the halls of Congress by groups of persons interested in legislation, mainly with economic motives, and the deliberating process within Congress constitutes a sort of formal ratification."

Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., who had a hand in forming the Legion and has been one of its leading protagonists, defended the organization in a magazine article against charges that it was a powerful political machine. "The only important bill it actually jammed through Congress," he wrote, "was the Disabled Emergency Officers' Retirement Act."

Whether or not it was the only bill—and this question

will be dealt with later—it will serve to illustrate how an “absolutely non-political organization” goes about jamming a bill through Congress. The subject matter of the bill ordinarily would be dull to persons not directly affected, but the tale of how the American Legion battled for nine long years to get it through Congress is a modern political adventure story of the most dramatic sort.

The emergency officers of the World War were men from civilian life who were elevated to officers’ rank, as distinct from Regular Army officers. After the War they formed an association and began agitation to get themselves retired on three-quarters pay. A number of them took prominent parts in forming the Legion, and in its original caucus the sentiment was recorded that the Legion favoured a bill to accomplish that purpose. Each year thereafter, one committee or another of the Legion appeared on the floor of the Convention with a resolution to retire disabled emergency officers, and managed to get each Convention to approve. Thus the matter became a part of the Legion’s legislative programme, and before the fight was finished, developed into a major issue.

From the beginning the Legion argued that since the disabled Regular Army officers were retired with three-quarters pay, mere justice would dictate that the emergency officers—more of whom had suffered injuries—should receive the same retirement benefit.

Senator David A. Reed, himself a Legionnaire and an emergency officer, pointed out in opposing the bill that there was an important distinction between the two classes of officers. The Regular Army officers had devoted their whole lives to the Army service under the original bargain with the Government that when they became old or were disabled they would be taken care of, because they had no other money-making resources. Their retirement pay was,

in a sense, back pay for years of earlier service rendered. On the other hand, retirement pay for the emergency officers would be, in effect, a simple pension. They were out of the Army and were not being retired from anything.

Senator Reed, and others who felt as he did, further asserted that to pension the officers so generously would be to work a great injustice upon the disabled enlisted men. He knew a physician, he said, whose service as an emergency officer had consisted of three months' duty in Washington, D. C., whose compensation from the Government, because of having diabetes, would become \$150 a month; while a private he knew, who had had both legs shot off at the front, would be allotted \$125 a month under the proposed legislation. Was it justice, asked Senator Reed, for a major who had lost two fingers to get \$2,250 while a private whose back had been broken would get \$1,200 a year? Were an officer's two fingers worth twice as much as a private's back?

Whatever the merits of the case, it was unmistakably a controversial political issue, and the more the Legion pushed it, the more bitter the battle became. Toward the end the Legislative Committee proclaimed that it was a fight on the very existence of the Legion itself.

Patiently year after year the Legislative Committee had the bill introduced in session after session of Congress, but not until 1924 was any real progress made because the opposition was much too stiff and the Legion Lobby had not thoroughly got into its stride. Two real obstacles, however, were overcome in that year. The War Department had been consistently opposing the bill, primarily through fear that the pay for the retired emergency officers would have to come out of its appropriations. The Legion got over that hurdle by a compromise with Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis (Legionnaire) whereby he would withdraw his objec-

tions providing the Legion would see to it that the Veterans' Bureau would have to foot the bill.

The second obstacle was the House of Representatives Committee on Interstate Commerce, to which for some reason most of the Legion's favourite measures were being shunted. That committee was so busy that Legion bills were frequently lost in the shuffle and prevented from coming to a vote in Congress. So the Lobby began agitating for its own special committee to consider and report its proposed pieces of legislation. Much effort was required, but finally in 1924 the House of Representatives was persuaded to amend its rules and create a new Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Royal C. Johnson (Legionnaire), of South Dakota, was chairman, and of the twenty-one committeemen, fourteen were members of the Legion. This was highly satisfactory to the Lobby. From that time forth its bills got much more prompt consideration and usually were reported favourably.

Armed with a fresh mandate from the sixth National Convention to get those emergency officers retired, the Legion Legislative Committee again went after Congress in 1925. The first step was to have the National Commander buttonhole President Coolidge and impress upon him that the Legion was in earnest. The bill was introduced into the Senate, reported out of committee and a date set for a vote. The Lobby had by this time learned how to make its force felt by the lawmakers. "Telegrams," to quote from the Legislative Committee's later report, "were sent to Department Adjutants of the Legion . . . requesting a night letter be sent each of their Senators asking for a favorable vote."

Senators know that the Legislative Committee keeps a complete account of every piece of legislation even remotely affecting ex-service men, along with notations as to how

every legislator votes on each bill, and they realize the practical consequences of this fact. Candidate Y, let us suppose, is running for the Senate against incumbent Senator X. Candidate Y, as a matter of course, has contact with some Legion Post, and seeking campaign ammunition, gets that Post to write to the Legion Lobby asking for the record of his opponent. The Lobby replies that Senator X was on the wrong side of the fence on a bill or two. So Candidate Y trumpets through the state that his foe, Senator X, is wanting in gratitude and patriotism—is against the soldier boys. That, Senator X discovers, is apt to be a political sentence of death.

The bill for the retirement pay came to a vote in the Senate and was triumphantly passed, 63 to 14.

Meanwhile in the House of Representatives, the new Committee on Veterans' Affairs had functioned well. It stamped its approval on the project and passed it over to the House Rules and Steering Committees to be put on the schedule for a vote. The Lobby was sure the bill would pass once it came to a vote, but at this point it struck a sunken reef. No amount of wheedling or threats could persuade the Administration leaders of the House to let the bill come to a vote. The wires hummed with frantic telegrams from the Lobby. "On the last day of the session," reported the Lobby later, "the results of these telegrams were apparent to everyone, as a long line of Representatives were continually mounting the rostrum to urge Speaker Gillett to grant the recognition which the Legion desired." He did not; the session ended; the bill died ignominiously; and it all had to be done over again.

"But," said the dauntless Legislative Committee, "the Legion has not abandoned the fight. The legislation will be reintroduced in both the House and the Senate at the beginning of the next session and the battle for recognition of

the disabled emergency Army officers will be pushed to a successful conclusion."

Hoping, perhaps, for a change of luck, the Lobby placed the bill in the hands of a new pair of sponsors, both its own men, for the 1926 attack on the new Congress. Representative Fitzgerald (Legionnaire) introduced it in the lower House and Senator Tyson (Legionnaire) ushered it into the Senate. Once more the committees reported the bill favourably in both the House and the Senate. Again the President was informed of the Legion's anxiety to have the law enacted. The weekly bulletins of the Lobby resumed urging Legionnaires to bombard their lawmakers with letters and telegrams. The National Executive Committee forwarded to every Senator and Representative a "strong resolution" pointing out that the Legion was unanimous in its demand for this legislation.

Then a surprising development arose. Debate was opened in the House of Representatives on April 6, the date of the anniversary of the declaration of war, as the Lobby noted. Up rose a Legionnaire, Representative Robert G. Simmons of Nebraska, and delivered an address *against* the bill.

"The statement is made," he declared, "that the passage of this bill has been persistently urged by the American Legion, but from that it does not follow that the rank and file of the membership of this great veterans' organization either know its provisions or approve of its passage. Reluctantly I have reached the conclusion that in this matter the National Convention of the American Legion does not represent the sentiment of either its membership or of the service men of the nation."

As if this were not sufficiently unbelievable, the revolting Representative was joined in his opposition by four members of the hitherto irreproachable House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, *and all four were members of the Legion.*

The bill failed to come to a vote in either House or Senate in that Congress. Despite this reversal, the Legislative Committee issued another brave clarion call:

"The fight on the disabled officers' bill has developed into a fight on the American Legion. This has brought about a situation which makes Legion victory absolutely essential, and Legionnaires know that with their united strength of 700,000 men and 200,000 women, that the opponents cannot continue to prevent the passage of this just measure."

To leave no room for doubt, the grim group who were determined to see the law enacted put a resolution through not one but three committees of the next National Convention. From three mouths the Legion shouted its demand for retiring the emergency officers: the Convention Legislative Committee, the Convention Rehabilitation Committee and the Convention Committee on Military Affairs.

The Lobby was by this time falling into military terminology in describing its engagement with Congress. It spoke of being "primed for the battle," of the "attack," of "tactics," "manœuvres," and of "strategy." The contest was becoming truly a war of attrition. For eight long years the nation's lawmakers had listened to the same arguments pro and con, arguments that must have seemed time-worn and threadbare. Advanced boredom must surely have been setting in, yet both sides fought doggedly: the opposition resorting to every effort to block a vote by every known parliamentary method of delay. The Legion felt certain, from having conducted during recess a painstaking poll by mail, that could the bill be brought to a vote it would pass.

The Legislative Committee regarded the Senate as a comparatively easy objective, having already stormed it with a favourable vote on the bill. The House, however, had never yet allowed a vote. So in resuming the conflict in 1927, the Legislative Committee concentrated its forces on the

House of Representatives. Laboriously and shrewdly, the resistance of the House leaders was broken down during the course of the session, and a date was set for consideration on the floor. Action was temporarily postponed pending the re-passage of the bill in the Senate. Surely the promised land was in sight for the emergency officers. But lo! a filibuster developed in the Senate, and once more the Legion's project died with the end of a Congressional session.

The Lobby attributed the repulse to a "whispering strategy" designed to cast doubts on the Legion's unity. "The fight in the next session," reported the Legislative Committee, "will be intense, but with the united strength of the Legion back of this measure—a strength which the whisperers have failed to divide—the Legion will again win, and the cause of the disabled officers will have been written into the law of the land."

Bright and early in 1928 the Lobby prepared an extensive brief in behalf of the retirement bill and through the intervention of Representative Fitzgerald (Legionnaire), the United States Government printed this campaign material in a forty-eight-page pamphlet, and ran off thousands of copies which were franked throughout the land. The Legion's position was well buttressed, and the preliminary ground was recaptured in no time. The weary Senate agreed to take up the matter of the emergency officers just as soon as Muscle Shoals was out of the way. On March 15, the foe was completely routed and the bill passed the Senate once again, this time without even the formality of a record vote.

Two months later the bill was brought to the floor of the House of Representatives. On the morning of the balloting every member of the House once more found on his desk a personal letter from the Legislative Committee. "The big point is this [the letter concluded on the fourth

page]: The Legion wants the bill to be passed without amendment, for the change of a single comma might defeat it through throwing it into conference with the Senate. Very sincerely yours." For two days the heavy guns of oratory roared. The enemy tried every sort of flank movement. Finally came the time when Presiding Officer LaGuardia (Legionnaire) announced that the House had considered the bill and recommended that it pass. "Ayes!" thundered from all parts of the room. The Legion's bill, without a single comma changed, had passed both houses of Congress after nine strenuous years of battle.

All it needed was the signature of the President to become law. The Legion and eight other military organizations, including the Disabled Emergency Officers of the World War, wrote President Coolidge a letter of nearly 2,000 words, pointing out why he should sign it. The Legion's National Executive Committee sent him a 200-word telegram. The National Commander rushed to Washington.

Then Mr. Coolidge, who had sat silent so long, vetoed the bill.

For the final time, the Legion mobilized its full resources for the last grand drive. The bill must be re-passed over the veto! The Senate was told to wait two days while a final check-up of forces was made. "The Legion officials throughout the country were immediately notified," said the Lobby. Then "we notified the Senate leaders that we were ready." And "the Senate vote was immediately taken, and the measure passed over the veto, 66 to 14."

The climax in the House of Representatives cannot be better told than in the Lobby's own excited words:

"A Presidential year was at hand, and the party leader was advising the Representatives that the bill should not be enacted into law. Under these circumstances it was im-

possible to tell what the House would do, as the loyalty of many friends of the veterans would have to undergo the test of party loyalty and allegiance to their party leader.

“At 2:30 P.M. the bill was brought before the House, and Chairman Johnson [Legionnaire] of the House Veterans’ Committee, called upon the members of the House to *sustain* the Presidential veto. After this address, the clerk began to call the roll. The long roll of 435 members had to be called twice in order to bring in all those not on the floor of the House. The excitement was intense, for after the first call of the roll we had a bare majority of ten votes over the two-thirds necessary to override the veto. However, on the second call of the roll our friends came rushing to the chamber, and the vote, as finally announced, was 245 to 101, overriding the veto with 43 votes to spare.”

“The Legion,” reported its Legislative Committee to the next National Convention, “always takes its objectives.”

And indeed, for a non-political organization this was doing well.

Incidentally, Congress would have done better to have passed the bill in the first place. When the agitation started, the Legion measure made 895 officers eligible for benefit. By 1923, 1,018 officers were included in its terms; by 1925, 1,986; and as finally passed, 3,050.

VI

MUTUAL HELPFULNESS

ALTHOUGH the struggle to get the disabled emergency officers retired involved a somewhat controversial issue, it came under the general classification of Legion activity on behalf of the War disabled. Such activity is one of the prime purposes of all veterans' organizations. It was the only avowed purpose for which the Legion entered politics. The motive and the act had general approval. The nation rightly feels that it should not neglect those whose health and capacity to earn a living were impaired in defending it. The Legion has earned deserved praise in overcoming Government dilatoriness, helping to correct injustices incident upon routine methods, and in informing veterans of the benefits to which they are entitled.

So thoroughly has the Legion launched into its work that it has virtually taken over an arm of the Government, the Veterans' Bureau.

Doubt has been expressed as to whether the Government should so largely delegate functions to an outside organization; the Legion finds it necessary to explain in an official pamphlet that the Veterans' Bureau "is not part of the Legion organization."

The Bureau was the Legion's idea in the first place. For

two years after the War, the work of caring for the disabled was divided between the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Public Health Service and the Federal Board for Vocational Training. Lack of co-ordination seriously hampered the work; the machinery was clumsy. The Legion surveyed the situation, and then persuaded President Harding to appoint a Government investigating committee which included leaders of the Legion. Its report was an official restatement of what the Legion wanted. Congress acted upon these recommendations and merged veterans' affairs under one department, the Veterans' Bureau, whose head was directly responsible to the President.

The Legion rightly maintained, therefore, that it had been responsible for the creation of the Bureau—a thoroughly creditable piece of work. Having won the victory, however, it was not content to let the matter rest. “. . . We deem it our right and our duty at all times,” said the fourth National Convention, “to criticize the United States Veterans' Bureau for its failures *as would a father his own child.*” In other words, the Legion would take the Bureau under its wing and see that the Bureau did what it wanted.

This parental solicitude has known no bounds. Not many months elapsed before the Legion set up its own organization paralleling that of the Veterans' Bureau. Everywhere the Bureau went, the Legion followed. “In those districts in which the Legion has co-operated to the fullest extent with the Veterans' Bureau, the latter has attained the highest degree of efficiency,” the National Convention was told, “and in those districts in which the Legion's interest in the operations of the Bureau has been less keen a lesser degree of success has been attained.” The system of parallel organization has been retained. When the Veterans' Bureau has changed its system of regional subdivisions throughout the country and relocated

its district offices, the Legion has straightway changed its regional subdivisions and relocated its offices.

Two years after the Legion had had the Veterans' Bureau established, it was still dissatisfied with the way it was being conducted, and induced Congress to make an investigation. Since the appointment in 1923 of General Frank T. Hines (Legionnaire) as director of the Bureau, there has been satisfaction. From time to time vociferous criticisms have been made, but in the main they have been adjusted more or less in private as between Legion and Bureau, and upon General Hines has been bestowed constantly increasing praise.

One of Hines's first moves in taking over the Bureau was to consult the National Commander. The Legion had demanded, among other things, that ex-soldiers should be appointed to the Bureau's staff, not only because some thousands of jobs would thus become available, but also on the grounds that only a veteran could understand a veteran. Hines adopted the policy of appointing none but ex-service men; he went farther, and appointed a great many fellow Legionnaires.

The matter of personnel was regarded as an important point. Hines was reminded about it a year later by the National Convention. "The American Legion," read the proclamation, "recommends to the Director of the Veterans' Bureau that he forthwith conduct a searching examination of all Bureau activities . . . to determine those who should be separated from the service. The American Legion will gladly place at the disposal of the Director every facility at its command to assist him in this necessary work. . . . In filling such places as may be made vacant by the separation of inefficient employees from the Bureau, only ex-service men should be employed or promoted, and special care should be used to select solely those who are . . . superior

men." In another two years the Legion was holding Hines up to the Postmaster as a model Government official in respect to appointing veterans to key positions as well as humble ones.

Another move by Hines which served to reassure his sponsors was his custom, which has been preserved to the present, of reporting on his custodianship of the Bureau every year to the National Convention. "The Veterans' Bureau," said Hines to the first Convention that met after his appointment, "is your Bureau. It is extremely gratifying to know that you are the principal promoters of the policies of that Bureau, and as such, it is fitting and proper that you should, from time to time, not only meet with the Director of that Bureau, but with his representatives, and make and bring forth constructive criticism. . . ."

Suggestions were brought forth in abundance. "The Legion can never find itself satisfied with anything short of super-service for the disabled. . . ." It again surveyed the situation and decided that the Bureau ought to be decentralized, so that officers throughout the country could pass upon cases. That was done. Thereupon, Hines's "open-door policy" was commended. "He considers seriously all of the suggestions . . . and makes available all information within the Bureau which is necessary to the development of the co-operative effort between the Legion and the Government."

One major result of the working agreement between the Legion and the Bureau is that many ex-soldiers now report their desires for disability compensation or other Government benefits directly to the Legion, which, through the Bureau, sees that the veteran gets the very promptest satisfaction. The veteran finds that if his case is handled by this route, there is a minimum of red-tape involved, and the maximum of Government assistance. Placed thus in the position

of a favoured intercessor with the Government, the Legion can advertise in its circulars to prospects under the heading "What Will the Legion Do for Me?" as follows: "Your Post can assist you to obtain hospitalization, compensation and other federal or state aid." And again: "During the last five years . . . the Legion secured awards of compensation for disabled veterans and their dependents totaling \$22,965,317.10." Thus the Legion makes use of its intimate relations with the Veterans' Bureau.

Meanwhile, through the years the Legion has battered away at the protective wall of laws and rules surrounding the Government's disbursements. Originally the intention was for the United States to provide hospitalization and when necessary monthly disability payments by way of taking care of its ex-soldiers who were injured in actual fighting. This, of course, was just and necessary. Now, however, largely because of the Legion's efforts, ex-service men who never saw the front and who suffered injury in civil life long after the war was over, are being cared for by the Government. Moreover, men are rated as disabled through technicalities and so given pensions when in fact they are enjoying excellent health and earning their own livings. A case in point is that of a Negro prizefighter who has made something of a name for himself in Harlem. He boxes only occasionally, however, because he is drawing a pension for being totally disabled.

To ascertain who is eligible to receive disability money from the Government would seem simple enough, but it is not. Private A, for example, gets recurring headaches in 1923. He is told that if those headaches can be traced back to an origin in war time, he can get paid for them. He recalls that while unloading potatoes in training camp, he missed his catch and a sack hit him on the head. He finds witnesses to the misfortune, and since the Government can-

not prove that his headaches do not date back to the potato sack episode, he becomes the recipient of a monthly allowance. The *American Legion Monthly* runs a sort of missing persons column in each issue to assist in locating men whose statements are required in support of various claims. One item in September, 1931, read:

20th Inf., Co. I—Former members, particularly “Shorty” Reardon, who recall seeing John F. Bauer fall off street car in Salt Lake City near the fort.

A rather wide range of ailments are presumed to have had their inception in war time. That is, if a veteran suddenly falls victim to certain complaints five or six years after the Armistice, he automatically receives Government benefits on the theory that the roots of his malady go back to the time he was in service. Private B, for example, lives happily through winter blizzards in Michigan for five years, but develops sinus trouble in 1924. He thereafter makes his winter headquarters in and out of Government hospitals in Florida or California at no expense to himself.

At every National Convention, the Legion makes from twenty to ninety demands for the liberalization of Government payments. The demands are grouped around two main points: increasing the amount of payments; and increasing the number of ex-service men eligible to receive them. The latter end is achieved most commonly by extending the date for “presumptive service connection” of ailments, and extending the variety of such ailments for which service connection is presumed.

The sixth National Convention, for example, decided that fifty-one specific amendments needed to be made to the existing provisions for benefiting veterans. The Lobby, as usual, drew up a bill embodying the Convention desires and

turned it over to the Legionnaires who headed both House and Senate committees on veterans' affairs. The Veterans' Bureau did its part by sending a Legionnaire to give expert testimony showing the necessity of the changes. More than the usual opposition was encountered, however, and the Lobby was able to put through only thirty-five of the fifty-one desired amendments. "Regret is expressed," it apologized, "that it was not possible to write into the statutes more of the legislative proposals of the sixth National Convention."

The high point in such legislation was in 1924, when Congress enacted in the Reed-Johnson Bill nearly all the demands of the previous Legion Convention. The presumptive service connection period of more classes of maladies was extended, bringing benefits to 30,000 more veterans at an increased annual cost of \$20,000,000; the time for filing claims was extended to benefit 17,000 veterans at a cost of \$1,731,000 a year; a veteran of any war since 1897 was given the right to free travelling expenses to a Government hospital and free treatment there, regardless of whether his disability was attributable to war causes or not. In its entirety, the bill was estimated to include 118,400 more veterans and their dependents in the circle of Government benefits, at a cost to the Government of about \$30,000,000 a year.

The Legion's successes in getting more and bigger pensions have given rise in Washington to some anxious inquiries as to when, if ever, the advances on the treasury will halt. President Coolidge mildly remonstrated with Congress. "With the enormous outlay that is now being made in behalf of the veterans and their dependents," he said, ". . . the Congress may well consider whether the financial condition of the Government is not such that further bounty through the enlargement of general pensions and

other emoluments ought not to be postponed." Again in 1928, Mr. Coolidge reiterated his cautioning rather more plainly. "The magnitude of our present system of veterans' relief is without precedent . . ." he said. "Annual expenditures for all forms of veterans' relief now approximate \$765,000,000 and are increasing from year to year. It is doubtful if the peak of expenditures will be reached even under the present legislation for some time to come. Further amendments to the existing law will be suggested by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, the Disabled American Veterans of the World War, and other like organizations. . . . Because of the vast expenditure now being made each year, with every assurance that it will increase, and because of the liberality of the existing law, the proposal of any additional legislation dealing with this subject should receive most searching scrutiny from the Congress."

Still Congress was susceptible to the ever-increasing suggestions of the Legion, so President Hoover took up the cudgel yet more decisively in 1930 when he vetoed a bill embodying a long list of amendments further liberalizing the Reed-Johnson Act. "The measure would give war disability benefits to from 75,000 to 100,000 men who were not disabled as the result of the war," he pointed out. "The spectacle of the Government practicing subterfuge in order to say that what did not happen in the war did happen in the war, impairs the integrity of government."

The Legion also has come into conflict with Washington officials on the grounds of its demands for new hospital construction. To every National Convention comes a sheaf of demands from various Posts for hospitals to be improved or new ones erected in their neighbourhoods, and all these take their place on the Legion's legislative programme. As early as 1921, Brigadier General Charles E. Sawyer,

Chief Co-ordinator of the Federal Hospitalization Board, spoke his mind. "I am using my influence wherever possible," he said, "to prevent undue expenditure and undue elaboration of the high-powered hospital." To make matters more explicit, he added that he was "opposed to the domination of people outside the Government in this matter." "If the Government," he said, "is to be influenced by outside organizations, associations or specialists' committees, we will continue to be in trouble." The Legion took the reference as applying to itself, apparently, for it promptly demanded that Sawyer be removed from his post.

Six years later, the Pennsylvania Department recommended expelling Senator David A. Reed from the Legion for saying in the Senate that he thought many of the veterans in hospitals were loafers.

Nevertheless, the Legion has succeeded in getting more and bigger hospitals authorized in nearly every session, and more veterans made eligible to take advantage of them.

The 1929 demands were so large that the Veterans' Committee of the House of Representatives blocked the bill by refusing to hold a hearing on it. This was despite the fact that eleven of the twenty-one members of the committee were Legionnaires. The Lobby began bringing pressure to bear, with the result that "telegrams poured in from all sections of the United States, demanding that the Veterans' Committee hold an immediate hearing." As a flank attack, Representative Jeffers (Legionnaire) began circulating a petition designed to force the committee's hand. "The strong Legion pressure and the Congressional petition finally had their effects," the Lobby reported, "and the committee favourably reported the bill."

Four of the committee, however, made a vigorous protest in the form of a minority report. "It should be known, however," said the dissenters, "that this appropriation of

\$11,480,000 . . . will definitely commit the nation to the program of furnishing full hospital care and treatment, out-patient and nursing service, and in fact, every medical, surgical, and nursing service within and without hospitals to every survivor of the World War regardless of the fact that the injury or disease does not come from war service. If the treatment is to be extended to one former service man suffering from a non-service connected disability it must be given to all, and if such service is given we should immediately appropriate \$150,000,000 for hospital construction and add a sufficient corps of physicians, surgeons and nurses to furnish the required service."

Leaders of the House, perhaps influenced by advice from the White House, again blocked the bill on the floor of Congress, knowing well that it would pass if it came to a vote. So the programme died, but not for long. No sooner had Congress convened in the next session than the demands were increased by a thousand more beds, the cost raised \$4,500,000, and the bill sped through Congress, "as a Christmas gift," the Lobby noted.

The Legislative Committee proclaims with pride every year how much it has persuaded Congress to appropriate. "For the care of the disabled," it told the sixth National Convention, "the Sixty-fifth Congress appropriated \$150,000,000. The Sixty-sixth Congress appropriated \$358,545,000. The closing days of the Sixty-sixth Congress and the special session of the Sixty-seventh Congress appropriated \$266,951,700. The Sixty-seventh Congress appropriated \$582,381,954. The closing short session of the Sixty-seventh Congress appropriated \$451,452,035. The first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress just closed appropriated \$372,438,962 . . ."

Two years later the Lobby pointed out that, "The session just closed has seen more beneficial legislation written into

the statute books than any previous session of Congress." "The new laws," the report continued, "affect individually more than 300,000 veterans of the World War, and will require expenditures of \$90,000,000 during the next three years. The appropriations for the Veterans' Bureau totalled \$567,050,000 and more than \$18,000,000 was appropriated or authorized for new hospital construction."

The various accomplishments are summed up in the folder that advertises the Legion to prospective members. "Nearly every piece of disabled legislation in effect to-day was initiated by the Legion, and enacted by Congress at the request of the Legion," says the prospectus. "The United States Veterans' Bureau has disbursed for the care of the disabled and dependents more than \$5,294,000,000. In 1930 the Congress made available for this purpose more than \$511,225,000 to be expended by the Veterans' Bureau during the current fiscal year."

The Legion speaks in large figures and the Government pays the bills. The final result is that one law has been piled on another until the United States veterans' statutes are the veriest jumble, and glaring inequities exist on every hand. Walter Davenport drew attention to some of them in *Collier's*. One man who was for two months during the war a captain in the Quartermaster's Department was working for the Veterans' Bureau at an annual salary of \$9,000 a year and drawing \$187.50 a month allowance from the Government because his colleagues were able to declare him permanently disabled. A doctor on the Veterans' Bureau staff, getting \$5,000 a year salary, caused himself to be awarded \$125 a month from the Government as unfit. Another doctor in the Bureau at an \$8,000 salary was pronounced disabled at his own request and awarded \$150 a month. As Davenport pointed out, there was no fraud involved; it was entirely legal.

VII

MUTUAL HELPFULNESS EXTENDED

ONCE ex-soldiers, in the process of obtaining legislation for disabled comrades, realize their power and learn how to use it, a strong temptation arises to employ their combined voting strength and skill to obtain financial benefits for themselves. For a veterans' organization the temptation is doubly strong, because such a policy helps build up the organization by making evident to non-members the tangible results of uniting. If the organization yields to the temptation, the accruing popularity gains members for it and the increased membership adds strength, and the added strength enables it to get more money, and the evidence of ability to get more money in turn attracts more new members. Getting money from the Government, then, is likely to become something of an addiction; the taste grows.

Ultimately, however, the general public begins to look askance on the process. In the early days of civilization one of the inducements to being a warrior was the prospect of plunder from the enemy. Modern society does not recognize financial profit, at least for the individual warrior, as an incentive to war. Wars are theoretically defensive, hence the individuals go into them not for what they can get out of them, but of necessity to protect their home-land, the

desire to do which is known as patriotism. Eagerness for plunder on the part of the fighter is inconsistent and is considered unethical and present-day soldiers are forbidden to loot the enemy country. For the able-bodied troops to come home and manifest eagerness for profit at the expense of their own civilian population is likely, after a time, to arouse some animosity.

After the Civil War the G.A.R. began agitating for Government relief for those who had been injured and the nation responded generously. Fascinated by the sight of the Treasury doors smoothly swinging wide at its "Open Sesame" on behalf of the disabled, the G.A.R. decided to try the trick again for the able-bodied. The leaders saw how their organization might increase its membership of grateful veterans by urging pensions. Congressmen saw a chance to solidify the ex-soldier vote behind them by granting pensions. As a result, Congress started to pass pension bills for the able-bodied and their dependents; it passed more and more of them in each succeeding session until general and private bills donating millions of dollars were rushed through as routine business every year. In time these insistent demands for money aroused public opposition. The country had been grateful to its defenders, but its gratitude, so grossly taken advantage of, slowly turned to resentment. Pension bills were criticized as class legislation; it was said that the veterans were virtually helping themselves to the contents of the nation's coffers; people referred bitterly to the "pension scandals." By that time, however, Congressional habit had become firmly fixed and the money continued to pour out in an unending stream.

When the United States was on the verge of entering the World War, the Government realized that this problem might present itself again after the War. A forward-looking Treasury Department devised a plan to head off post-war

raids. The system, as it was explained to the men as they enlisted, was this: The Government would insure the men for the term of the War, and pay them or their families in case of disability or death. After the War they could convert these policies and by paying modest premiums obtain life or endowment insurance. When the War Risk Insurance measure was passed it was with the explicit understanding of Congress that such provision was to relieve the Government of subsequent contributions to the able-bodied veterans. This was, in effect, a bargain between the Government and its troops. The hope was that the pension problem had been solved by forestalling future demands.

In its earliest days the Legion definitely determined that it would not follow the example of the G.A.R. in the matter of subsidy seeking. The small group in the St. Louis caucus which thought the Legion ought to go on record as favouring a bonus of \$180 for each former soldier was squelched. Colonel Roosevelt, who was the idol of the caucus, warned the delegates of the danger of being accused of trying to "sandbag something out of the Government." The majority agreed heartily with his view, and overwhelmingly rejected a motion to request a bonus. The new veterans' organization not only would refuse to use its power to get money from the Government but would not even ask for it.

Far-sighted Congressmen did not believe the veterans would continue to remain so aloof, however, and each lawmaker wanted to earn popularity with them by being the first to offer Government money. About fifty bonus measures were introduced into the House of Representatives and referred to Chairman Fordney of the Ways and Means Committee. Mr. Fordney, swamped, decided to defer action until the Legion was heard from further. True, the caucus had taken no stand in the spring of 1919, but before long the first National Convention of the new organization would

be held in the fall. The attitude might be different by that time. He was not far wrong.

A curious psychological change was taking place among Legionnaires, thanks to the invention by an unrecorded person of a new term. The small group within the organization who thought its power should be directed toward getting money seized upon the new term and popularized it. The word "bonus" carried the connotation of a gratuity, and to ask openly for it seemed inconsistent with good manners. The Legion did not propose to ask the nation for anything. When the phrase "adjusted compensation" came into vogue, veterans began to see the matter in a different light. They reasoned that the Government had not paid them enough when they had been in service. Had they remained at home they would have earned much higher salaries; they had found the War financially unprofitable. So they began to feel that their compensation ought to be adjusted to make up at least part of the difference. That is, the Government owed them back pay. While it would not be right to ask for a bonus, surely it would be proper to suggest their readiness to collect a debt.

These arguments were brought up when the first Convention met in the fall in Minneapolis. Proponents pointed out that Congress seemed generously inclined and was awaiting the Legion's advice. A lively discussion took place, but there was determined opposition from those who felt that the Legion should not seek Government funds under any terminology. "Let us not besmirch our honorable service by saying, 'Give us money,'" said Brigadier General Roy Hoffman, who has remained a leader in the organization. Another delegate appealed to the Convention not to add a new word to the motto by making it read, "For ME and God and Country." A compromise resolution, notable for its diffidence, was adopted. Even though Congress had shown a

disposition to await the Legion's views, the organization could not decide so delicate a financial matter; nevertheless, it was beginning to feel that the veterans had been underpaid, and a financial readjustment would not be amiss. The resolution was phrased this way:

While the American Legion was not founded to promote legislation in its selfish interest, yet it recognizes that our Government has an obligation to all service men and women to relieve the financial disadvantages incidental to military service . . . but the Legion feels that it cannot ask for legislation in its selfish interest, and leaves with confidence to Congress the discharge of this obligation.

Official reticence on the subject of how the obligation should be discharged lasted only ninety days after the first Convention. Then the Legion Executive Committee met in Indianapolis and took a step forward by resolving that all service men and women were "entitled" to adjusted compensation and appointing a committee to help Congress out of its quandary by drawing up a bill. A fifty dollar bond apiece for each month in the service was suggested. Alternative to the cash, veterans could be given a settlement of land, or financial aid in building homes, or vocational training. This was known as the Four-fold Adjusted Compensation measure, and essentially this proposition was to be the subject of four years' debate in Congress.

By the time the Legionnaires met for their second Convention they were less shy. The National Executive Committee, they voted, had been entirely right in saying that they were "entitled" to Government funds. Inasmuch as Congress had asked the Legion what it thought about the matter, the Executive Committee also had acted rightly in making reply by drawing up a model bill. Finally, the Convention decreed, the Four-fold Adjusted Compensation measure was a good one. The National Legislative Com-

mittee in Washington was instructed to "take such action as is necessary to insure its prompt passage." The voice was that of a stronger, bolder Legion than the timid fledgling of the year before.

The Lobby promptly went to work. The Democratic administration was relinquishing office, and Warren G. Harding was about to enter the White House. While Mr. Harding was still on his front porch in Marion, Ohio, the Legislative Committee called on him there and told him of the Legion's desire for adjusted compensation. They made rather significant reference to "a phalanx that could not be defeated." Mr. Harding was genial.

The new House of Representatives, eager to please the veterans, was enthusiastic. The bill passed with flying colors and went into a generously disposed Senate. "The Legion calls upon Congress to now pass the adjusted compensation measure," wrote the Lobby to every Senator, hopes running high. But just before the vote, there came to the Senate a letter from the genial Mr. Harding. He did not condemn the bonus, but would the Senate just postpone acting on it until the Government got its finances in somewhat more satisfactory condition? The Senate acceded to his request.

To have victory so near stimulated the Legion, and the third National Convention in the fall of 1921 did not hesitate to raise its voice. It resolved to "reaffirm our stand on adjusted compensation and ask that Congress pass the measure without further equivocation or delay."

Congress, accordingly, did pass the bill by big majorities in both houses, but to the general surprise President Harding vetoed it. The Legislative Committee managed to get the measure safely repassed over the veto in the House, but was not quite able to push it through the Senate with sufficient majority to override the President.

Once more the Legion met in Convention without having got the back pay. This was 1922 and the War was four years past. "Powerful as is the Legion," the Legislative Committee apologetically reported, "it could not be expected that we could create a breach between the national administration and the Senate so early in the administration's history." The Convention was not to be pacified. Leaders of the Legion—who may or may not have realized that such a policy would furnish an excellent talking point in getting new members—had begun to refer to the payment of a bonus, or adjusted compensation, as a legitimate Government "war debt." Legionnaires had completely accepted this view. "The nation should pay and is paying all of its other war debts and obligations," the Convention noted. A belligerent ring came into the resolution. "We do now instruct our new Commander, the Executive Committee and the Legislative Committee," it said, "to continue the fight for this legislation until it is enacted into law." This was a declaration that the Legion was bent upon asserting its power over Congress. The Convention went even further and admitted that bonus legislation had become one of its chief objectives. "The Legion hopes and expects," it announced, "that this act will be passed without delay so the Legion may devote all its energies to other constructive measures of its program productive of good to the nation."

Still another year went by, and Congress had merely talked. A thoroughly angered Legion met in San Francisco—a Legion utterly changed from the modest gathering in Minneapolis that had turned aside from even so much as asking for legislation in its selfish interest. By now it had tasted of victory in other measures, and was beginning to feel its political power.

"The time has arrived," trumpeted the 1923 resolution,

“for the acid test of the Government’s intentions to finally dispose of this measure, as it cannot longer delay its passage and retain the confidence of the veterans. . . . We do hereby insist that there be no further delay, and do instruct the officers of the American Legion to take every possible action that will lead to the immediate passage of this measure.”

To the Legislative Committee in Washington the resolution was a quickening challenge. Copies were forwarded to every Senator and Congressman, and the new National Commander sent them each a letter. Pamphlets and handbills were printed and Legionnaires throughout the country were told to organize mass demonstrations. Letters by the thousands poured into Washington and piled high on the lawmakers’ desks. Over and over the Lobby counted noses of friends and foes in Congress, arguing, pleading, threatening.

The House passed the adjusted compensation measure; the Senate passed it. President Coolidge, recalling that the Government’s obligation was to have ended with the War Risk Insurance, vetoed the bill as legislation designed to benefit a class at the expense of the whole nation. Brushing aside the veto, the House of Representatives repassed the measure; the Senate also repassed it. The adjusted compensation was law despite the President.

The Legion permitted itself to exult. “We have been placed in a mighty position,” said the 1924 Convention resolution. “Great confidence is ours. In our hour of victory let us remember that our great influence must be used for the welfare of this nation we are pledged to guard in peace as in war.”

The measure as enacted into law differed from the old Four-fold Bill in that the trimmings were stripped off. There were no provisions about land settlement, home aid or vocational training—only money. But the money was

not to be paid immediately, for two reasons: In the first place, it was felt that such a tremendous payment would be too great a sudden drain on the Treasury; in the second place, the Government, realizing that the War Risk Insurance Act had failed completely as a device for warding off veterans' raids on the Treasury, saw that the passage of a straight bonus would open up a prospect of further wholesale raiding in the future. If the veterans found they could rush a bonus bill through Congress in 1924, what would stop them from doing it again, say, in 1934 and in 1944? But if payment could be strung out over a period of years, the Government might save money in the long run.

A compromise plan was evolved. The veterans were to get an extra dollar a day for the time they spent in the service in this country and a dollar and a quarter for each day in service abroad. Instead of getting the dollar right away, however, they would wait until it had grown to about two and a half dollars a day. The Government would put \$112,000,000 each year for twenty years into a sinking fund, contributing in all \$2,240,000,000. The compound interest on the fund, accumulating during twenty years, would raise the amount to \$3,500,000,000. That would be a good bargain for the soldiers, for they would get an extra billion and a quarter dollars; and a good bargain for the Government, because the arrangement would not cost the taxpayers any more.

Acting on that plan, Congress in passing the 1924 Adjusted Service Compensation Act, was handing the soldiers not greenbacks but certificates promising to pay a doubled amount in 1945. Each veteran received a Government endowment insurance policy to mature in twenty years. The face value was the amount of insurance which a man of his age could buy with the sum credited to him as back service pay. For example, if a thirty-year-old veteran had been in

service long enough so that his extra dollar and a quarter a day totalled \$625, which was the maximum, the Government considered that \$625 as insurance premium, and in 1945 would pay him \$1,577.50.

Oddly enough, the Government was in reality reverting to the essential idea of the War Risk Insurance Act, which had been proved so ineffective in keeping the soldiers' hands out of the Treasury. Once more the Government, by giving insurance instead of cash, was hoping to prevent further financial invasions. Some legislators were sceptical. One Senator said Congress ought to pay the bonus in full immediately, and make it plain to the veterans that they had got all they were going to get and that they need not come back for more. He maintained that to try to string the process out over twenty years would only serve to keep the issue alive, and give the veterans an excuse for tampering with the arrangement. The Legion, however, stated that it had no further interest in the Adjusted Compensation Act; this was, in effect, a promise not to start further Treasury raids by reopening the subject.

The promise was kept for six years. Then came the business depression, which furnished an excellent excuse for beginning new agitation. It was a long way to 1945, and money in hand looked much better than a certificate in the bureau drawer. The argument was that many of the ex-soldiers were out of work, and that the bonus money if made available immediately would tide them over hard times. Such murmurs were heard in Congress, and bills were introduced calling for the cashing of the certificates. In the absence of any organized demand, however, the legislators did nothing about it.

A number of state delegations went to the 1930 National Convention in Boston with the feeling that the Legion should ask Congress to pay straightway, and exert its power to that

end. There was a lively debate, for many of the delegates opposed the idea of the Legion's leading another march on the Treasury. The result was that the Convention made no plea, took no stand whatever, and tabled the resolution to ask for cash. That was in September.

Congress let the question lie dormant. October, November, December, and half of January, 1931, passed without any move to pass a new bonus bill.

Meanwhile, the directors of the million dollar corporation were in a predicament. They had tacitly agreed in 1924 not to assault the Treasury again, and the recent National Convention had refused to authorize any assault. Yet the clamour for immediate money was growing; the more vocal veterans were calling more and more loudly for dividends out of Uncle Sam's pocket. What was the million dollar corporation going to do? Ignore the demands of those customers and run the risk of their defection to some less hesitant veterans' organization? Or should it heed their demands, plunge into a campaign to force the hand of Congress, and run the risk of alienating the moderate members who believed in keeping promises and avoiding what they regarded as sandbag tactics? A very nice point, it was.

The National Executive Committee held a special meeting in Indianapolis on Sunday, January 25. On the following day, Congress was notified that the American Legion demanded immediate payment of the adjusted compensation.

From that day, events moved with amazing swiftness. The tremendous energies of the Legion's Lobby in Washington were unleashed. The wheels turned, the machinery whirred, and Congress found itself faced with an organized demand for money. That put an entirely different front on the situation. Congress clicked its heels and came to attention. Adjusted compensation became the most impera-

tive matter on the calendar, and everything else was swept aside. The rumour spread that a new bonus bill would be passed.

Protests poured into Washington. Newspapers called it a grab; chambers of commerce said it would hurt business, already suffering from the depression. Bankers said it would injure credit and prolong the depression. The Secretary of the Treasury said it would be an almost impossible load on the nation's finances and would cause a budget deficit necessitating increased taxes. Efforts were made to stem the tide by compromise. Since the action was being taken on behalf of the unemployed veterans, the suggestion was made to insert a provision in the bill giving the benefit to them only, thereby avoiding so huge a drain on Government funds as would be involved if all veterans got money. This suggestion did not meet with favour.

Rather than disobey the Legion, Congress stood ready to defy the nation's moneyed interests and risk jabbing the taxpayer in his sorest spot. A measure distributing nearly a billion dollars was rushed through both Houses with virtually no debate. President Hoover vetoed it. That made no difference to Congress. The new bonus bill was enacted into law with more than the two-thirds majority necessary to cast aside the Presidential veto. The date was February 27—one month and two days after the million dollar corporation had spoken.

The Legion was no more the shy young organization of 1919 renouncing politics and worldly benefits.

At the 1930 Convention, before the bonus bill was passed, the membership was reported as 875,000. Six months after the passage of the bill, the Legion was rejoicing at having for the first time in its history passed the million membership mark. While the rest of the country was suffering from severe economic depression, the Legion was so prosperous

that it was able to add 125,000 new members to its roll.

Now this 1931 bonus measure was on its face a good business stroke for the Government in that it was only a loan. It provided that veterans could borrow fifty per cent of the value of their certificates, and that they would have to pay the loan back with four and a half per cent interest before they could collect on the adjusted compensation certificates in 1945. Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr. (Legionnaire) called the bill a "pretty lucrative business operation, which should bring in a profit of at least ten millions of dollars annually to the Federal Government for the next fifteen years." He figured that the Treasury could borrow money at, say, three and a half per cent interest and be ahead of the game by charging the veterans four and a half per cent interest on the loans.

If that were the case, all the opposition to the measure would appear absurd. The opponents, however, took an entirely different view, and their argument went like this:

We all know that the "loan" idea is purely fictitious. When it comes time for the Government to pay the full amount of the certificates in 1945, the veterans will not have the ready money on hand to repay what they borrowed. It will be spent. If the Government were to be strict about requiring repayment, the veterans would have to forfeit the sum coming to them in 1945, because it would be virtually eaten up by the principal and interest of the 1931 loans. Thus the Government would come out the big winner. Would Congress play Shylock and demand its pound of flesh from the veterans under such circumstances? It would not.

The so-called "loan" of 1931—the argument of the opponents continues—is merely an entering wedge to get the whole bonus paid long before it is due. It is a device to defeat the original plan of paying the ex-soldiers in insurance. The next move of the veterans will be to collect the

entire \$3,500,000,000 by persuading Congress to cash the certificates at 1945 face value at once and forget about the loan. If that happens, the veterans will be getting an even larger bonus than they bargained for in 1924. Their money, figured on the basis of one dollar or a dollar and a quarter for time in service, was to have grown to \$2.50 a day by reason of the interest which the Government would earn on the sinking fund over twenty years. But if the full sum is paid in ten years or less, the Treasury has to make good the difference and pay the equivalent of the future interest on a principal it no longer has. Moreover, as soon as this bonus money is obtained and spent, what is to prevent the veterans from coming back for more in the shape of pensions?

Such were the predictions of the opponents of the Adjusted Compensation Loan Law of 1931.

Strong sentiment for demanding full payment had developed by the time the next Convention met in Detroit in September, 1931. President Hoover, alarmed by the prospect of so great an inroad on government funds in time of depression, determined to forestall such a demand by the Legion, for he realized that the actual decision rested there and not in Congress. Elections were approaching, and if the Legion asked for the money, nothing—not even his veto—could prevent Congress from granting it.

As the Convention opened, Mr. Hoover spectacularly travelled to Detroit to carry his appeal in person to the Legionnaires. His appearance and his address served to put the bonus-seeking faction in a disadvantageous light before the public. Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, as a follow-up speaker for the Administration, presented the argument most appealing in a practical way to the Legion: that if it insisted upon cash, it would run the risk of destroying its good-will asset by incurring country-wide displeasure. Then

two wisely chosen lieutenants of Mr. Hoover were left on the scene to attend to the details of political manœuvring within the Convention. Theodore Roosevelt was called from his post as governor of Porto Rico to lead the opposition because he had been so successful in preventing a bonus demand at the inception of the Legion in 1919; Hanford MacNider, former National Commander, came from his post as American minister to Canada.

The President's skilful campaign to defeat legislation by Legion was successful. The Convention by a vote of 902 to 507 put itself on record as opposing "unnecessary financial burdens upon national, state or municipal governments."

The indications are that the renunciation was temporary.

VIII

MORE PLUMS, MORE HUNGER

CASH payments from the Federal Government are by no means the only tangible benefits which the American Legion has been able to obtain. Many plums fall into its lap; not, however, without occasional shaking of the tree.

Nearly 150,000 veterans are in the employ of the Government in the Civil Service, and many of them may thank the Legion for their jobs. In the beginning the Legion had comparatively little to ask for, because Congress had already provided that priority should be given veterans on Civil Service lists. Abuses were brought to the attention of the public, however, and consequent dissatisfaction caused President Harding to limit the preference. His ruling provided that a veteran had to show he was qualified for the position by passing the Civil Service examinations with the usual qualifying grade, after which points were added to his rating to give him an advantage in obtaining appointment.

Dissatisfied, the Legion began a campaign for greater favours, demanding that veterans be allowed to pass the examinations at a lower grade than other competitors, and that those rated as disabled then be placed at the top of the list for appointment over everybody else. Represen-

tative Fish (Legionnaire) introduced a bill to accomplish that end, and it passed both House and Senate, but was vetoed by President Coolidge. The pressure was strong enough, however, to induce the President to appoint a committee to study the question and make recommendations to him. Four out of five on the committee were Legionnaires, so it recommended that the President do just what the Legion wanted. This time he did.

Whereas under the Harding rule, everybody alike had to make a grade of 70 to pass the Civil Service examinations, under the new Coolidge order of March 2, 1929, ex-service men could pass at 65 and those who were rated disabled could pass at 60. Once passed, the disabled veterans now had to be preferred for appointment ahead of all others on the list regardless of their merit. The only modification since then has been President Hoover's stipulation that veterans must have incurred their disability in actual war service. The Legion is well pleased.

What happens is this: John Doe, a non-veteran, gets a grade of 95 per cent in his Civil Service examination and naturally expects, since he was found to be the best qualified for the position, to get the appointment. But he is passed over, and Richard Roe is appointed to the job. Richard Roe is a disabled veteran who made a grade of only 60 per cent in the examination; anybody else would have to make 70 even to be considered eligible, but Roe's ten point bonus just enables him to qualify, and since he is classed as disabled, he automatically goes to the top of the list and enters Government employ.

The United States Civil Service Reform League conducted a survey of how the Coolidge order worked a year and a half after it went into effect, examining sixty different groups of prospective Civil Service appointees. In only two of these groups did the first disabled veteran earn his

place at the top of the list; in all the rest, disabled veterans went to the top ahead of better qualified applicants. In four groups, not a single disabled veteran earned a passing mark; their names were put on the eligible lists solely because of their added ten point credit, and they topped the lists for appointment. There were 144 persons competing for one position, and all but three passed the examination; the three who failed, however, were disabled veterans, so they were the ones to be appointed ahead of all the others.

"Leading the list for junior chemist," said the League's report, "out of a total of 162 candidates, appears only one disabled veteran. He had obtained the lowest mark in the examination, 69.04, a rating which would normally disqualify him. But under the executive order, he, though unqualified, is entitled to certification for appointment to this position which may involve the health of the American people before even the highest person on the list whose earned rating was 97.5."

The League maintains that such a system will tend to lower seriously the standard of efficiency of Government service. Moreover, as an increasing number of disabled veterans pre-empt the available positions, well-qualified men will be discouraged from seeking them. Merit will play a constantly decreasing part in putting men into Government employ.

In New York City in 1931—thanks to an even more generous state preference obtained by the Legion—there were twenty-eight firemen who because of being disabled veterans were in preferred position for promotion to higher status and leadership of the city's fire-fighting forces. As far as the Fire Department physicians could tell, these men were sound enough to perform their strenuous duties, but the Veterans' Bureau had ruled that they were suffering from at least partial disability. Similarly, some of the members

of the police force had obtained their jobs because of disabilities. One policeman wanted to become a captain in the force on the grounds of disability. He seemed in excellent health, so inquiry was made and he was found to have been discharged two years previously by the Veterans' Bureau as cured. The promotion was refused. Then the ambitious policeman made a quick trip to Washington to see the Veterans' Bureau and returned sufficiently disabled to necessitate his promotion.

Generous Uncle Sam finds many little special favours to bestow upon the Legion. Sometimes he needs to be reminded, but he usually is found to be open-handed. The annual proceedings of the National Convention, including the reports of the various committees, fill a closely printed book of 250 pages or more. The Legion is spared the trouble and expense of printing the proceedings, for the Government does it, and calls the book a House Document each year. The Legion discovered that Uncle Sam had in his warehouses a great many old army rifles, and coveted them for use in parades, military funerals and the like. So the rifles were handed over as a loan. Then the Legion observed that the rifles occasionally got damaged or mislaid, and obtained leave, through Congress, not to be held too strictly accountable in returning the borrowed musketry. A later public law authorized the Secretaries of War and of the Navy to lend or give to Posts of the American Legion condemned or obsolete ordnance, guns and projectiles with which to fire salutes.

"The American Legion," said one of its Commanders, "knows that if it is to get results worth while it must shoot only at big game, and for that lay down the shotgun and take up the rifle, firing only when sure of the target with aim at a vulnerable point." While the Legion has by no means neglected big game, neither has it spurned entirely.

the shotgun. State legislatures all over the country have followed the example of Congress in yielding to the suggestion of the Legion. Behind them, pinging away, have been those forty-eight little legislative outposts, the Department lobbies, which have learned the ways of marksmanship in such matters at the feet of their parent Lobby, the Legion's Legislative Committee in Washington.

New York's legislators have been particularly sensitive to the desires of the Legion. Every year \$1,500 is appropriated for printing the record of the state convention, which allows the Department to economize. At the time of the Paris Convention, the Department wanted to send the Oneida Bugle Corps abroad but lacked ready money, so the state appropriated \$10,000 to send the buglers to Paris as the official musical organization representing the state. No Post needs pay any tax on its property; many of them, in fact, are housed gratis in municipal or county buildings. Town boards are allowed to appropriate \$200 for the Legion, G.A.R., and Spanish War Veterans to spend in celebrating Memorial Day.

The New York Civil Service preference provisions are all that the Legion could desire, prescribing absolute preference to disabled veterans, and compulsory promotions. New York's bonus, however, is not as liberal as some others. The state grants only \$10 for each month of service; claims have been paid totalling \$44,500,000.

The matter of state bonuses has been a stern test of the little lobbies' abilities. They have had to fight valiantly. Legislatures usually could be persuaded without much difficulty to pass the desired law, but some court or attorney general was always interfering through a ruling that the bonus was unconstitutional. This put the Department Legislative Committee to the trouble of organizing a campaign among the general public to have the state constitution

amended—a more difficult feat. When the publicity among the voters was strong enough, the Legion won. Nineteen states granted some form of bonus. The struggle failed in five.

Veterans who hail from Kansas were reasonably fortunate in the matter of the bonus. Their gift amounted to one dollar for each day in service. Several little changes had to be made in this state's conduct of affairs, when the boys came home from war. They found they could not buy cigarettes in Kansas, which worked a hardship, so that law was promptly repealed. Furthermore, Kansas had neglected to afford itself an adequate state banner, so one was adopted, endorsed by the Legion, as well as an official state flag. Kansans were discovered to have a prejudice against prize fighting; the prejudice was removed, together with the law making prize fighting and boxing illegal.

Twelve states have changed their statutes to approve boxing, largely at the Legion's instigation. Not only do Legionnaires enjoy prize fights, but Posts find the sponsorship of matches an excellent way to raise money. In South Dakota a share of the receipts of all boxing matches goes to the state, which then turns half the money over to the Legion. Mississippi goes even further and turns the whole business of prize fighting over to the control of the Legion.

More than half the states have been persuaded to favour ex-soldiers when appointing employés whether through Civil Service or by the traditional political method. Occasionally the law requires even private contractors working for the state to give the jobs to veterans. Mississippi yielded to Legion wishes to the extent of making a berth for a Department Commander. The state's National Guard qualifications for Adjutant General were altered so that a World War veteran could be appointed, and straightway Legion Commander Curtis Green was chosen for the office.

Nevada goes to the length of dismissing any foreigner from a state job when a veteran applies for it.

Twenty state legislatures have forgiven veterans their taxes in greater or lesser degree. Poll taxes are frequently lifted from the heads of ex-soldiers, as well as property taxes unless they are too obviously prosperous. American Legion headquarters are favoured by being freed from taxation in a goodly number of states; and in others, like New York, the headquarters are furnished free even of rent. Some states house the Legion in armories; in Minnesota and Oklahoma, the Department headquarters may nestle forever in the State Capitol.

Legislatures find other ways to do kind acts. Florida and Illinois chipped in \$30,000 and \$40,000 respectively to send the Legion's bands to the Paris Convention. Iowa had to dig deeper—\$50,000 worth—because it was the home state of three national Legion champions whose fame had to be spread in Paris: the Monahan Post Band, the Fort Dodge Drum and Bugle Corps and the Davenport Ladies' Drill Team. Kentucky, Louisiana and Massachusetts each provided from \$25,000 to \$50,000 to help local Posts show the National Convention a good time when they descended upon those states. Massachusetts was further enticed into breaking two traditions of countless years' standing in custom and law. Legion Posts were permitted by new legislation to parade with firearms. And in 1930 was enacted the Parade with Music Law; until that year no veteran organization could march with its band in blast on the Lord's Day in Massachusetts.

Astute political leaders in Washington have been studying the Legion's power with the keenest interest. A few are inclined to feel that legislators are more frightened of the Legion than they need be. A close watch was kept on the district elections after the 1931 bonus vote. Some Sena-

tors and Representatives who voted against it were returned to Congress safely, pointing to the conclusion that the Legion's threats were not so deadly as depicted, at least in those regions. A legislator who has played King Canute to the tide, and who remained in office unshaken, is Senator Borah. He announced on one occasion that he did not intend to buy votes with public money by supporting a Legion demand. "I observe in your telegram," he wrote to the Pocatello, Idaho, Post which had urged him to support the bonus, "the threat which you impliedly make as to future political punishment. But . . . I have never sought to purchase political power by drafts upon the public treasury or chosen to buy continuation in office by putting four billion dollars upon the bended backs of the American tax-payers."

Whether the Legion actually has been able to defeat any candidate for Congress at the polls is impossible to determine with certainty because so many other issues enter into most campaigns. A prominent Republican ex-Senator from New York state is mentioned as one politician who paid the penalty for opposition but other issues undoubtedly contributed to his downfall. Nevertheless, in every lame duck session of Congress the Legislative Committee encourages the feeling that at least a few of the out-going Representatives have felt the sting of the Legion's whip.

The power of the Legion appears to be composed of three ingredients: (1) Actual disciplining of members' votes by pressure and publicity; (2) threats that frighten Congressmen; and (3) the force of sentimentality—that is, the influencing of votes by injecting the issue of gratitude to the soldier boys.

However, whether the national lawmakers really need to fear the Legion or not, the majority of them do. If the power is bluff, the bluff works. So far as the public is concerned the result is the same. The Legion's successes have

been so much more conspicuous than its failures, that Congressmen and Senators are all apt to think that they would be struggling against the inevitable to oppose one of its bills. An individual may rebel in private at being so stampered, but he shrugs his shoulders and reasons that nearly everybody else will vote for the bill anyway, so in all likelihood it will pass, so what good will come of being on the wrong side of the fence? The feeling is that opposing a Legion measure is like poking one's political head out of a train window. Maybe nothing would happen; but still it isn't wise.

Such a situation is wholly delightful to the Legion with its constantly expanding legislative programmes. These programmes, as the Legislative Committee itself once noted, have come to assume the proportions of a major political party's platform. The chief difference is that Legion suggestions as to what the Government ought to do are forthright, never equivocal, and they often materialize.

In the first National Convention, the delegates put forth with politeness amounting almost to hesitancy twenty-nine ideas about legislation which they thought would prove beneficial. Self-confidence waxed from Convention to Convention, and with it grew both the total of the legislative proposals and the insistence with which they were put forward. At the 1930 Convention in Boston, the Legion demanded 108 separate and specific pieces of legislation by Congress.

Once a year the Legislative Committee chronicles its accomplishments in a closely printed report the size of a small book. "Your committee," it proclaims, "has contributed to the enactment of the following legislation," and there follows a list from two to five pages long of public laws, resolutions, and executive orders dealing with subjects ranging from Japanese exclusion to Gold Star mothers. "The pas-

sage of many of these measures," says the report, "was due wholly to Legion effort, your Committee having prepared the legislation, obtained its introduction, promoted its progress in committee by testimony and timely pressure, and succeeded in having it acted upon favourably by the House and the Senate in time for the approval by the President."

To the tenth National Convention the committee reported that it had kept track, day by day, week by week, sometimes intervening with pressure or manœuvering, of 1,064 pieces of projected legislation of interest to the Legion. They were duly listed. The subject matter was indicated and the number of bills introduced under each subject was recorded as follows. The column on the left covers Senate bills; that on the right, House of Representatives.

Adjusted compensation	5	Adjusted compensation	20
Aeronautics	15	Aeronautics	27
Americanism	2	Alien property	1
American Legion . . .	3	Americanism	10
American merchant ma- rine	2	American Legion	7
Archives	2	American merchant ma- rine	8
Armistice Day	1	Appropriations	11
Civil Service	4	Archives	1
Colorado River Basin .	1	Armistice Day	1
Flood control	12	Civil Service	8
Hospitalization	11	Deportation	7
Immigration	24	Flood control	15
Medals	9	Hospitalization	25
Memorials	3	Immigration	69
Military affairs	131	Lindbergh	7
Miscellaneous	5	Medals	15
Naturalization	5	Memorials	18
Naval affairs	15	Military affairs	252
Patents	1	Miscellaneous	4
Pensions	11	Naturalization	19

MORE PLUMS, MORE HUNGER

95

Rehabilitation . . .	36	Naval affairs . . .	77
Retirement . . .	19	Organizations . . .	1
Universal draft . . .	1	Patents . . .	1
World peace . . .	3	Pensions . . .	19
	<hr/>	Postal affairs . . .	5
Total	321	Post roads . . .	2
		Rehabilitation . . .	69
		Retirement . . .	26
		Soldiers' homes . . .	3
		Universal draft . . .	4
		Veterans . . .	7
		World peace . . .	4
			<hr/>
		Total	743

“Like a watchtower overlooking the battlefield, the National Legislative Committee stands at Washington,” it told a Convention. The Committee may also be said to have some of the attributes of a super-tank.

So preoccupied is the Legion generally with its political activities that National Headquarters has found it necessary to issue regulations and cautions against over-zealousness on the part of individual Posts. In the official Handbook of the American Legion appears this significant passage describing the approved methods of getting laws passed, and seeking to nip in the bud any possible insurgency:

Resolutions adopted by Posts proposing or affecting national legislation should travel through certain fixed channels. They should be forwarded from the Post to Department Headquarters; from there to National Headquarters; and from National Headquarters they should be forwarded, with proper comment, to the National Legislative Committee. Direct correspondence by Posts or members of Posts with the executive departments of the Government or with members of Congress, bearing on national legislation, should

be discouraged, except under instructions or at the request of the National Legislative Committee. Those resolutions opposing resolutions of the National Conventions of the Legion should not be forwarded to Congress. They should be submitted either to the National Convention or to the National Legislative Committee.

The most recent venture into public affairs concerns prohibition. The Legion's flirtations with this problem illustrate the organization's curious reasoning about what is and what is not a political issue. For four years prohibition was thrust aside as a controversial matter on which the Legion could not properly take a stand. The real difficulty, of course, was that the veterans could not agree among themselves as to what ought to be done.

When E. E. Spafford was National Commander he attended a banquet given for him by the New York Department early in December, 1927, and surprised the guests and all those who read about it in press dispatches, by announcing that on May 15 the Legion and the Auxiliary would conduct a nation-wide poll on prohibition. They would vote on whether they approved the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, whether the amendment should remain in effect, and whether the Volstead Act should be retained. Until that time all the Posts would hold discussions. His hearers were left in no doubt how Spafford stood, for he remarked that no law should be enforced without the approval of a majority of the voters, and blamed the dry laws for much of the current crime. The Legion poll, he said, would give a "true interpretation of the feeling of those who bore the brunt of the last war." If it developed that the will of the people, meaning the Legion, was for prohibition, then the Government should enforce it; if not, repeal it.

Two days later in a speech in Trenton, Spafford, who

apparently had fallen prey to misgivings that he had gone too far, explained that the Legion poll would be "purely informatory," and that the Executive Committee had not been consulted. The Indiana Department let the newspapers know that no poll would be conducted in its territory. On the following day General James A. Drain of Spokane, Washington, one of the Legion's early National Commanders, was reported to have sent an abrupt telegram to Commander Spafford suggesting that he "publish a statement of correction for proposing to do something for which you had no authority." General Drain pointed out that the "authoritative voice of the whole Legion in National Convention" had not been heard on the matter. Iowa rejected the poll, as did Nebraska. Two days later Spafford said he would not press the matter; he had only offered a suggestion.

Nevertheless, the prohibition question bobbed up again in 1930. The New York State Department in convention in Saratoga adopted by 370 to 166 a resolution referring to the Eighteenth Amendment and demanding a "redress of wrongs through restoration to the several states of the right of their people to enact such liquor laws as they may choose." Repeal was asked on grounds that the law "violated the fundamental American right of self-government." The Department went to the National Convention in Boston seeking to have the resolution introduced on the floor with a view to getting the Legion's national endorsement, but Commander O. L. Bodenhamer ruled it out. This action was later referred to as showing that "politics had no place in the organization."

One year later the wet faction had gained so much strength that it could not be ignored. The chant of "We want beer!" sounded through the Convention hall in Detroit in September, 1931. The Commander permitted debate, and the Le-

gion officially denounced prohibition by a vote of 1,008 to 394. The resolution was:

Whereas, The Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of the United States has created a condition of danger and disrespect for law and security of American institutions; now, therefore,

Be it resolved, That the American Legion in the thirteenth annual convention assembled, favors the submission by Congress for repeal or modification of the present prohibition law to the several states, with the request that each state submit this question to the voters thereof.

Thus prohibition became non-political and non-controversial. Revision of the dry law became a patriotic issue involving respect for the country's institutions. The Legion had made up its own mind, and set about making up the nation's. The participation of the organization in public affairs appears to be restricted only by its ability to agree on a policy.

The matter of political ambition has two phases. Not only is the organization at large reaching for power, but in many instances its individual members are using it as a means of furthering their careers. They are taking to heart, perhaps rather more literally than intended, the advice which their first National Adjutant, Colonel Lemuel Bolles, gave in early days: "Offices in Posts of the American Legion are the stepping stones to the future, and that man who fills an office in his Post in a way to earn the confidence and respect of his comrades is certain of success in his future life in the community."

Such a prospect is not without its pleasant side to the Legion. The impulse is natural in any society to enjoy seeing members advance in station. The higher they ascend the more credit they reflect on the organization and the

more they are able to give friendly boosts to comrades. Furthermore, members in posts of influence in the Government are in a position to carry out the views of the Legion either voluntarily because of conviction or possible pressure from the organization, or involuntarily through having become imbued with Legion ways of thinking.

For party leaders who draw up the election tickets, on the other hand, it is a wise move to include a candidate who is at least known to, and preferably favourably regarded by, a substantial body of Legionnaires. As a Washington correspondent wrote when a high Legionnaire was considered by his party machine as a possible candidate for the Senate, "Republican leaders . . . have not been unaware of the 20,000 votes which it is believed the Legion head could swing among former service men of the state." At the time of writing, New York has a state attorney general who won his place on the ticket largely because he had been Department Commander. The same phenomenon is observable rather widely.

A practical clue to the sentiments of politicians can be gained from the fact that they spend money freely in advertising their Legion membership in the smaller Legion publications. Around election time, these publications wax fat. The May 9, 1930, issue of *The Iowa Legionnaire* was full of such advertisements, and nearly all of the candidates displayed the fact that they were Legionnaires. S. G. Goldthwaite, running for Congress, boasted that every service man in his employ was a member of the Legion. Ed M. Smith, former state secretary of state, then running for governor, went further and proclaimed that he had "appointed more Legion men to important places as secretary of state than any other state department since the World War." Some of the advertisements contained notices that they were paid for by Legionnaires.

Although welcoming the advertisements, the editor afterward rebuked the candidates for not observing strictly enough the Legion's anti-political clause. He listed the "abuses perpetrated," some of which he described as follows:

One Legionnaire, running for office, had the Legion insignia on his campaign cards.

Several speakers' past or present offices in the Legion and Auxiliary were played to the heights for the value of their prestige . . .

Posters for certain candidates were put up in Legion club rooms.

Cards were distributed at Memorial Day programs and one veteran even handed out some to comrades in uniform who were assembling for a military funeral.

Several candidates sought election solely on the fact they were service men and Legionnaires. . . .

Several newspapers spoke of "Legion support" for candidates and one paper referred to a man as the "Legion candidate."

Legionnaires who rose to prominence in their organization are moving into high offices in the land. At this writing at least three state governors in the Middle West are former officers of the Legion. There are now sixty-five Legionnaires in the House of Representatives, several of them former Department Commanders, as well as eighteen Senators. The National Legislative Committee keeps close watch on the rising roll, for it makes for smoother sailing for Legion bills. Representative Royal C. Johnson and Senator David A. Reed (who is usually loyal, although sometimes he rebels) are in peculiarly advantageous positions to facilitate Legion projects as chairmen of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs and the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, respectively.

A Democratic candidate for Congress in New York complained that the Nassau County chapter was "sold lock, stock, and barrel to the Republican Party," because the chapter made Congressman R. L. Bacon (Legionnaire) a guest of honour while he was running for re-election. His rival pointed out that he was not entitled to be an honoured guest, because he had voted against the bonus. Some attention was attracted, also, by a ball given for Ogden L. Mills by a Legion Post in Yorkville, New York, which became so enthusiastic that it organized a committee to help get him elected governor.

Mills, who was one of the original organizers of the Legion, failed to win the governorship of New York, but he soon thereafter became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Others of the early workers have risen to prominence. Hamilton Fish, Jr., headed the Congressional committee that uncovered so many Bolsheviks throughout the land. Thomas W. Miller, of the early National Legislative Committee, became Alien Property Custodian; Lawrence Judd became Governor of Hawaii, Bennett Clark is high in the councils of the Democratic Party, and Bibb Graves has become Governor of Alabama. Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., is Governor of Porto Rico.

The War Department particularly is a stronghold of the Legion. When Dwight F. Davis (Legionnaire) was Secretary of War, he brought in as his assistant former National Commander Hanford MacNider. When MacNider left the department he was succeeded by his fellow Iowan, Colonel C. B. Robbins, former Department Commander of the Legion. The present Secretary, Patrick J. Hurley, also is a Legionnaire, as is Trubee Davison, in the Navy Department.

Colonel MacNider, who at this writing has been sent on to a higher reward as United States Minister to Canada, ran

three times for National Commander of the Legion before he succeeded in getting elected. After his term he organized, in 1924, the Republican Service League, the avowed purpose of which was to get out to the polls the younger voters. The League, it developed, was particularly interested in getting out the young Republican voter. Without involving the Legion's name, it was an organization of Legionnaires who temporarily stepped out of that rôle into the protective nomenclature of the League in order to rally the Legion vote.

The Republican Service League received wide although not entirely fortunate publicity at its inception through a telegram to a prospective sponsor: "With the full approval of party heads," said the telegram, "service men are being organized in every state to put over Republican ticket from top to bottom. You will agree with principles and purposes. Wire me collect headquarters 1248 Congress Hotel Chicago you will serve on national committee with Theodore Roosevelt, Governors Mabey, Utah, and Collins, Minnesota, and others your type. Signed, Hanford MacNider." The recipient of the telegram did not agree with its principles and purposes, for he was Millard E. Tydings, a staunch Democrat.

Despite this contretemps, the League flourished. Soon afterward its organization in New York was announced to promote the candidacy of Coolidge and Theodore Roosevelt (Legionnaire). A former Department Commander was its state chairman and on its executive committee were Roosevelt, Hamilton Fish, Jr., Mayhew Wainright, and R. L. Bacon, all Legionnaires. A secondary purpose was to "train veterans for holding public office themselves since there is a need for new blood in public life and the logical men to take offices of trust are the men who have been in the service of their country."



HAMILTON FISH, who wrote the Legion's Preamble, and is now a Congressman and an energetic opponent of Reds in America.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, son of the former President, who is regarded as the father of the American Legion.



HANFORD MACNIDER, a past National Commander, who afterward became Assistant Secretary of War, then Minister to Canada.

A few days later, Colonel Robbins (Legionnaire) announced in Cedar Rapids that the League was underway in forty-six states with an organization similar to that in Iowa. There it had 100,000 members, a chairman for each Congressional district, and for each precinct, with six workers under him—a total of 700 precinct workers, with 2,000 more to come—and a women's auxiliary.

The Republican Service League is no temporary sally into politics by ambitious Legionnaires, but rather a permanent factor which appears to be increasingly weighty. In 1928 it again entered the campaign with an organization complete down to precincts. In 1931 press dispatches chronicled its success in helping elect Wilbur Brucker Governor of Michigan. Both Brucker and Frank Murphy, mayor of Detroit, are sufficiently active Legionnaires to have been delegates to a recent National Convention.

To all appearances, the League walks so closely arm in arm with the Legion that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. Leaders of the Legion are leaders of the League; the men whose destinies the League seeks to promote are Legionnaires; and the campaign appeal is addressed primarily to Legionnaires. The natural conclusion would seem to be that the League is an ingenious method of using the Legion's influence to swing the votes of Legionnaires to further aspirations of Legionnaires. Violation of the non-political rule is avoided by the narrowest technical margin.

The two organizations once more join hands in hoping to elect a Legionnaire as Vice-President of the United States. Four hundred delegates to the Republican national convention in Kansas City in 1928 held a caucus the day before the opening and declared, "The American Legion is determined that the Vice-Presidential candidate shall be an overseas veteran." This dovetailed neatly with the Republican

Service League's activities. The Legion wanted a veteran, and the League was ready to supply several potential candidates right from its own—and the Legion's—membership.

Campaign leaders for President Hoover, who was at that time casting about for a running mate, were notified by the head of the Legion Lobby that any one of five World War veterans would be acceptable to the Legion: Colonel William Donovan, General J. G. Harbord, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., and Hanford MacNider. All were Legionnaires, and the last three were leading lights of the Republican Service League. "The Legion workers," the New York *Times* correspondent noted, "seem to be concentrating their energies in behalf of MacNider's nomination, despite the expression of willingness to accept any one of five veterans. . . . MacNider appears to have good organizers behind him." Evidently the League had done its work well, for it was further noted that MacNider had "a rather impressive following among delegates of his own state, California, the two Dakotas and some other states." But in spite of these efforts Senator Curtis won.

A year before the 1932 political conventions the New York *Times* correspondent wired his paper: "Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of Porto Rico, who in 1928 was urged by American Legionnaires as a Vice-Presidential candidate, is being considered as a running mate with President Hoover next year, according to some Republican Senators. These Senators believe that his . . . war record might be helpful in winning the votes of veterans. . . . Colonel Hanford MacNider, Minister to Canada, figures in the gossip as another Vice-Presidential possibility."

The Legion may yet escort one of its sons to the White House.

IX

THE WAR DID NOT END WAR

THE War served to increase greatly the influence of the military clique in the United States. The clique was here all the time; one is to be found in nearly every nation—the pre-war Junker group, now the Steel Helmets, in Germany; the impregnable Admiralty circle in England. But in this country the military clique was unable to make its influence felt to any great degree until after the War, for the obvious reason that the American public as a whole had no well-developed nationalistic fears. We felt ourselves isolated from dangers of invasion; there seemed no compelling need for large armaments. Lacking the motives of suspicion and fear, taxpayers in a republic can be persuaded only with the greatest difficulty to supply the funds necessary to build a huge war machine. Hence, before the War the zealous generals and admirals in this country had but poor ground to cultivate. Since the War, however, America is rather more skittish about the whole subject of war, less sure of the safety of isolation, and somewhat inclined to conjure up bogies. This is rich psychological loam for the military clique to till.

On the other hand, there has arisen a more earnest peace-seeking group than this country has had before. This group

draws its recruits from reflective liberals, who believe that another war might wreck civilization; from the church, which perhaps feels somewhat abashed at its virtual partnership in the late War; from women, on whom the cruelty of war has been impressed afresh; and from youth, who are inclined to be disillusioned about the glamour of war and see no sense in being killed or maimed in another one. Despite the fact that these elements, being heterogeneous, do not work together as effectively as they might, they have managed to produce a fairly well defined drive designed to form a public opinion aggressively opposed to war and determined to support active measures to promote world peace.

Thus we have today a line drawn between two conflicting philosophies of war and peace. Both sides are, in the main, entirely sincere in their beliefs; both sides want peace; each side feels that its way of obtaining peace is the only way. To use labels is dangerous because they can become so distorted and unfair, but for the sake of convenience, let us describe the one philosophy as militarist, the other as pacifist. The term militarist, then, does not mean blood-thirsty, nor even aggressive. Let it describe rather, the group who think of strength as the best agent for preserving peace. The term pacifist, on the other hand, does not imply a turn-the-other-cheek policy which would refuse to fight under any circumstance. Rather let it describe the group who regard reliance on co-operative agreement among nations as the only hope of preserving peace. If the terms militarist and pacifist are used in this sense they carry no innuendo of discredit attaching to either side.

The militarist argues this way:

We do not want war, but you cannot change human nature. Whether we like it or not, there is bound to be more war. Now, if another war is coming, the United States must not be caught unprepared. There is no surer

way of being attacked than appearing to be an easy victim. We must, then, arm the nation and be ready to defend ourselves successfully. If we are sufficiently strong in war preparation, nobody will dare attack us; and since we do not want to attack anybody, there will be no war. If by chance there is a war, we shall be in good trim to beat the enemy.

The pacifist replies:

The theory of preparedness as a preventive of war is an old-fashioned theory dating back to the rise of nationalism a century ago and was utterly discredited by the World War. It was exactly the theory that the European nations worked on prior to 1914. Each nation felt that if it was sufficiently prepared, nobody would dare to attack—the balance of power idea. So in the forty years before 1914 European nations spent forty billion dollars in arming themselves to keep the peace, and then plunged into the biggest war in history. The reason was that the more one nation armed, the more its neighbour armed, too. Fear breeds fear, suspicion breeds suspicion. Nations simply cannot live together on a basis of cut-throat competition in armaments; they must resort to some form of international law.

Growing more specific, the pacifist continues:

The militarist remedy for war and the pacifist remedy are mutually exclusive psychologically. That is, if people are trained to think about and prepare for the next war, they cannot at the same time be thinking of and acting wholeheartedly for the promotion of peace. Either you instil in a people the fear and suspicion that will cause them to arm, or else you cultivate an attitude of international confidence in pacific machinery. You cannot do both at the same time. To have ballyhoo about the next war current in the United States is not only going to make other nations uneasy, but is going to prevent our own people developing

a peace-anticipating state of mind. And, after all, the state of mind is the only hope of promoting world peace, not the state of guns.

Getting almost to the point of calling names, the pacifist says:

The militarists in the United States, sincere though they are, are shrewd. They know that the next war will be a chemical and mechanical one, and that such minimum preparations as are necessary can perfectly well be carried on without the publicity that creates suspicion and retards the growth of peace-mindedness. Yet they have found the publicity essential. The dream of the militarists, since war preparations are their sole objective in life, is to have plenty of money from the taxpayers to build their machine. So they resort to all manner of publicity devices, such as military training camps, fleet and air manœuvres, and sub-rosa murmurings about other nations' evil designs, in order to get the American people sufficiently war-minded to furnish the money. These training camp drills are not going to win a chemical and mechanical war for us, but they will do great good (from the militarists' point of view) psychologically.

Throughout the land today a constant warfare of words is being waged between the militarists and the pacifists over the question of peace. Both sides are grim about it; the bloodless battle is bitter. Charges and counter-charges fly; bad names are called; there are occasional rumours of unfair hits.

Both the militarists and the pacifists would like to enlist the Legion as a mighty ally, viewing it as potentially one of the foremost instruments in the nation for good—each side, of course, interpreting "good" in its own way. With its power over Congress, the Legion can go far toward dictating whether America spends huge sums on armaments, or

whether our fighting budget is kept to a minimum. With its influence on public opinion, the Legion can go far toward making the nation war-minded or peace-minded. It can throw its weight toward pacific gestures, or toward bristling nationalistic movements.

The militarist side has a big advantage in the beginning, for the Legion is composed of ex-soldiers and also of Army officers, both retired and active, who are either under direct orders from the War Department or at least congenially disposed to its views. On the other hand, there are Legionnaires of a liberal cast of mind who have been impressed with the horror and uselessness of war. The pacifist side yearns for their predominance in the organization.

The great majority of Legionnaires do not think much about the question one way or the other. In the main they have no deep bitterness against war. At least half of them saw no actual fighting, but got the thrill of their lives out of being soldiers. Major Granville Fortescue, who helped organize the Legion in New York, went about at the 1930 National Convention interviewing the men, for the magazine *Liberty*, on what they thought of the War by that time. Some of the opinions he received are noteworthy:

"Say, brother," said Hollis Roy Miller, "that old war made a man out of me."

"My experiences," said Theodore B. Petty, "rubbing up against other people, seeing new foreign countries, gave me a broader view, opened my eyes to the world. . . . In case of another war? Sure, I'd go, if they'd have me."

"I'll say the War did me a lot of good," said Sergeant Frank Kaeland, an electrician. "Being in the Signal Corps, I learned a lot of new electrical stunts."

All ten interviews had about the same tenor.

The Legion's policies for the most part are necessarily decided in small committees, not in the hurly-burly of the

Convention proper. Just as in any big organization, the planning is done not by the mass of members or stockholders, but by the small group of leaders or directors, who can continue to do the deciding for the Legion so long as they keep the rank and file happy and do not strike contrariwise across any strata of strong opinion in the mass. Once the decisions are made and stamped with the approval of the National Convention, there is the strongest pressure for conformity. If an individual Legionnaire expresses dissenting opinions, he is apt to be regarded as cantankerous, offish, and life in the Post is less pleasant for him, just as in any fraternity. If a whole Post rebels, it is counted out. If a Legion official is inclined to differ from the organization policies, he must keep his differences to himself or he will not get ahead in the organization; trouble-makers are not named on committees nor rewarded by being supported for higher offices.

Who, then, are on the important committees that do the deciding for the Legion? A buck private, much as he may have disliked officers at times, still retains an ingrained respect for and awe of generals. There is no rank or title in the Legion—the members are all comrades together—yet in an organization composed of a great many privates and a few generals, the generals are apt to gravitate to the top. If a body of privates undertakes to appoint a committee on National Defense, for example, who will more naturally be chosen than the men who know most about such problems—the higher officers? Such a natural method of conduct tends to perpetuate military tradition and bar out fresh viewpoints. Former privates are, to be sure, included on most Legion committees, but here again the same human factor enters: the average buck private is inclined to speak softly, not too assertively, in a roomful of generals.

Obviously the moving spirits in the Legion must be those who have leisure, or some strong motivating interest, or both. The average former soldier, now a civilian occupied with his business, cannot spare time by hours and days to participate actively in the national affairs of the Legion; they are of no great import to him, anyway, so long as he can regard them as "fundamentally sound." The former officer is more likely than is the former private to have income sufficient to allow him to devote time to the Legion. The active officer likewise frequently can spare time, and often may have a very keen interest in Legion affairs. The same applies in even greater degree to the retired officer. Inactive generals and admirals have become famous for their leisure-hour occupations.

Therefore, it seems only inevitable that the military viewpoint should predominate in the councils of the Legion, and it does. Most of the moving spirits are men who reflect—either consciously or unconsciously—the traditions of soldiering.

A curious, half-smothered manifestation of the struggle between the two philosophies of war and peace took place—of course in the politest language—at the 1925 Legion National Convention. Calvin Coolidge temporarily represented what is here termed the pacifist side, perhaps not so much because of his interest in peace as because of his preoccupation with governmental economy. "Our country," he said, "has a larger Army and a more powerful Navy, costing annually almost twice as much as it ever before had in time of peace." He was a believer in a policy of adequate military preparation, but he thought we had about enough now. "In spite of all the arguments in favour of great military forces," he said, "no nation ever had an army large enough to guarantee it against attack in time of peace or to insure its victory in time of war. No nation ever will." Then

Mr. Coolidge, in front of the Legion Convention that had four generals and an admiral on the speakers' platform and a good score more in the front rows, launched into a sally that was so bold as to seem almost out of character. He said:

"In dealing with our military problem there is one principle that is exceedingly important. Our institutions are founded not on military power, but on civil authority. . . . Our forefathers had seen so much of militarism, and suffered so much from it, that they desired to banish it forever. They believed and declared in at least one of their state constitutions that the military power should be subordinate to and governed by civil authority. It is for this reason that any organization of men in the military service bent on inflaming the public mind for the purpose of forcing government action through the pressure of public opinion is an exceedingly dangerous undertaking and precedent.

"This is so whatever form it might take, whether it be for the purpose of influencing the executive, the legislature, or the heads of departments. It is for the civil authority to determine what appropriations shall be granted, what appointments shall be made, and what rules shall be adopted for the conduct of its armed forces. Whenever the military powers start dictating to the civil authority, by whatsoever means adopted, the liberties of the country are beginning to end."

In the time and place in which he spoke, that was strong medicine for Mr. Coolidge to be dispensing.

Next day, Major General John A. Lejeune, Commandant of the Marine Corps, was the first Convention speaker. He skilfully counteracted Mr. Coolidge's words without giving any indication that he had heard them. There were some people, he let the Legion know, who were trying to divide us on the question of national defense, but we must

all cling together on the "adequate maintenance of the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps." "Our people," he finished in his peroration, "have always preferred the preservation of their liberties, their freedom, and the existence of their country to ease of life, luxury, pleasure, wealth, or even life itself. Let us pray with all our hearts that Americans for all time may be equally brave and virile."

Thus far all was smooth, but the next speaker was Admiral Robert E. Coontz, and Mr. Coolidge's words of the day before still rankled in his heart and choked in his throat. The Admiral's entire address as the Legion stenographer recorded it was as follows:

"The American Legion must keep steady in its tracks; it must not go out to side shows. You are for the big things of the future. Nothing side-showy or temporary should tempt you to move from this straight and narrow path. The opportunity is boundless if you keep your feet on the ground. When men like General Lejeune, who was over on the other side and who commanded a division and led it to victory, advise you, will you take their advice? Have we done all right in the past? Of course, I feel strongly on these matters, but as President Coolidge said yesterday, the civil is above the military, and it is our job to obey."

"A few announcements were made at this time," says the Legion's minutes of the meeting.

That same Convention, after hearing both President Coolidge and Admiral Coontz, considered and approved the reports of four committees having to do with the general subject of the next war: the Convention Military Affairs Committee, the National Military Affairs Committee, the Convention Naval Affairs Committee and the National Naval Affairs Committee.

Said the National Military Affairs Committee, on which there were three active or inactive generals: "The Regular

Army should be maintained at 12,000 officers and 125,000 enlisted men, and not one man less. . . . There should be no reduction in appropriations for national defense this year."

"The Legion," echoed the Convention Military Affairs Committee, ". . . recommends and strongly urges upon the President and Congress that sufficient appropriations be made available to enable the Army of the United States to perform its mission . . ."

Said the National Naval Affairs Committee, on which the Navy viewpoint was well represented: "If this country becomes engaged in another war in the near future and the Navy is not prepared . . . any lack of preparedness must be placed squarely upon the shoulders of those who may preach false economy."

"It is urged," added the Convention Naval Affairs Committee, "that the Convention go on record as urging Congress to provide for an increase rather than a decrease in enlisted personnel."

These reports are typical of the attitude and aspiration of the Legion, for its official voice and influence has been cast definitely on the side of the military-minded as regards the philosophy of war and peace. These men who fought the War to end war have changed their minds on the finality of the last conflict. "The people of this country," said National Commander Spafford in an Armistice Day address, "are more and more coming to the realization that the last war did not end war. They realize that only an armistice was signed."

Year after year, the Legion proclaims its belief that the way toward peace lies in preparing for war. "The only hope for an everlasting peace must have its foundation in an adequate and proper national defense," says its National Defense Committee which contains three generals.

So, with the memories of the last war still freshly in mind, the American Legion has imposed upon itself the task of sounding the alarm and persuading Congress and the public to arm for the next war.

AMERICA ÜBER ALLES

THE General Staff may congratulate itself upon its early helpfulness in the formation of the Legion. If the military clique had deliberately set about forming a great civilian society and had continued to guide its career, the society might have been expected to pursue almost exactly the course which the Legion has chosen. The constant effort of the military group is to get more appropriations, which in the last analysis must come from the pockets of the voters. In publicity and propaganda lies the solution of the problem. The ideal civilian society, therefore, would become an agent through the nation to publicize the inevitability of the next war and to propagandize for larger armaments.

The Legion has done this very thing. No longer is the military group a voice crying in the wilderness for appropriations. The Legion, with filial piety, has repaid many-fold the original kindness of the General Staff by broadcasting through the land and impressing upon sensitive Congressmen the demands for money. It has not only generalized but also specified just what weak points in the nation's war machine needed strengthening by the application of more funds. It has gone into such detail that its voice has

had the ring of authority. The Legion has, in fact, become a vast War Department a million strong.

At first the Legion was a rebellious child. The members could see many ways in which the conduct of the War could have been improved upon. In the first National Convention, they resolved that there should be a "thorough house-cleaning of the inefficient officers and methods of our entire military establishment," and were opposed to the domination of a "military caste."

This attitude, however, did no damage to the General Staff, and in fact coincided with its purposes. The General Staff realized that the time was ripe, immediately after the war when the tide of nationalism was still high, to encourage Congress to provide a more elaborate military plan for the future. In the process of formulating the plan, the Legion was asked to give its advice and aid, and was thus drawn in and given the feeling of being a partner. The plan became law as the National Defense Act of 1920, the most comprehensive military programme this country has enacted in time of peace.

Within a short while the Legion was under the impression that the National Defense Act was virtually its own creation. Inasmuch as this military programme "came into existence through the united effort of the ex-service men," upon them fell the duty of seeing it properly carried out. "The successful development of the Army of the United States, particularly that of the National Guard and organized reserves, depends largely on the continued efforts and whole-hearted co-operation of the American Legion," said the Committee on Military Affairs at the second National Convention. The chairman of the Committee was Brigadier General James A. Drain, for sixteen years a National Guardsman, chairman of the National Guard Association of the United States, president of the National Rifle Association,

and a member of the National Militia Board. He was soon to become National Commander of the Legion.

From that time onward, the Legion has taken the National Defense Act under its wing. Every year the Committee on Military Affairs, with a general or two on duty, has studied with the most painstaking thoroughness the various points at which the act should be bolstered. The National Guard should be increased; enlisted men of the Regular Army should be granted retirement sooner; more potential reserves should be trained; the private should get more pay, the army mule more hay. The Legion has maintained that the Army should have 12,000 officers and 125,000 men, and that the National Guard should be 190,000 strong, and has fought for its figures with increasing insistence and power.

"Your committee," reported General Milton A. Reckord, "believes it to be one of the primary missions of the Legion to insure adequate preparedness for the defense of our country and is further of the opinion that the Legion should initiate and conduct such national activity as will make possible sufficient appropriations to make effective our present national defense policy."

Other patriotic societies have believed devoutly and vocally in strong national preparedness. The General Staff and, in fact, the whole militarist group is grateful for their existence. Not until the American Legion took the field, however, has there been an organization which not only talked military preparedness all over the country, but acted. The patriotic society which can put pressure to bear on Congress is the darling of the militarists' heart.

By 1925, the Legion had so made its mark on Washington that the Lobby was able to report successes. Three items in the war budget had been smaller than the Legion felt they ought to be. Accordingly, amendments were ob-

tained which increased the sums appropriated, and as the Lobby noted, a "splendid example of their ability to influence legislation affecting national defense" was afforded. That same year President Coolidge held up the National Guard appropriations, on the grounds they were too large, but—in the words of the Lobby—"he was flooded with messages from Legionnaires throughout the United States," and the full sum was granted.

"Two smashing victories for national defense" were chronicled in 1928. In this instance, the zeal of the Legion outran that of the General Staff itself. The War Department, modest in its aspirations, decided that 16,000 reserve officers would be enough to train that year, and that the national rifle matches could be held every second year. Those funds in the Army appropriation bill were correspondingly reduced. The Legion did not think this wise; it felt that 20,000 reserve officers ought to be trained, and that the rifle matches ought not to miss a single year. Under the guidance of its Defense Committee chairman, Brigadier General Roy Hoffman, who was also president of the Reserve Officers' Association, the Legion carried the fight to the floor of the House of Representatives. The Lobby, according to its custom, addressed a letter to every Congressman, with the result that the 4,000 extra officers were trained and the rifle matches were held annually without omissions.

The Legion's alliance with the military group in the United States is all-inclusive; it not only forwards the designs of the energetic generals, but throws its power with equal zest into promoting the plans of the ambitious admirals. Just as the Legion has become a huge propaganda arm of the War Department, similarly it has assumed the task of agitating throughout the land for a big navy. "Make America Naval Minded!" shouts the Legion, and to that

end decrees that a permanent committee on naval affairs be established in each Department. This arrangement is ideal for the big-navy enthusiasts, for their appeals and their alarums can be turned over to the Legion for distribution to forty-eight state Departments, whence the propaganda will be systematically filtered down to a million individual Legionnaires.

From the point of view of the ambitious admirals, this tie-up with the American Legion is little short of a god-send. A wave of reaction against the international naval competition set in shortly after the War. It began to look as though the people of England, France, Italy and Japan as well as Americans were definitely tiring of the system of keeping up with the Joneses in building costly floating fortresses. A peace psychology was rising, and with it the demand for common agreements among the nations to stop the race in navy construction. The uneasiness of the ambitious admirals quickened to alarm. If matters kept on going that way, recruiting would drop. The spectre of a constantly dwindling Navy arose.

The Navy group was somewhat slower than the Army in realizing the potentialities of the Legion. For two years they let slip the opportunity to broadcast their demands through the Legion and use its power to influence Congress. Then a promising young Naval Affairs Committee was established in the Legion. Before it had a chance to get a campaign for a bigger navy underway, it confronted a major obstacle. The Washington Arms Conference of 1921 decreed not only that battleship construction should cease, but that ships already built should be scrapped.

The admirals, now joined by the Legion, lamented that Washington Arms Conference bitterly. Eight years afterward, the memory was still fresh. Our Navy programme, the Legion noted in 1929, had been "wrecked at the Washington

Conference of 1921 when we agreed to scrap, and forthwith scrapped, the finest battleships in the world.”

The Legion's Naval Affairs Committee, however, was undaunted. The United States, leading the way toward peace, had promised and obtained the promises of other nations not to continue the rivalry in battleships. But that, the Committee felt, was no reason why competition should not be just as lively as ever in smaller ships; in fact, it constituted an argument for livelier competition. The other nations were undoubtedly building small ships by the dozen; Congress must be awakened to the peril.

Forth from the Legion, through the mouths of its newly-aroused knot of naval enthusiasts, came all variety of miscellaneous demands. There ought to be more men in the Naval Reserve. Why didn't the United States start building scout cruisers? Everybody else was. Our naval aviation programme was pitifully stunted, and furthermore, where were our aircraft carriers? The niggardliness of Congress with its appropriations was repeatedly deplored.

The Washington agreement said nothing about submarines, and they were splendid instruments of war, the Committee pointed out. We learned their virtues from Germany in the World War. We needed more and better submarines, and, moreover, we ought to stop snubbing the ones we had. “Name the Submarines!” pleaded an editorial in the *American Legion Monthly*. “The submarine,” it said, “is a vitally important naval weapon today. It rates more than a number. There is something inherently lacking in the cold impersonality of a number. There is warmth and sentiment in a name—and there are heroes to name submarines after.”

Not to be outdone by its brother agitator, the Committee on Military Affairs, in point of research, the Naval Affairs Committee took up the question of where a new Navy base

ought to be situated on the West Coast. While Congressmen were differing over the site, the Legion decided for Alameda, California; so year after year the demand for an up-to-the-minute Naval base at Alameda rang out. This was soon supplemented by a cry of warning about Hawaii. Hawaii, the key to the Pacific, and behold! the United States was leaving it as undefended as a berry patch.

There was, too, the matter of our Merchant Marine. The Legion's Committee was far-sighted. "If all navies were sunk by treaty," it pointed out nervously, "merchant marines would then be the principal source of naval power. On this basis Great Britain would, at present, have as much power as all of the larger nations combined." Therefore, every passenger liner and freighter under the American flag should carry at all times sealed orders from the Navy Department telling it just what to do should war break out while it was on the way somewhere. The United States should see to it, too, that as many ships as possible were kept under the American flag. "We hereby protest against and express our disapproval," the Legion frowned, "of the contemplated sale by the United States Shipping Board and Merchant Fleet Corporation of the three Atlantic lines . . ." The Legion's naval experts noted that many of the crew members on American ships were of foreign extraction, and protested against that hole in our defense fortifications, adding the suggestion that crews of merchant vessels should have periodical Navy training.

After suggesting virtually every possibility in the way of permissible competitive building, the Legion and the admirals, still walking arm in arm, tried a strategy of sowing alarm and suspicion. "In spite of the Washington treaty," the Lobby historian relates, "we discovered to our dismay, a short time after its ratification, that other nations who had signed this treaty were planning cruiser construction pro-

grams to an extent which violated the spirit, but not the letter of the treaty, which soon placed the United States Navy at a further and more serious disadvantage . . .” While others were pushing construction to the limit, we were letting ourselves get weaker and weaker. So the motto became: Build up to the Treaty! We must have a Navy second to none!

A pamphlet entitled “Save Our Navy” was sent out by the thousands from Legion National Headquarters, subtitled “A Call to Arms for Every Red Blooded American Legionnaire.” “Since the Washington Conference,” related this pamphlet, “we have allowed ourselves to be left far behind, and have dropped from first to about third place as a naval power. We must never forget that a second best navy has just as much show of winning as a second best poker hand; its only chance is to bluff and escape a call.” The poker hand simile had been used almost verbatim several years before by an admiral who addressed a Legion National Convention.

The Legion’s great opportunity to prove its worth to the big navy group came in 1927, when Congress was called upon to consider the largest naval programme since 1916, calling for the construction of seventy-one ships within five years. The Legion, even more eager than the admirals, notified every Senator and Representative by letter of its desire that all the seventy-one proposed ships should be started not within five years but immediately. “They should be built, and built for use on the high seas—not just to scrap, which was the fate of the 1916 program,” said the letter. The phraseology might lead to the belief that the fewer international conferences were held, the better pleased the Legion would be.

The bill was on the point of winning the approval of Congress, to the great joy of the Navy enthusiasts, until

a strong protest arose from "enemies of American safety," as the Legion called them. These "enemies" were people who thought that so wholesale a programme of warship building by the United States was inconsistent with the international effort to encourage world peace by limiting navies. The Legion indignantly reported that "hundreds of thousands of letters were mailed urging Congressmen and Senators to vote against the naval construction bill."

National Commander Spafford, pleading before a special Congressional committee meeting, declared that other parties to the Washington agreement had built 284 naval vessels as compared with sixteen built by the United States, and reiterated the desire of his organization that the bill be passed. Despite his pleas, the number of proposed cruisers was reduced to fifteen, and then the whole project was blocked in the Senate. "The fight for the cruiser program at the coming session of Congress will be a hard one, but a militant and unified American Legion can win, and thus safeguard the shores of our nation," the Lobby reported.

The shores of our nation seemed in no immediate danger, particularly since Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg shortly afterward negotiated the treaty bearing his name by which the leading powers renounced war as an instrument of national policy. That served only as an added challenge to the Legion, for it gave rise to pertinent queries as to why a \$274,000,000 naval programme was necessary on the heels of the pact that outlawed war. The Legion worked the harder. The Lobby found that the Senate was disposed to ratify the Kellogg Treaty and was unenthusiastic about the Cruiser Bill. Out from the Lobby went forty-eight messages to forty-eight Department Commanders, asking them to pass the word along to the 11,000 Posts.

"Hundreds of Legion orators in all parts of the country," the Legislative Committee afterward related, "began

demanding that the Senate pass the Cruiser Bill before ratification of the [Kellogg] Treaty. Thousands of the Legionnaires, in full realization of the purpose of the organized pacifists, wrote their Senators clear and forceful letters, which demonstrated that the men who had fought for their country in 1917 and 1918 understood the necessity of national defense and saw through the subterfuges being urged by the pacifists." National Commander Paul V. McNutt dropped less vital Legion affairs and stumped the country "delivering stirring addresses . . . advocating passage of the Cruiser Bill, concluding with an address at the nation's capital, in which he demanded that the Senate act without undue delay."

Whether because of the hundreds of orators, the thousands of letters, or Commander McNutt, the Cruiser Bill was passed. The Legion hailed it as a "spectacular victory," and the Lobby proudly reported that Senator Hale, chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, "stated repeatedly that but for the active work of the American Legion throughout the nation, the Cruiser Bill would have been defeated through the efforts of the pacifists."

Navy architects were promptly set to work drawing plans for the first of the fifteen scout cruisers, but there was, from the admirals' point of view, a joker in the new law. It authorized the President to suspend building in the event of an international agreement, which he was requested to encourage.

Within a few months informal conversations between Washington and London resulted in Prime Minister MacDonald's decision to visit the United States to talk over with President Hoover preliminary plans for further naval reduction. Mr. MacDonald announced that as a proof of England's sincerity, the British Government had decided to suspend all work on the cruisers *Surrey* and *Northumber-*

land and to cancel construction of a submarine depot ship and two contracted submarines. Mr. Hoover responded that it was the desire of the United States to show equal good will in the approach to the problem of limitation, and he ordered construction stopped on three of the contemplated new cruisers.

The press and the public both in England and America rejoiced at this sign of tangible will to curtail naval rivalry; approbation was virtually unanimous, for the people of two nations felt that confidence and friendliness were to be the ruling motives of diplomacy between them rather than suspicion and fear. Only one strong dissenting voice was raised. Straightway a telegram went to the White House from National Commander Paul V. McNutt. "The American Legion," he said, "respectfully protests against any action by the Chief Executive which will prevent in any way the regaining by America of our lost naval parity with Great Britain. Our lost parity can be regained by only two methods, which are continued cruiser building by America or extended cruiser scrapping by Great Britain, or by a combination of these methods."

President Hoover replied to this rebuke by referring to the problem as being "far more intricate and difficult than can be solved by the simple formula you suggest." He pointed out that "by constant expansion of naval strength we cannot fail to stimulate fear and ill will throughout the rest of the world toward both of us." "It seems to me," he wrote to Colonel McNutt, "that every person of common sense will agree that it is far better to at least try to establish such a relation [parity] by agreement before we resign ourselves to continued attempts to establish it by rival construction programs on both sides of the Atlantic."

The President's rebuff did not daunt the Legion. A new National Commander took up the big navy campaign where

Colonel McNutt left it. As plans were going forward for the London Naval Conference of 1930, the new Commander went to Washington and warned the Government that the Legion continued to "demand the adoption of a safe and sane policy relative to national defense." At the London conference a treaty further limiting navies was negotiated and acclaimed as another step toward world peace. Press dispatches reported that the Legion's National Defense Committee in Washington voted six to two against endorsing the treaty. Department Commanders from various states protested against it. "How any sane body of men could try to perpetrate such a thing on the American people passes my understanding," wrote the Michigan Commander.

At the next National Convention, the National Defense Committee, headed by Colonel C. B. Robbins, former Assistant Secretary of War, urged Congress "to immediately enact the necessary legislation to bring our naval establishment to the strength provided by the London Treaty." It also demanded a new law about promotions of warrant officers, increased compensation for injured enlisted men, and the building up of "an American merchant marine that would be a credit to the American nation in peace time and would be a factor in assisting the nation in case of war."

The 1931 National Commander no sooner had taken office than he began warning the nation that we were gambling with our security in permitting a "blue-print Navy" rather than building up to the very limit allowed by international agreement.

It was in 1925 that President Coolidge told the Legion that the United States was spending twice as much as it ever had before on armaments, and that he felt our forces had reached the point of adequacy for defense purposes. Five years later, President Hoover announced that this country was spending nearly three times as much as it did

before the War. Expenditures of the United States, \$707,425,000 annually, were larger than those of any other nation in the world. The nearest competitor, Soviet Russia, was spending one hundred million dollars less than the United States.

The fact that the military clique has been able to increase America's war machine to this unprecedented extent is attributable in large measure to its powerful ally, the American Legion.

MAKING SOLDIERS OF US ALL

FOR ten years the Legion has cherished a Universal Draft plan and worked doggedly for its adoption. The stormy career of the project illuminates the Legion's character, for no other enterprise is so typical of its complex habits of thought and action. A good idea has, through the course of years, been subjected to outside influences and altered almost beyond recognition. Shrewd intrigue has been mingled with sincerity. Most Legionnaires hold the honest conviction that their organization is doing the country a great service by pushing the Universal Draft; a few suspect that the Legion is being used as a pawn.

When the troops came home from the War, they discovered that some of the people who had stayed comfortably at home had become rich. The wrath of the veterans very properly rose to bitterness against war profiteers. They even regarded it as possible that some business concerns encouraged participation in war in order to reap wealth from it while soldiers were risking death in the trenches.

Two Legionnaires, Royal C. Johnson and Marquis James, mulling over these thoughts, conceived a plan to do away with any such situation in the future and at the same time further the cause of peace. The Legion, they felt, should

use its influence to have Congress put the whole nation on equal footing in case of another war, so that sacrifices would be made all around, instead of one man's profiting out of another man's suffering. Such a provision, they believed, would be an important step toward promoting world peace in that it would remove any possible financial incentive to war. They were sincere, and they had a good idea.

Could that idea have been put in the hands of a committee composed, let us say, of Charles Evans Hughes, Professor E. R. A. Seligman, and Owen D. Young, the result might have been an immensely valuable contribution to modern civilization. Such men would have realized that the problem of separating war and financial interest is immensely complicated; that it cannot be solved merely by passing a law to prohibit profiteering. It seems doubtful whether so-called "big interests" would ever deliberately try to plunge the nation into war for the sake of gain; aside from humanitarian considerations, the outcome would be too much of a gamble to be good business. Even if profits were made, they might be wiped out along with the original investment if the affair, turning out badly, brought destruction by the enemy, national defeat, national bankruptcy, or post-war revolution. But in peace time excellent profits can be made which lay an unintentional foundation for future war by encouraging the world to arm. Selling steel for ships and guns, and building them for national preparedness bring lucrative contracts from home and foreign governments. Foreign investments earning high interest rates are safer if the government has a big navy ready to protect them; and those who bring pressure for the big navy may not realize that they are helping to bring on war by retarding the development of international confidence.

The two Legionnaires' idea for furthering the cause of

peace was not turned over, however, to Hughes, Seligman and Young, but to the Legion's experts on military affairs. It emerged slightly coloured with the military point of view. The recommendation of the experts was for "the appointment of a committee by the national organization of the Legion to study the question of universal draft in time of national emergency of all persons capable of military and industrial service, together with the universal draft of land, material, plants and capital suitable for the preparation of war."

That comprehended less than the idea of taking profit out of war, in that no consideration whatever was taken of the fact that much war profit is made in peace time. Provision was contemplated only against profiteering after the fighting started. On the other hand, it comprehended more than removing financial incentive, in that it branched off on elaborate peace-time proposals for conducting war. This was not the most auspicious start for a worthy idea. The next step was even less happy. The National Commander appointed on the special committee designed to bring into the world the Legion's chief contribution toward peace: Colonel D. John Markey, Colonel George E. Leach, Major General Hanson E. Ely, Major General Edward Logan, Colonel Arthur F. Crosby, Brigadier General John McA. Palmer (former aide-de-camp to General Pershing), and Colonel Oswald McNeese.

In preparing their plan for promoting world peace, this committee straightway turned to the War Department for advice. They went into Conference with the General Staff, and came out with a bill all ready to be introduced into Congress. The proposed law was as follows:

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FURTHER FOR THE NATIONAL
SECURITY AND DEFENSE

Be it enacted, by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

(1) That, in the event of a national emergency declared by Congress to exist, which in the judgment of the President demands the immediate increase of the military establishment, the President be, and he hereby is, authorized to draft into the service of the United States such members of the Unorganized Militia as he may deem necessary; provided, that all persons drafted into service between the ages of 21 and 30, or such other limits as the President may fix, shall be drafted without exemption on account of industrial occupation.

(2) That, in case of war, or when the President shall judge the same to be imminent, he is authorized and it shall be his duty, when, in his opinion, such emergency requires it,

(a) To determine and proclaim the material resources, industrial organizations and services over which Government control is necessary to the successful termination of such emergency, and such control shall be exercised by him through agencies then existing or which he may create for such purposes;

(b) To take such steps as may be necessary to stabilize prices of services and of all commodities declared to be essential, whether such services and commodities are required by the Government or by the civilian population.

These formal phrases were explained in this fashion: The next time the United States gets into war, nobody will get rich from it. The men of fighting age will still have to do the fighting, but the rest will not stay home and make money. Everybody who does not fight will be drafted to work for the Government just as are the soldiers. The same holds true for the capitalists. The men who own factories will

have to turn them over to the Government. We shall conscript everything: soldiers, workmen and property. On that basis, nobody will want war because every last soul will have everything to lose and nothing to gain by it. But if war is forced upon us, then we shall be just that much better off, because the Government will be ready to throw the whole strength of the nation into it without muddling and delay at the beginning, as in the case of the World War.

That sounded just right to the Legionnaires. Enthusiastically, they adopted the committee's report in the 1922 National Convention, and the Lobby in Washington was told to push the bill through Congress. Legion members were not alone in applauding the Universal Draft plan. Newspapers throughout the country hailed it as the best proposal yet advanced for preventing war. The scholarly *Christian Science Monitor* advocated that the Legion project be awarded the \$100,000 Bok Peace Prize. Draft men and money on equal terms! Make the whole nation fight, and there won't be any next war!

The energetic Legislative Committee took charge of the whole matter, and on the same day in 1922 two resolutions were introduced in the House of Representatives. That of Representative Royal C. Johnson (Legionnaire) embodied the Legion's bill verbatim. That of Representative John J. McSwain (Legionnaire) called for the appointment of a Congressional committee to study the proposition and report. This was merely a matter of putting the eggs into two baskets. If the Legion should for some reason find itself unable to rush the Universal Draft right through Congress by the Johnson Bill, then in an emergency it could fall back on the McSwain Resolution to keep the agitation alive.

The dilatory legislators took no action on either. Again the following year nothing happened. In 1924 the Lobby put its eggs into three baskets. The efforts of Johnson and

McSwain in the House were joined by those of Arthur Capper (Legionnaire) in the Senate. The McSwain resolution got as far as the floor of the House, but some contrary Congressman objected to its consideration under unanimous consent, and again there was no action. This exasperating experience kept recurring.

The more Congress procrastinated, the more insistent the Legion became about its Universal Draft plan. After a time the National Convention decided that the furthering of the project should be considered "one of the major activities of the American Legion in the coming year." Growing more impatient, a later Convention decreed that it should be regarded as a "primary legislative effort." The fact that the measure was becoming highly controversial, and very definitely a political issue, did not act as a deterrent on the Legion in its campaign, but rather as a spur. "The Universal Draft," said the 1928 National Convention, "should be the first order of business for the American Legion until enacted into law." "The Legion," said Commander Spafford, "wants to see the Universal Draft bill become national law perhaps more than any other measure now before Congress." He urged the Legion to defeat at the polls any legislators who refused to vote for it.

The campaign was carried to the country, and the popularity of the measure grew most gratifyingly. The Republican Party inserted in its 1928 platform a favourable reference to the plan of universal draft, and the Democratic Party followed suit. President Coolidge endorsed it in principle before a Legion gathering and was rewarded by being "cheered to the echo."

"We call upon every member, Post and Department," proclaimed the tenth Convention, referring to the project, "to bend every effort toward disseminating information thereon, arousing and sustaining interest therein, and

crystallizing public opinion for this measure to the end that we may safeguard our country through the passage of this admirable peace-promoting and far-reaching piece of legislation."

Meanwhile a subtle change was creeping over the whole project. The Universal Draft began life as a peace measure; gradually it came to resemble a war measure. At one moment the pacific motive was stressed; the next moment, the preparedness objective. The sixth National Convention referred to it as "legislation which the Legion believes will help insure our country against war and provide that in any future emergency there shall be no more slackers or profiteers and that we shall have in the future equal service for all and special profit for none." No reference whatever to making ready for war. A few years later, exactly the same measure was described as a law "that will enable the country to quickly mobilize all its resources in case of war, so that in such event there shall be no profit, privilege or favoritism to any person or class, and that the obligation of defending our nation's ideals and sovereignty be borne equally by every American." No direct reference to the peace objective. By 1929, the annual resolution in National Convention contained four "whereas" clauses: the first spoke of the necessity of having every resource ready for war; the last added that it would be a guaranty of peace. The Legion finally decided on a compromise description of Universal Draft as a measure that was "the most all-inclusive ever contemplated by any Federal enactment, a peace measure, a preparedness measure, an unequalled measure of national defense, and a measure of simple justice." Certainly a cloud of ambiguity was enveloping this candidate for the \$100,000 Bok Peace Prize.

The peace advocates maintain that one of the weaknesses of the philosophy of preparedness as a means of preventing

war is that such a course only serves to goad other nations into trying to outdo whatever preparations are undertaken. They might cite the Universal Draft as an amusing example—amusing, not serious, because in this case the imitating nation is far away and friendly. In 1926 the Legion boasted that no other country had a plan like the Universal Draft, and hence reasoned that with it the United States would become so powerful that no nation would dare attack us and therefore we should keep peace by towering in strength. The next year the Legion was arguing in favour of the proposal—with a certain lack of consistency—on the grounds that other nations had adopted the plan, therefore we must. “In the meantime,” the Lobby announced, “other nations have been interested by the Legion’s earnest fight for this legislation and have enacted measures of their own. We refer particularly to France in this connection,—France has enacted a comprehensive universal draft act under the title ‘General Organization of the French Nation for War.’ This act not only provides for national mobilization of the French population, military and naval forces, but also provides for the mobilization of all its elements of industry, transportation and communication, as well as labor.” It is worthy of note that France did not find the Legion’s aims ambiguous, but interpreted the plan as a frank war measure.

But what was holding up the Universal Draft plan all this time, if the Legion was so enthusiastic, even insistent, and both political parties and the President were favourably committed, and great men in the nation were declaring themselves for it? “There is strong opposition to any measure which would place all elements of our population on an equality of service without profit in the event of war,” said the Lobby briefly.

That was not quite the whole story. The Legion, like any enthusiast, cannot always be depended upon to place

equal stress on both sides of a question, but the public does not always take this fact into consideration. Many citizens through the country are like the Honourable Charles L. Abernethy, Representative in Congress from North Carolina, who rose in the midst of a debate on the Universal Draft and offered his contribution: "I am for this bill because my American Legion in North Carolina has asked me to vote for it. I do not need any other reason." A goodly proportion of the general public likewise are inclined to feel that there is no other side to a Legion proposal, because the organization professes not to be in politics, or concerned with controversial matters.

The reason the bill was making such slow progress through Congress was that its growing ambiguity of motive was always bothering somebody. A variety of objections were continually cropping up. The objectors brought up the following points:

1. The Universal Draft bill purports to conscript both men and money on equal terms. The only way to conscript money and property is to confiscate them, just as the Government confiscates a soldier's life. Yet it is plainly contrary to Article V of the Constitution of the United States to confiscate property. Therefore, the plan is sailing under false pretences. It could only provide for the Government's borrowing property and returning it in equally good condition after the war with compensation to the owner for the use of it, while it could not provide for returning a soldier's life. (The proponents of the project replied that in such a case the Constitution should be amended so that property could be taken over by the Government *without compensation*. Certain Senators, however, felt that to sponsor such a proposition would not be politically advisable.)

2. The bill gives tyrannical authority to the President, enabling him to draft men and money on the outbreak of

war. It might result in a dictatorship. A hot-headed or overambitious President might rush us into war with, say, Guatemala, for the sake of taking advantage of the power it would give him. (The proponents replied that it was worth taking a chance on that contingency rather than run the risk of disastrous delay in getting underway in a possibly perilous war.)

3. The bill is a hostile gesture toward a friendly world. The United States is attempting to assume leadership in promoting peace and outlawing war. To pass a bill planning how to mobilize the whole nation for the next war, would be to give our own pacific efforts the lie. It would encourage the growth, not the dispelling, of international suspicion and fear. (The proponents replied that preparedness is the only safe way to peace.)

4. The American Federation of Labor is bitterly opposed to the bill. It distrusts the measure and feels that in the last analysis labour would be drafted and capital would contrive to make at least a reasonable profit. (At this, the suggestion was made to cut out the provision for drafting labour; but the proponents reflected that the Legionnaires would resent such an omission as spoiling the whole project by perpetuating part of the unfairness against which they were contending.)

5. The Universal Draft plan violates an American principle of government established by the founders of the nation. This country has never before in its history passed a conscription law in time of peace. Our forefathers looked upon conscription as repugnant to freedom; they abhorred militarism. It has always been an unwritten rule that there must be some strong check on America's waging of wars. Since a referendum of the people is almost impossible, the duty of declaring it is vested in the President and Congress. But an automatic check always has operated and always

should: if the people do not believe in it, the Government will be prevented from carrying it on through the fact that free men will have the right not to fight. The Universal Draft would put us all at the mercy of the Government, whether it was right or wrong.

6. The Universal Draft proposal has in reality become a War Department scheme. The General Staff has always fought for a conscription law, so it could carry on a war unhampered by public hesitation. The War Department has seized upon the Legion's excellent idea, and is using it as a ruse to get the country to enact in time of peace its first conscription law. The General Staff, to be sure, would like to see a provision for prompter and more drastic mobilization of industry; as to drafting labour, it cares little one way or the other; the kernel of the whole matter, however, is the conscription of soldiers to fight.

Such were the arguments of the objectors, who kept interfering with the Legion's campaign for the Universal Draft.

The Congressmen who suggested that the War Department was more interested in this peace plan than might ordinarily have been expected had certain annoying facts to point out. The National Commander who first initiated the Universal Draft in the Legion, Colonel Hanford MacNider, later became Assistant Secretary of War. The Lobby reported that he was a great help in planning strategy for the campaigns to get the plan through Congress. When Dwight F. Davis (Legionnaire) became Secretary of War, he too was enthusiastic about the project. He devoted several paragraphs to urging it in his report to the President. "With such a law on the statute books," he wrote, "the detailed plans on which the War Department has been working may be carried to completion." When the Legion issued thousands of copies of a pamphlet, "Facts About the Uni-

versal Draft," one of the questions in the catechism was, "Does the War Department desire it?" and the answer was, "Yes, the Legion's bill is strongly urged by the War Department." It added that the General Staff, too, was an eager proponent.

At one stage the War Department suddenly began pushing, in the Senate, its long-cherished bill providing for a straight man-power conscription of soldiers, with no trimmings about labour and property. Sentiment was strongly against it. The Legion made a violent fuss by telegram. Later, the Secretary of War publicly rescinded the Department's request for a peace-time draft law. He would be content with the Legion's programme.

E. E. Spafford, when he was National Commander of the Legion, was called before the House of Representatives Military Affairs Committee to testify regarding the Universal Draft project. There was the following colloquy:

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES: How are you going to draft capital under your bill?

COMMANDER SPAFFORD: You cannot draft capital; you know that, sir.

REPRESENTATIVE GARRETT: Why?

COMMANDER SPAFFORD: The Constitution of the United States says that you cannot take a man's property without just compensation. . . . To draft capital and take a man's property would be making us into a United States of Soviet America instead of the United States of America.

REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS: You cannot take his property, but you can take his life?

COMMANDER SPAFFORD: Yes, sir; I think everybody recognizes that.

REPRESENTATIVE QUIN: What about the idea of conscripting labor?

COMMANDER SPAFFORD: You could not do that. You cannot conscript labor under our Constitution. You cannot make a man work for a private master against his will.

REPRESENTATIVE QUIN: So you would not attempt under this bill, according to your idea, to conscript or draft either capital or labor?

COMMANDER SPAFFORD: It is unconstitutional; it cannot be done. This is my interpretation of the Constitution, and I believe everybody present would interpret it the same way.

Two years after that episode, National Commander O. L. Bodenhamer, making an address to Legionnaires, still used the familiar arguments in urging support of the Universal Draft plan:

“In time of war, no man has the right to roll in the lap of luxury while another of his comrades rolls in the mud and mire of the battlefield.”

After many sessions of Congress had come and gone and the Lobby in Washington had made no progress toward getting the Legion bill enacted verbatim, it fell back on its second line trenches, and concentrated efforts on the resolution that called merely for a commission to study the proposition and report.

Even this suggestion brought forth lively opposition in Congress. The commission was to be created “to study and consider methods of equalizing the burdens and to minimize the profits of war, together with a study of policies to be pursued in event of war.” The last phrase about studying the policies to be pursued in event of war, although not mentioning conscription by name, held significance for Representative Crosser. “Those chiefly interested in this bill,” he said, “have been eagerly, frantically striving since the World War for a law establishing draft or conscription of

men for war as a settled policy. They have failed repeatedly in the efforts to pass in undisguised form a law for conscription of men as an established policy of the Government. . . . The suggestion that the main purpose is to provide for a conscription of property is plainly for the purpose of allaying the hostility of the public to the proposal to pass a law which would make it possible to force men into military service whenever public officials might decide to do so without regard to the public opinion which might prevail at the time."

Representative Crosser's objections went unheeded, and the phrase permitting the study of conscription of soldiers remained in the resolution without change.

There were, however, some other alterations, before it was enacted in the spring of 1930. Several legislators were anxious about the possibility of losing labour votes, so the House of Representatives inserted the proviso, "that said commission shall not consider and shall not report upon the conscription of labor." As if to offset the deletion of one-third of the project by the removal of the part about drafting labour, the House greatly strengthened the part about drafting capital. It inserted a phrase (indicated by the italics) directing the commission to "*study and consider amending the Constitution of the United States to provide that private property may be taken by Congress for public use during war without profit* and methods of equalizing the burdens and to remove the profits of war, together with a study of policies to be pursued in event of war." That left two-thirds of the original proposition.

The Senate thereupon passed the resolution, but it changed the phrase about taking over private property. It cut out the words *without profit*. In sum, the Universal Draft project was stripped of the features of drafting labour or taking capital without profit, but the commission might

study the feasibility of enacting the country's first peacetime law for conscription of soldiers. The Legion ignored the alterations.

"Thus," commented the joyful Lobby, "after eight years of constant effort, the American Legion has gained its first objective—and the American Legion always takes its objectives—its fight for justice, equal service for all and special profit by none in time of war, will be won in the end." When President Hoover appointed the Universal Draft Commission, it was noted that of the fourteen members, six were Legionnaires.

The project is still pending. The American public as a whole, if it gave the Universal Draft plan careful thought, would be sharply divided on its merits. The public, however, may yet find itself possessed of a Universal Draft plan without ever having done much thinking about it at all. Perhaps the chief significance lies in the fact that the American Legion is attempting to take upon itself the determining of a national policy of vital import. The organization is using its political power in an effort to break down a tradition as old as the nation.

SEEKING PEACE CAUTIOUSLY

WHEN the American Peace Society celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in Cleveland, the American Legion sent representatives to the convention. The Legion's National Commander subsequently made known the fact. "It is a great pleasure to report to you," he said, "that many of those who attended the convention, for the first time learned that ours is essentially a peace organization, a militant peace organization. . . ."

The Legion, however, had not participated in the American Peace Society convention without giving the matter careful thought. The Society's invitation had been turned over to Milo J. Warner, a member of the National Executive Committee from Ohio, for investigation. He found out what the Society was, and reported back to the Executive Committee that as far as he could see, it would be all right for the Legionnaires to attend. He introduced a resolution to that effect, which was not especially militant. "I wish to say in explanation of my resolution," he added, "that there is no language in there that endorses the organization itself; it does not even endorse the convention. It simply states that we believe it has great potential promise of substantial progress towards what we are working for, and that we will

disseminate that information to our members and to the public as long as the American Peace Society and the other sponsors continue to support a policy of adequate national defense as it is defined by the National Defense Act."

Mr. Warner said he gave this guarded approval to the Society because there were big names on its list of directors, which was headed by President Coolidge's. The Executive Committee pondered the problem, and Commander Spafford asked to see the list of directors. He scrutinized it closely, and announced that he saw only one doubtful name on it. The Legion leaders thereupon decided with only one dissenting vote to accept Mr. Warner's judgment.

Mr. Warner, relieved, made another remark by way of explaining the evident anxiety he had felt about the whole matter. "In the preamble to our constitution," he said, "we have two statements, among others—one to the effect that it is our purpose to promote peace and good will on earth; the other, to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation. So, while we stand firmly for the National Defense Act, and for national defense, we also stand for peace. How we shall handle those two together is always a great problem."

His analysis of the situation was penetrating. The Legion does favour peace; it has passed some excellent resolutions on the subject, and has from time to time appointed committees to study how it could best help in doing away with war. But its career as a militant peace organization has been hampered by the presence of innumerable doubts and misgivings. The effort to reconcile nationalism and pacifism has resulted in a peace policy so cautious and wavering as to be virtually sterile.

The first efforts toward international relationships in the early years of the organization arose from the desire to preserve individual and collective friendship with ex-soldiers

of the Ally countries. The Legion took the lead in forming the Inter-Allied Federation of Veterans, which is usually spoken of as FIDAC from the initials of its French name, Federation Interalliée des Anciens Combattants. Veterans' organizations of various nations were included in a loose confederacy, the largest member society being the American Legion.

The Legion regarded the contacts afforded by FIDAC as an important contribution to world peace. It felt that the bonds between men who had once fought together should be kept alive and strong by way of lessening the possibility of their ever being called upon to fight each other. This design was good as far as it went, but for eight years after the war it omitted to include in its scope nations other than the Allies.

Finally in 1926, FIDAC sensed a change of spirit in international affairs and considered that "the time has now come to enter into relations with the ex-service men's organizations in ex-enemy countries, which have shown pacific tendencies." They were, accordingly, invited to a conference in Luxemburg. The first item on the programme was listed as "Preliminary statement, in which ex-enemy associations shall affirm their respect of existing treaties and their intention of executing all international agreements concluded since the War." The tone of this, together with the fact that it involved German soldiers' re-avowal of their country's sole war guilt and re-pledging of contentment with the Danzig Corridor and other Versailles arrangements, did not augur well for the heartiest co-operation.

The fact that FIDAC sympathies are prominently identified with the interests of the victorious nations was illustrated also when France occupied the Ruhr. The Legion, in a comradely spirit, threw its weight, and sought to influence the American Government, toward an endorsement of the

French invasion. A Legion committee made a tour of the occupied area and reported its favourable findings to President Coolidge.

International good will is furthered by frequent interchanges of visits between Legionnaires and foreign members of FIDAC. Foreign veterans come to America and are entertained, and then reciprocate when Legionnaires go abroad.

In its fifth Convention, in 1923, the Legion took more definite steps toward promoting peace. It passed a resolution against war, noting that the American people were "more than ever alive to the necessity of successfully curbing strife and hatred," and calling upon the National Commander to appoint a committee which should bring some specific plan for discouraging war to the next National Convention. In the next Convention, the Legion again passed a resolution authorizing the National Commander to appoint a committee to work up a peace plan and report the following year.

The committee did report, in 1925, beginning its statement with the words, "The will to peace is the way to peace." Its programme, which was adopted by the Legion, embodied the following recommendations: (1) Maintenance of adequate forces for internal and external national defense; (2) prompt enactment of the Universal Draft; (3) adherence by the United States to a world court; (4) endorsement of international conferences to promote security and disarmament; (5) strengthening of the bonds between the Legion and FIDAC.

At its own request, the committee was dissolved, and its duties merged with those of the Commission on Foreign Relations, to be called thereafter the Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations. The foreign relations activities concerned the Legion's connection with FIDAC. Nothing was heard for several years about the world peace

activities except a brief report in 1927, which mentioned that one American was given a FIDAC scholarship in Poland and that a prize contest had been initiated in art and sculpture schools for a design for a medal to be given to whatever institution of learning in a FIDAC country did the most for peace.

The Legion's use of the phrase, "the will to peace is the way to peace," gave due recognition in principle to the all-important part that psychological factors have played in the world's striving for accord since the War. The value, for example, of a measure such as the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, was almost wholly psychological. Its proponents' chief hope was that it would help peoples to think in terms of peace rather than of war, and by creating peace in the minds of nations, so bring it about in fact. The idea, in short, was to break the associative train indicated by the old maxim, "Put your trust in God but mind to keep your powder dry," which in practice has resulted in trying to keep your powder drier than the other fellow's.

The Legion approves international agreements and accords such as the Kellogg Treaty. The approbation, however, is almost invariably followed by a conditional clause beginning with "but." This habit may have been picked up from the generals and admirals addressing National Conventions. "You can wreck all your battleships," said a general, "throw away all your guns, but you can't change people's dispositions by signing pieces of paper." Said an admiral, "I take as my text the words 'faith, hope and parity, and the greatest of these is parity.'" Another general warned the Legion never to be lulled into a false sense of security, because wars were always possible. Therefore, when the question of the Kellogg Treaty came up, the Legion resolved: "We endorse the principles expressed in the recently approved multilateral treaty outlawing war as

an instrument of national policy, but we desire that the American Legion make it clear to our people that the approval of this treaty does not in any way guarantee peace. . . ." The proponents of the treaty might well have preferred to do without such an endorsement entirely.

The question of whether the United States should adhere to the World Court has given rise to heart-searching in the Legion. When the special commission on world peace brought in its recommendations in 1925, including an endorsement of the World Court, the Legion approved the report and along with it the court. The following year, however, the Legion thought it over and rejected a motion to reaffirm its position in favour of the World Court. The newspapers of the country interpreted this action as a definite sign of the Legion's turning to opposition to the Court. Three years later, the Legion again endorsed the Court, but the next year maintained silence.

After a quiescence of several years, the body charged with formulating the Legion's peace plan emerged in 1928 with a plaintive cry. Its meetings had been "far apart and very poorly attended"; the slate should be wiped clean for an entirely fresh start. So a new Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations was established, and it began life in a most promising way. True, its recommendations were cautious. It asked: (1) Continued co-operation with FIDAC; (2) exchange of visits between groups of veterans; and (3) that the subject of international relations be emphasized in one meeting a year in each Post, once a year in the *American Legion Monthly*, and once a year at National Conventions. The commission appended an intelligent and comprehensive bibliography of works on world peace and foreign relations.

Much of the new commission's time for a year was occupied by the effort to organize a series of Department com-

missions in its image in the various states, and at the end of the year each state Department was asked to report progress in the consideration of foreign relations. Only eleven states responded, four of which reported no particular activity. Montana contributed this information: "We have not been able to secure speakers on international questions without being suspicious of the source and we have not encouraged these."

The Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations also suffered two disappointments at the hands of National Headquarters, and a slightly wounded tone is observable in the recording of them. The negotiations leading up to the London Naval Treaty of 1930 were considered by the commission to come within its province, inasmuch as the matter distinctly pertained to foreign relations. "Advices to this effect were placed before the National Commander and the National Executive Committee but were by the latter referred to the National Defense Committee for study and recommendation." In the same year, the President directed the Secretary of State to affix the signature of the United States to the World Court. This, surely, would be within the purview of the Commission on World Peace and Foreign Relations, but no, "The question of whether or not the American Legion should support ratification of the President's action was referred by the National Executive Committee to the Committee on National Defense, from which no recommendation or decision has as yet been received."

Staunchly maintaining its opposition to war, the Legion has finally contrived to reconcile its belief in a high state of preparedness with its desire for peace, and has now adopted what appears to be a standard double-barrelled resolution on the subject. "Resolved," it resolves, "that the American Legion reaffirms its approval of participation by the United States in international endeavors leading to a

mutual elimination of competitive armaments among the nations of the world, insofar as a sound national defense policy will permit of such participation."

The Legion does not feel quite safe in leaving the last clause of the resolution entirely to the mercies of America's diplomats, notwithstanding their customary conservatism. It feels that it ought to keep an eye on peace parleys. President Coolidge received a petition "that at all international peace, disarmament or similar conferences involving the question of national security in which the United States is a participant or has an observer, official or otherwise, the American Legion be accorded a representative at such international conferences."

Not all pacific gestures are acceptable to the Legion. Occasionally in the records of the Lobby in Washington are to be found items headed in italics: "*Legislation Defeated.*" Therein are the pithy stories of how the Legion crushed what it regarded as misguided efforts to obtain legislative gestures against war. The ever alert Lobby keeps on the watch for moves by overly zealous peace-seekers.

It was almost caught napping on the Burton Resolution. "On January 28, 1928," it recorded, "an innocent-looking resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives . . . to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions or implements of war to certain foreign nations." The author, it developed, was Theodore E. Burton, who felt that such a law would be an important contribution to the cause of peace, in that it would help remove financial incentive to war. United States manufacturers of fighting equipment would not be allowed to profit by the quarrelsomeness of other nations by exporting materials. The House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee had favourably reported the measure without holding public hearings and without consulting either the War or Navy Department.

The Lobby promptly brought the matter to the attention of the Legion National Defense Committee. That committee was composed of General Roy Hoffman, General Hanson E. Ely, General Albert L. Cox, Colonel William G. Mitchell, the aviation enthusiast, Captain Dudley W. Knox, a Navy publicist, and two civilians. It placed itself on record as being "unalterably opposed" to this measure. Commander E. E. Spafford, chief of the Legion, amplified the statement by explaining that Mr. Burton's peace move, if enacted into law, might prevent the development of American munitions factories. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which had approved the resolution, took fright and called it back to hold public hearings. The Legion Lobby and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy and other officials were called to testify. After listening to them, the House quietly let the bill die. "The Burton Resolution," reported the Lobby, "was therefore defeated . . . through the prompt and efficient co-operation of Legion officials throughout the country. But the Legion must be on its guard."

News dispatches in 1931 announced that the League of Nations had sent a note to Washington asking why the United States had signed, five years previously, but never ratified the protocol prohibiting the use of poison gas in warfare, and two other agreements. "Although the Secretary General's note, of course, does not mention it," cabled the *New York Times* correspondent, "Washington's delay in honoring its signature to the gas ban makes the worst impression here. This protocol was not only fathered by but forced on the League by a delegate of the United States Government, the late Theodore Burton. The United States and Japan are the only great powers which have failed to ratify this ban."

The reason why the United States revoked on its pledge

was that the Legion was on guard. The Geneva Gas Protocol was sponsored by Mr. Burton as a pacific gesture, designed to remove at least one horrible weapon from war. It was not a new idea, for as early as 1921 the use of poison gas was prohibited by a section of the Washington Arms Conference agreement. This was ratified by the United States and by other nations, but had not become effective because France rejected the section on account of a provision about submarines which was linked with it. At the Geneva conference four years later, which Mr. Burton attended, forty-four nations agreed to bar the use of poison gas. No difficulty in obtaining Senate ratification was anticipated; in fact, the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee favourably reported the measure immediately, and it was slated for passage. At this point, however, Colonel John Thomas Taylor, director of the Legion's Washington Lobby, undertook a vigorous campaign against ratification, and the National Convention upheld him.

"There is apparently a determined effort," Colonel Taylor wrote to every Department Commander, "on the part of a selective few gentlemen here in Washington who took no personal part in the War to regulate the kind and use of weapons during the next emergency. Their enthusiasm seems to be fostered mostly by the group of pacifists who have as their ultimate object the elimination of war entirely." On behalf of the Legion, he directed the various Commanders to bring pressure to bear on their Senators to see that ratification was rejected. "While we all are interested," he said, "in the reduction of armaments and the subsequent elimination of war, we know that this is an ideal that is only for the future, and in the meantime the American Legion is definitely aware of the steps being taken to interfere with our own national defense program by the pacifists who seem to hold sway for the moment."

The Senate deferred action until the next session, and Colonel Taylor mobilized all the resources of the Lobby to come to the rescue of poison gas. The President was personally interviewed, Senators were buttonholed, letters and telegrams were dispatched. Colonel Taylor even went to the trouble of sending out 25,000 pamphlets setting forth the Legion's viewpoint. The arguments against joining the other powers in ratifying the protocol were, in brief. (1) Poison gas was an effective weapon; (2) the other nations might not keep their word; and (3) poison gas was really more humane because it crippled armies without actually killing. "Only two per cent of the gas casualties died," wrote Colonel Taylor, referring to World War data, "while twenty-four per cent of the casualties of the other arms died—a death rate in favor of gas, on a casualty basis, of twelve to one."

Colonel Taylor and his Legion Lobby won the day. The fight to ratify America's signature to the poison gas protocol was abandoned in the Senate. "This," he wrote, "was the most spectacular, and in many respects the most important, victory won by the Legion during the past session of Congress. The victory was so decisive and so overwhelming that certain proponents of the treaty have recently attacked the Legion for the splendid part it played in achieving this victory."

There again, the Lobby was glossing over some details. The attacks mentioned were directed not only against the Legion but against Colonel Taylor himself. It was pointed out in Congress that while the Colonel had been achieving this victory, he was also serving as treasurer of the National Association of Chemical Defense. This organization, it was suggested on the floor of the House, was carrying on propaganda financed by business interests (dealing in accoutrements of gas warfare) to defeat the Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of poison gas.

The evidence that its Lobby director served in a double rôle did not disturb the Legion. It evidently regarded the National Association of Chemical Defense as essentially a patriotic organization.

HANGOVERS OF HATE

AFTER Albion R. King had been active for four years in Legion affairs and Commander of his Post, he contributed an article to the *Christian Century* in which he seriously questioned the emotional fitness of Legionnaires to pass judgment upon certain national problems. "That the Legion inspires doubt," he wrote, "is evidenced by two facts: first, the large number of worthy ex-service men who hold aloof on principle from the typical Legion program; and, second, the growing concern of many loyal Legionnaires about the undeniable facts which cause writers in the public press to put the Legion in the same category with the Ku Klux Klan."

Mr. King was somewhat drastic in his diagnosis. "Consider what actually happened to our minds during the War," he wrote. "Continually and alternately we were the prey of the two most violent and deadly emotions, fear and hate. Fear was chanted with consummate effect by the war-makers and recruiters, and the tune was very easily changed to a song of hate by those who prepared us for the dirty business in hand. . . ." He suggested that emotional complexes were formed which manifested themselves in the substitution of passion and prejudice for clear thought in consideration of

matters pertaining to war and peace, nationalism and patriotism. The Legion, he pointed out, laid claim to special consideration for its opinions on certain national policies; yet it was not especially qualified but on the contrary handicapped emotionally in exercising judicial leadership.

Although Mr. King was perhaps too severe, there no doubt are mental after-effects of war (apart from definite injuries or shell-shock) discernible in a subtle warping of minds suffered by those who emerged unscathed, suffered perhaps even by those who got no farther than training camps. To work oneself into the mental state conducive to killing other human beings against whom one feels no personal enmity must necessitate the churning within the mind of an artificial hatred. Mild college professors were compelled by Government instructors in training camps to swear oaths that seemed blasphemous to their souls at stuffed dummies in bayonet practice. War hospitals received men who had lost their mental balance in training camps. The carefully cultivated capacity for hate and fear, once developed, may not magically vanish the moment hostilities cease. It may linger, transmuted into various intangible forms of nervous instability not necessarily perceptible enough to be considered patently abnormal.

The theory of a psychological aftermath of war may account for the fact that the Legion began its career with a set of three marked animosities that persisted as policies of the organization. The first of the aversions was directed against those physically eligible who did not participate in the War. Legionnaires felt that since they themselves were in the service there was no excuse for the exemption of any one else who was fit. The feeling was particularly strong against conscientious objectors and also against aliens who, not feeling that the War was their own war, refrained from becoming citizens so that they would escape the compulsion

of fighting. Although this hostility to those who did not fight has weakened in the course of years, it is still manifest in some degree. Veterans are apt to be slightly uncertain of the trustworthiness of persons who were not in the War unless they earn confidence by conforming rigidly to ex-service men's ways of thinking. They are disposed to answer criticism of almost any sort by inquiring what the critic did in the War, and if he was not a fighter, the argument is considered settled.

The foreigners in this country who had taken out their first citizenship papers, and then stopped the process to avoid being drafted, were labelled by the Legion "alien slackers," and a campaign against them was undertaken in the first National Convention, after being initiated in the St. Louis organizing caucus. George S. Wheat, a historian of the Legion, relates how Sergeant Jack Sullivan, after being elected first vice-chairman, moved a resolution demanding that Congress deport every alien slacker on the grounds that this country was "too damned good for them to remain in." Sullivan's resolution put the Legion on record as being "of the opinion that these would-be Americans who turned in their first papers to avoid service are in our opinion neither fish, flesh nor fowl, and if allowed to remain in this country would contaminate one hundred per cent true American soldiers and sailors who will return to again engage in the gainful pursuits of life." His motion, according to Wheat, was passed with a thundering "Aye!" "This should be a country of Americans," Sullivan explained, "and if our citizenship means something, the swine who came from other countries should be taught that it means something."

The Legion organ, then the *Weekly*, took up the campaign and continued the denunciation editorially, referring to the alien slacker as "worse than a parasite, a menace within." The *Weekly* estimated that there were at least 2,000 such

menaces, and that at a cost of \$150 each, the Government could deport them all at an expense of \$300,000. "The Legion is determined that the alien slacker shall go," said an editorial. "It believes his expulsion to be in the best interests of America, and is not going to forget or weaken for a moment in its fight on this menace." A bill to that effect was introduced in Congress, but the State Department objected on the grounds that such action would infringe upon international treaties, so it was dropped.

Even more bitter was the Legion's feeling against conscientious objectors and other "draft dodgers," who were branded as traitors. A San Francisco newspaper in 1920 suggested that since the War was safely won, the United States might well grant amnesty to war offenders and drop the prosecution of draft evaders. The Berkeley, California, Post resolved that this suggestion was "a despicable veiled expression of sympathy for the disloyal cowards who skulk in dark corners hiding behind women's skirts and who disgrace the name of America."

The Legion demanded in its first Convention that "adequate measures be taken to prevent the release" of war offenders in prison, "that there be no mitigation of their sentences, and that where possible they be deported upon expiration of their sentences"; also that Congress investigate the circumstances surrounding the release of those who already had been freed. The wrath of the Convention was particularly strong against Victor L. Berger, "the German born convicted traitor recently expelled from the House of Representatives." When the assembled Legionnaires heard the resolution demanding his further punishment, "pandemonium broke loose in the Convention," according to the *Weekly's* reporter. "There were three minutes of the wildest cheering, hundreds of seconds to the motion; a thunderous

roar greeted the chairman's call for an aye vote, then another paroxysm of cheers."

A similar scene was enacted in the 1921 Convention when the Resolutions Committee proposed "that the American Legion . . . do enter a solemn protest against the mitigation of the sentence of Eugene V. Debs, or of any and all sentences imposed on obstructionists to the conscript laws, on conscientious objectors, and on violators of the laws of the United States to protect its peace and security in time of peril. . . ." This was passed "with cheers and a rising vote."

Since the efforts at deportation failed, the Legion resolved that the names of all conscientious objectors, alien slackers, and other offenders should be published by the Government, so that the Legion would know upon which heads its vengeance should descend. The plan, as the Oregon Department explained it, was to use pressure to get such persons dismissed from their employment and to "make their existence uncomfortable generally." As the movement to publish the lists grew, the *American Legion Weekly* editorially suggested that "the discreet and provident alien slacker will make his steamer reservation early."

For nearly three years the Legion pressed the War Department to compile the desired list of offenders "in order that a nation-wide roundup may be held with the Legion participating." The delay was caused partly by disinclination and partly by reason of the fact that 487,003 names had to be checked in triplicate by the War Department, Navy Department and Department of Justice in order that men who served would not be accidentally disgraced. Finally, the list was issued, and the Legion had Representative Royal C. Johnson get it published in the *Congressional Record* so newspapers throughout the country could print the names without fearing libel suits.

The outstanding villain of the war, from the Legion's point of view, became in after years not the Kaiser but Grover Cleveland Alexander Bergdoll. Bergdoll, the son of a German brewer, lived in Philadelphia, but considered Germany his fatherland and tried to enlist in its air forces early in the war. Failing that, he decided that he would never fight against the people whom he regarded as kinfolk, so when he was drafted in America he failed to respond and was sentenced to five years' hard labour. Becoming friendly with his jailers, Bergdoll persuaded them to allow him to go home to Philadelphia under guard to get some money he had buried under a road. On reaching home, he left the guards in the parlour, walked out the back door, and went to Germany.

The Legion's rage at this lasted a long while. It demanded a Congressional investigation of the authorities who had let Bergdoll slip, and when six guards were arrested, the Legion furnished a group of lawyers to help the Government prosecute them. Meanwhile, Bergdoll had become a German citizen so he could not be extradited. The *Weekly* thereupon offered a reward of \$500 to any one who would forcibly capture Bergdoll and spirit him out of Germany. Legionnaires' services were offered in guarding him if he were returned to the United States. Bergdoll, however, remained in Germany despite one attempt to kidnap him, and the Legion had to be content with persuading the Aero Club of America to cancel his pilot's certificate and petitioning Congress to enact a special law striking out of his name the Grover Cleveland part.

For years after the War, the Legion persisted in hating all things German. This attitude was rationalized in curious ways, notably by protesting that the performance in America of German artists tended to minimize Germany's war guilt. A sample of such reasoning was contained in a reso-

lution adopted in the first Convention. "The American Legion condemns," it went on record, "any attempt at this time to resume relationship with German activities, and lends its influence against the resumption of German Opera, instruction of German in the schools, public performances of German and Austrian performers and any other act which tends to minimize the German guilt."

In accordance with that resolution, Posts throughout the country combated the appearance of artists of ex-enemy extraction. The experiences of Fritz Kreisler were typical. The following news dispatches appeared in New York City newspapers of the time:

Louisville, Ky., Nov. 18, 1919.—The proposed appearance here on Thursday of Fritz Kreisler, the Austrian violinist, has been called off by the Louisville Fine Arts League upon the complaint of the local chapter of the American Legion.

The Legion officers said their action was based on a resolution adopted by the national convention in Minneapolis which condemned all efforts to generate sympathy for Germany and her allies through operas, plays, performances and artists of enemy countries.

Lynn, Mass., Nov. 29, 1919.—Fritz Kreisler, violinist and former Austrian army officer, today cancelled the concert he was scheduled to give here tomorrow night.

To evade Mayor Creamer's opposition, which had been aroused by insistence of the local Post of the American Legion that the Austrian be prevented from appearing, the musician's manager advertised that Kreisler would give a sacred concert. The mayor served notice today that a music critic would be present to represent him and that at the first note which could not be properly classed as sacred, all participants in the concert would be arrested. Kreisler refused to play under such conditions.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 24, 1919.—By a unanimous vote of the county executive committee of the American Legion it was voted tonight to protest against the appearance here of Fritz Kreisler, Austrian violinist. Mayor Babcock has been asked by the Legion to prohibit the concert, which is scheduled for January 15.

Benjamin F. Metz, chairman of the board of governors of the Allegheny County committee of the Legion, says his organization is not only opposed to Kreisler's appearance here, but to "all other persons who do not measure up to 100 percent Americanism." Recently Mr. Metz wrote to Kreisler for an expression of his sentiments toward America, and received a reply in which Kreisler said he was in complete and whole-hearted accord with this nation's political institutions. He insisted that the country to which he belonged has virtually passed out of existence. "To sever under existing conditions my allegiance to that country would be an act of poor sportsmanship," he said.

It was said at the City Hall today that the mayor had sounded out various prominent Pittsburgh men, and that none of them had objected to the appearance of Kreisler.

Ithaca, N. Y.—Opposition to the concert scheduled here by Fritz Kreisler on December 10 has been awakened by the resolution adopted by Ithaca Post of the American Legion, asking people of the city and students of Cornell University not to patronize the Austrian.

Ithaca, N. Y.—Police were called out tonight to quell a disturbance which attended the concert given by Fritz Kreisler, Austrian violinist, under the auspices of the Cornell University music department.

In the middle of the performance the electric light wires to the hall were cut by an angry crowd of members of the American Legion and their friends who had been driven back by police when they tried to force an entrance into the building. Kreisler continued playing for forty minutes

in the dark, while the audience countered with cheers the shouts of "Hun! Hun!" from the crowd outside.

Indianapolis, Ind.—The stand of the various Posts of the American Legion in opposing performances of German opera and concerts by German or Austrian artists is endorsed by the Executive Committee of the organization in a telegram sent to the Americanism Commission of the Legion in Washington today.

"German opera in the German language is not going to be a profitable enterprise in the United States this year," said the *Legion Weekly* in 1920. "The American Legion in sections where German opera has been attempted has elected to fight this nuisance to the limit. Without going into a lot of detail it might be said simply that we don't like the sound of German gutturals. The trouble with German opera in the German language is that our minds hear not the theme so much as the shriek of the *Lusitania's* dying. Its measured cadences picture not the tender human emotions, but the firing squad marching at goose step on defenseless women and children. If it conjures up sequestered sylvan glades, we see lying thereon moaning victims of poison gas. The last German opera in German that we heard or want to hear was the Imperial Swan Song as rendered by Herr Hohenzollern in November, 1918."

The first two hatreds of the Legion have to a large extent faded away in the course of years. The conscientious objectors and alien slackers gradually mingled with the rest of the population until they became indistinguishable. After a time the Legion found itself alone in hating Germany and it finally yielded to the prevalent disposition to relent, which caused people to drop the words Hun and Boche.

The third of the trio of phobias centers around Bolshevism, and it has persisted to the present. At the beginning,

many of the Legionnaires shared the genuine though hysterical fear that Communism might spread in the United States after the War and produce upheavals. The fear formed the foundation of their hatred of Bolshevism, which was perhaps encouraged by the original conservative sponsors. The aversion has been widened in scope through the years to include the remnants of the other two phobias. Dislike of aliens on the various grounds of pro-Germanism, draft-dodging and pre-empting of available jobs is modernized and summarized in the suspicion that any and all of them may be Reds. Similarly, the former conscientious objectors and the present pacifists become fused in the minds of Legionnaires as actual or potential Reds. Thus an emotional knot of antipathies has been formed, which manifests itself in a dozen different ways.

A great to-do was made about the menace of revolution at the St. Louis organizing caucus. There was much talk about the spectre of Bolshevism. The purposes mentioned first in the preamble of the organization's new constitution reflected a current nervousness: "To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred percent Americanism." These words were contributed by Hamilton Fish, Jr., who twelve years later distinguished himself by conducting a nation-wide Congressional investigation of Bolshevik perils lurking here and there.

The first National Convention in November, 1919, formulated its thoughts into the demand that local Posts "organize immediately for the purpose of meeting the insidious propaganda of Bolshevism, I.W.W.ism, radicalism, and all other anti-Americanisms. . . ." They were instructed to devote themselves to "detecting anti-American activities everywhere and seizing every opportunity everywhere to speak plainly

and openly for one hundred per cent Americanism and for nothing else."

Groups of Legionnaires in various parts of the country interpreted the mandate of the Convention rather too liberally, and held themselves ready to uphold the Constitution by force. Fresh from triumph over Germany, they were disposed at first to bring the same methods of violence into their peace-time treatment of the new enemy, the Reds. The sense of power gained from unity, coupled with the official encouragement of Bolshevik-baiting, led Posts into defending law and order by the short-cut of taking law into their own hands. One of the more paradoxical resolutions was that adopted by the Leo Leyden Post in Denver: "Each member will reply with his fist to any malcontent who approaches him on the street talking revolution or anarchy."

Because of this unconscious feeling that as its defenders they were above the law, Legionnaires were guilty of numerous outbreaks of Ku Klux Klanism. The Lodi, California, Post doubted the conservatism and patriotism of their townsmen, Sam and John Lachenmaier; the brothers were tried at a Legion mass meeting and found "guilty of an unpatriotic act" in mutilating a photograph of President Wilson. Thereupon the Legionnaires gave the Lachenmaiers thirty days to leave town, and saw to it that the sentence was obeyed. In Desdemona, a Texas oil village, Legionnaires decided that the constable, the deputy sheriff and the justice of the peace were bad men, and they ran the offending officials out of town at the point of the gun. The local citizens approved, so no further trouble ensued.

Dissenting editors suffered from the wrath of the Legionnaires. An Astoria, Oregon, Post boasted of having "cleaned out" the offices of a "Bolshevist" newspaper, forced its suspension, and driven off its editor. "A coat of new yellow paint was given the office of an editor in Cass County, Min-

nesota, by members of a Legion Post in the neighborhood," read an item in the department of the *American Legion Weekly* which was devoted to chronicling local achievements. In a small town near Santa Barbara, California, a committee of six Legionnaires disapproved so vigorously of an editor that they horse-whipped him, and afterward paid a fine of \$100 each.

Radical gatherings likewise were objects of Legion attacks. Members of the Bentley Post in Cincinnati raided the headquarters of the Communist-Labor party, destroyed literature, and went off with two American flags by way of rescuing them from such an environment. A suit grew out of the affair, and one of the Post's members turned state's evidence, for which he was hustled through the city from Legion headquarters and tossed into the river.

A raid on a memorial meeting for Lenin in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, attracted wide publicity in the winter of 1924. The Wilkes-Barre *Record* printed an account which seems to have been substantially accurate. A visiting National Vice-Commander arrived at a Post meeting there and announced that he refused to conduct it while Reds were in session not far away. "Let's clean them out!" shouted the assembled Legionnaires, and forthwith they marched to the hall where Lenin's memory was being honoured. A deputation ordered the speakers to cease recalling Lenin's virtues, and the audience to leave. Outside, armed Legionnaires—the Post historian later maintained that their weapons were only two old army carbines used for saluting—formed a cordon on the sidewalk and as the Communists filed from the building (the newspaper continued) "ready hands tore the small red banners from their lapels, while others ordered them to remove their hats and salute the American flag." The flag had been fixed above the door, along with the Post colours. "Refusals to comply," continued the *Record*,

“were greeted with stern measures. A rifle barrel stuck into the stomach of the Communist, accompanied by a grim demand to comply, proved sufficient in many cases, while in other instances the veterans were compelled to knock the hats from their heads and after rough handling into subjection, they were forced to salute the flag. Not one occupant of the hall escaped the ordeal.” The Legion then returned to its own interrupted meeting.

There was considerable outside criticism of the Legion’s abrupt method of instructing the Reds in American principles, as well as censure of the mayor of Wilkes-Barre who hastily deputized the Legionnaires as special policemen while the raid was in progress. Posts elsewhere, however, sent congratulations; and the mayor was reported to have promised that all plans for Red meetings in the future would be submitted to the Legion for approval before permits were granted. “Freedom of speech under the American flag is welcome,” the mayor was quoted as saying, “but under the Red flag of anarchy will never be tolerated.”

More than simple aversion to radicals underlay these sporadic outbreaks. The Legion had a tendency to regard itself as a sort of semi-official militia prepared to spring to arms at a moment’s notice should an emergency arise. National Commander Alvin Owsley gave a somewhat exaggerated expression to that feeling in an interview with the representative of a newspaper syndicate. The interview was reproduced as follows:

“If ever needed [said Owsley], the American Legion stands ready to protect our country’s institutions and ideals as the Fascisti dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy!”

“By taking over the Government?” he was asked.

“Exactly that,” he replied. “The American Legion is

fighting every element that threatens our democratic government—Soviets, anarchists, I.W.W., revolutionary Socialists and every other 'Red'. . . . Do not forget that the Fascisti are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

The readiness to assume the rôle of an extra-legal force involved the Legion in occasional labour disputes. The mayor of Omaha, debating how to handle a strike situation, called 1,000 Legionnaires together to tell them of supposed threats by the strikers to start riots and carry the Red flag down the main street. "Now what are you going to do with that Red flag if it does appear?" demanded the mayor. "Tear it down and tramp on it," replied the Legionnaires. The mayor said he had no militia and too few policemen, and that he was getting a Legion roster with a view to calling on them in case of disturbances. Could he count on them? "We'll say you can," they shouted, whereupon they passed a resolution that "everything savoring of anarchy" would be put down quickly and firmly by them.

In similar circumstances an Oakland Post armed two hundred of its members as an auxiliary police force. One thousand Legionnaires in Detroit pledged themselves to be ready to fight the Bolsheviks in the United States, and a local newspaper referred to them as "one thousand Bolshevik bouncers with ready rifles and cartridge belts." During a street car strike in Denver, five hundred Legionnaires in uniform patrolled the streets, armed with clubs and guns. "After the settlement of the disorder," the *American Legion Weekly* noted later, "the strikers did not unqualifiedly endorse the activity of the Legion." In Youngstown, the Legion patrolled the city during the steel mill strike, at the request of the mayor, but maintained scrupulous neutrality, so the trade union had no complaint.

National Headquarters of the Legion has frowned upon manifestations of violence, and for the most part the urge to drastic action has been successfully smothered. Now and again it still crops out, however, indicating that latent potentialities in this direction remain. A grocer who kept his store open in St. Clairsville, Ohio, on Armistice Day, 1930, outraged patriotic sensibilities to such an extent that C. W. Fowler, Commander of the Belmont County Legion, led forth a platoon of his comrades, wearing steel helmets, to do something about it. Their first stop was the sheriff's office, where they helped themselves to tear bombs. The sheriff afterward explained that he understood it was all in fun. The next stop was the offending grocer's store, into which the Legionnaires threw the bombs, causing the employés and patrons to flee. The Legionnaire who acted as spokesman explained that they had "considered it their right to close the store on Armistice Day just as they would protest any attempt by any one to tear down the American flag."

When New York City was aroused over one of its more spectacular gang crimes in the summer of 1931, newspaper announcement was made that the Legion had offered its services. The account follows:

The American Legion to-day offered its army of 30,000 men in Greater New York to wage war on the ruthless baby killers of Harlem's "Little Italy." The men who, fourteen years ago, shouldered rifles and crouched behind machine guns on the battlefields of France are willing, even eager, to take up arms again to free the city from the menace of the pitiless killers of gangland.

They stand ready to mobilize as they did in 1917 and as they banded together to meet the Mississippi flood and Florida hurricane disasters.

"If vigilantes must be organized," said State Commander

Edward J. Neary, "the Legion stands ready to be the first to answer the call."

In the main, the outbreaks of Legion groups can be considered a phase of the past, although they cannot be entirely excluded in considering future contingencies. As far as national policy is concerned, the Legion's vehement passion against the Bolsheviks has been diverted into other channels.

By the second National Convention, an Americanism Commission had been formed to sublimate the aversion into less overt forms of activity and lead the way in Americanism work in which the Legion at large could participate officially. This Commission has been retained ever since, somewhat elaborated, and has become one of the most flourishing and energetic branches of the organization. It is now composed of fifteen members appointed by the National Commander; the actual day-by-day work is done by a paid director, his assistant, and an office staff. The campaign to Americanize the nation has been put upon an efficient, business-like basis.

In order to understand the external influences that play upon any patriotic society's Americanism Commission, it is necessary to digress into an examination of that curious contemporary phenomenon sometimes referred to as "professional patrioteering."

 LITTLE ORPHANT ANNIES

An' little Orphant Annie says, when the blaze is blue,
 An' the lamp-wick sputters, an' the wind goes *woo-oo!*
 An' you hear the crickets quit, an' the moon is gray,
 An' the lightnin'-bugs in dew is all squenched away,—
 You better mind yer parents, an' yer teachers fond and dear,
 An' churish them 'at loves you, an' dry the orphant's tear,
 An' he'p the pore an' needy ones 'at clusters all about,
 Er the Gobble-uns'll git you

Ef you

Don't

Watch

Out!

—JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

The modern Little Orphant Annie, instead of sitting
 around the kitchen fire, has a suite of rooms, and he sends
 out pamphlets by the score, and makes speeches at clubs, and
 his chant is

Er the Bolsheviks'll git you

Ef you

Don't

Watch

Out!

The business of frightening folks about the Bolsheviks has become a career since the War. There are men who do little else; they get up societies and associations with names that sound important, they write articles for obscure magazines, and they are always ready to lecture. Some of them make a tidy living out of this curious profession; others do it apparently just for joy, but they usually have some reason.

One of our leading Little Orphant Annies whispers to a notable women's patriotic organization: "I've got some very, very vital information—official sources—must be kept confidential—special meeting—no reporters!" So the special meeting is called, the blinds are drawn, the doors are locked, the wind goes *woo-oo!* and the women shiver. The Little Orphant Annie thereupon draws from his inside pocket "THE COMMUNIST DEATH LIST" and passes it around. The shocked women see on it their own names, names of respected leaders in the nation: the persons who will be executed when the Red revolution grips America. Again the women shiver and to prevent the awful Bolshevik getting them, they dry the Little Orphant's tear and buy from him his weekly bulletin which tells all about the progress of the dire plots of the Gobble-uns in the United States. Then the women go home and campaign for an unconquerable Army and an invincible Navy.

The Little Orphant Annies have been designated professional patriots. Most of them give their organizations patriotic names and begin their speeches with references to our forefathers, our flag and our Constitution—a time-honoured trick calculated to create a favourable bias in the minds of the listeners and to put the whole matter on a lofty plane out of the realm of controversy.

The thrills dispensed by the Little Orphant Annies all have a motive back of them, and the organizations can be divided according to their motives into two classes: the

civilian-commercial group, and the military group. Both groups work together and trade yarns to spin and refer people to each other for verification, but they have different reasons for being in the Red-baiting business.

The civilian-commercial group draws most of its financial support from prosperous, though dull-witted industrialists of the reactionary variety, the ones who feel fear and hostility toward the labourers. They dread progressive trends such as the movement for prohibiting child labour and for instituting social insurance. They would like to stamp out trade unions. They want a big army and navy. Around every corner they picture Bolsheviks ready to seize their factories. Such industrialists—they are by no means representative of all big business—contribute to the Little Orphant Annies in the hope of frightening people away from new ideas of all sorts which might bring even the slightest change in the established order of things. Their worst enemies are the class of people known as liberals.

The military group seeks to frighten people into supporting a big war establishment in the United States by constantly warning of enemies on all sides, particularly Bolshevik foes. Brigadier General John Ross Delafield (Legionnaire) told a patriotic gathering in New York City that Soviet Russia might attack any moment as soon as its Five-Year-Plan was carried out. He did not specify just how the Soviets were planning to get at America. The worst enemies of this group are the pacifists—people who seek, by various methods, to do away with war, and thus throw generals and admirals out of work.

When the two types of professional Little Orphant Annies get together, they discover an amazing multitude of Bolsheviks in this country. One estimate of theirs ran as high as a million. The figure is arrived at by counting in not only Communists but also: (a) almost any foreigner—one

can never tell who might be a Bolshevik in disguise; (b) people who are tolerant toward Russia, or favour its formal recognition, such as Senator Borah; (c) people who have a liberal point of view, such as Heywood Broun, who are always advocating little changes here and there; (d) people who work for peace, such as Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the Carnegie Peace Foundation; (e) most college professors—they are likely to get new ideas; and (f) a good share of the nation's preachers, who might not support the next war. All such persons are lumped together under the label Pinks, meaning that if they are not actually Reds, or Communists, they might be at any moment, and certainly are not safe.

Labels are favourite weapons of the Little Orphant Annies in fighting their battles of propaganda. If, for instance, Professor John Dewey advocates something, it must be subversive to the fundamental principles upon which this nation was founded, because Professor Dewey is a Pink. The labels are frequently applied by the method of the "spider-web chart." If, for example, the Reverend Harry F. Ward, of Union Theological Seminary, sponsors a new idea, Dr. Ward's previous history is looked up, and it is discovered that he once served on a committee on which Roger N. Baldwin served, and Mr. Baldwin once served on a committee on which William Z. Foster, Communist chieftain, served; therefore, Dr. Ward is an associate of Communists, and therefore a Pink himself, and therefore the idea he sponsors is a menace to the Government because back of it looms the Bolshevik goblin.

The most famous of the spider-web charts was one prepared by Mrs. Lucia R. Maxwell, librarian of the Chemical Warfare Service headed by Major General Amos Fries (Legionnaire). It studied women's peace organizations in the United States and discovered that, by ramification and

association, they were all Bolshevik inspired or at least deep Pink, and that an outstanding subversive agent was Jane Addams, of Hull House. The Little Orphant Annies seized upon this gleefully, and are still using it, although Secretary of War John W. Weeks ordered all copies of the chart destroyed and directed General Fries to inform persons to whom they were given that they were erroneous.

The principal sources of information are what look like ordinary news items to the casual newspaper reader. Between the lines, however, the skilled Red-baiter can read the most sinister portents. Occasionally legislators become nervous and appoint a commission to investigate and describe the Bolshevik situation. One such was the Lusk Committee in New York whose report is by now thoroughly discredited. The most recent was the Congressional Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, headed by Hamilton Fish, Jr. (Legionnaire). The Little Orphant Annies draw heavily upon the reports of such commissions for scary material.

The professional viewers-with-alarm have catalogued nearly every prominent person of liberal tendencies in the country. Such persons, they pass the word along from club to club, are Pink, not to be trusted, and no patriotic body of American men or women should listen to speeches by them, no matter how noteworthy their reputations or accomplishments. The most noted example of the "black-list" was that of the Daughters of the American Revolution which created amusement several years ago. It is commonly supposed to have been furnished by one of the Red-baiting organizations.

The dean of all the patriotic propagandists in this country is the corpulent, white-haired Fred Richard Marvin. He has been alarmed about the Bolshevik menace ever since some radicals ejected him from one of their gather-

ings thirty-five years ago when he was a newspaper reporter. In default of Bolsheviks in those days, Mr. Marvin went about protecting the nation against the I.W.W., and when they quieted down he seized upon the Non-Partisan Leaguers, and when no flaming radical was making a stir, he directed his pen and voice against the Socialists. Many times he has changed his metier. Within recent years he has been owner of a newspaper in Colorado (now extinct), editor-in-chief of a financial journal in New York City (now extinct), executive director of the Key Men of America (now extinct), and contributor to the *National Republic*. At last notice he was the organizer and secretary of the American Coalition, designed to be a super-patriotic society gathering all others into the fold to oppose any immigration whatever into the United States. Among his books are *My Country 'Tis of Thee*, *Underground With the Reds*, and *Ye Shall Know the Truth*. For some years his *Daily Data Sheet*, six dollars per annum, conveyed the doings of the Bolsheviks to the nervous throughout the country, and was treasured as gospel by numerous patriotic societies.

Mr. Marvin sympathizes with the most reactionary anti-union industrialists, with the military clique, and with those who believe that the United States not only should ignore the existence of Soviet Russia but should have no business dealings whatever with it. One of his more celebrated pronouncements was that the Teapot Dome oil leases were patriotic deals and the subsequent scandals "part of a scheme to prevent any form of preparedness." He stopped short of calling the Supreme Court a band of Pinks for cancelling the bargain.

"Pacifism," writes Mr. Marvin, "is but a name given to one form of action to create world Communism or Socialism . . . The whole Pacifist-Radical-Communist movement in America is foreign in its conception, if not actually

under foreign influence, direction and control." He blazed the trail in lumping together virtually every belief with which he disagreed as in some way Bolshevik; he apparently regards Socialism and Communism as the same thing, overlooking the bitter enmity between those two parties.

Among the potentially dangerous organizations, in his view, are the highly respectable Foreign Policy Association, the National Council for Prevention of War, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which Jane Addams is the American president. Other notables whom Mr. Marvin suspects are subversive, by spider-web deductions, are Carrie Chapman Catt; Professor James Harvey Robinson, the historian; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; the Reverend John Haynes Holmes; and a host more.

Although Fred Marvin is the oldest in the profession, he has a rival in eminence in Chicago, a disciple of his, likewise in the commercial class. This rising prophet is Harry A. Jung, the brisk, dapper founder of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Mr. Jung got his start as commissioner of the National Clay Products Industries Association which was the open shop association for the brick and clay industry in the Middle West. He began issuing his confidential weekly bulletins called *Items of Interest* for that organization, and has continued it under his own Federation. "Who is back of the pacifist movement opposing national defense?" asks Mr. Jung in the title of a pamphlet. "There is a mass of evidence on hand," he replies, "supporting the charge that Communists are making use of 'what is useful,' i.e., the intellectuals and defeatist elements, by various and devious ways and means of which they are past masters, to serve their own purposes and in line with instructions received from the Communist (third) Internationale, in their 'offensive' against national defense."

Mr. Jung believes that the root of most of the Bolshevik menace in this country is Roger N. Baldwin, who champions the causes of underdogs through the courts as director of the American Civil Liberties Union. When Mr. Jung speaks of Mr. Baldwin he refers to him as the draft dodger who consorts with William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. They were on a committee with Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Jung joins his patron saint Fred Marvin in intimating that the National Council for Prevention of War is being secretly subsidized by Moscow. (The National Council is an organization with headquarters in Washington which works for peace through limitation of armaments and campaigns for adherence to the World Court. At the head of it is Frederick J. Libby.)

“President Hoover Felicitates Einstein!” exclaimed Mr. Jung’s bulletin while the world-famed scientist was visiting this country. “Loyal American citizens, knowing Einstein to be a protagonist of slackerism and a Communist supporter, do not concur in President Hoover’s all-embracing statement that his visit to the United States ‘has been gratifying to the American people.’” Mr. Jung includes all Fred Marvin’s names in his Bolshevik blacklist and adds fresh ones, such as Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin, whom Mr. Jung caught presiding at a meeting of a students’ liberal club. “It is hardly to be expected,” said *Items of Interest*, “that American government and traditions could be upheld at an institution where the president openly presides at a meeting of Socialists whose program calls for the changing of our republican form of government to one paralleling that in power in Soviet Russia.”

New England has a prominent propagandist in Edward H. Hunter, who conducts the Industrial Defense Association, Inc., “organized to inculcate the principles of Amer-

icanism in Industrial, Religious, Fraternal and Educational Circles." His organ is named *What's What*, and his specialty is orations. He sends out an advertising folder reproducing the headlines that greeted his speeches in various cities: "STARTLING FACTS ABOUT SPREAD OF BOL-SHEVISM ARE TOLD TO ROTARIANS" and "MENACE OF BOL-SHEVIK INFLUENCES PICTURED BEFORE LITERARY UNION" and "ROTARY SPEAKER RAPS CERTAIN LABOR BODIES." Mr. Hunter's monthly bulletin has headlines screaming that "RADICAL FORCES INVADE AMERICAN COLLEGES AND WIN THOUSANDS OF EDUCATORS AND STUDENTS." His chief work was a pamphlet labelled "Communists, Socialists, Pacifists, I.W.W. and Doubtful Societies and Organizations Operating in the United States." Three hundred organizations were thus damned by him, including the Foreign Policy Association, the Journeyman Bakers and Confectioners International Union of America, the League of Jewish Women, the National Congress of Mothers' and Parent Teachers' Association, and the National Women's Party.

California has one of the most flourishing of the patriotic organizations, known as the Better America Federation, which represents the open shop interests of the region. Its best known member was the late Colonel LeRoy F. Smith, who was the author (with a collaborator) of a book called *Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists*, a blast against the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America on account of its alleged pacifism and liberalism. He drew up an indictment containing twelve charges. "The Federal Council of the Churches," said Charge No. 3, "is cooperating with and frequently working under the direction of radical groups. The same radical groups are affiliated with the Third Internationale." Added Charge No. 11: "The entire program of the Federal Council is contrary to the teachings

of Christ and is paganism under the guise of Christianity.”

Nestled among the smokestacks of Pennsylvania steel mills is the venerable Francis Ralston Welsh, a dealer in bonds by vocation, who broadcasts warnings of Bolshevism as an avocation. A prolific writer, Mr. Welsh is nervous even about the American Federation of Labor and the Catholic Church. “We must bear in mind,” he once warned, “. . . that there is the A. F. of L., whose leaders pursue Communist methods to gain their ends and join with Communists in promoting certain laws and opposing certain others . . . Communism has spread widely among the churches of all denominations. Even the Roman Catholic Church has its representative in the person of Father John A. Ryan, who is on the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. The report of the Inter-Church World Movement on the steel strike was engineered by Communists and put forth as a Church document.” These remarks are surprising in that the A. F. of L. and the Communists are the bitterest of enemies, and the Soviet government has done its best to drive the Church from Russia.

The playground and meeting place of all the patriotic propagandists is the *Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal*, “An American Journal for Americans,” published monthly “in the interests of Pennsylvania manufacturers.” Its chief contributor is Francis Ralston Welsh; Harry A. Jung conducts a department called “What the Reds are Doing—Items of Interest to Manufacturers”; and Edward H. Hunter writes articles such as “Again We Ask—What Practical Good Are the Kellogg Pact and the League of Nations?” Another favourite contributor is William B. Shearer, who came into prominence when he tried to collect a bill from steel interests for services rendered in helping to defeat the purpose of the 1927 conference for limitation of naval armaments in Geneva.

One of the literary coups of the *Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal* was its description of the eighty-eight endorsers of a book of which it disapproved, *Professional Patriots*, edited by Norman Hapgood. The endorsers included Harry Elmer Barnes, the historian; Professor John Dewey; Sherwood Eddy; Zona Gale; David Starr Jordan; Judge Ben B. Lindsey; Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Father John A. Ryan, and Senators L. J. Frazier, Thomas J. Walsh and Burton K. Wheeler. These people were characterized as follows:

Numbered among these weighty eighty-eight are pink-eyed professors of backwoods universities; deposed ecclesiastics, the leading de-Christianized clergy shaking hands with marriage abolitionists, the heavenly set opposed to marrying and giving in marriage; companionate marriage advocates and judges, birth controllists and passion uncontrolists; spinulose spinsters; spineless pacifists and pacifists sans fists; unphysicked metaphysicians, colloidal-brained collectors of jelly-fish; bootleggers of internationalism, balsamy bolshevists, aromatic anarchists, incensed Communists and sweetly-redolent Reds, with a sprinkling of the sanctified Senators who intrigue to dump and de-Americanize us into the League, the bottomless pit of damnations. . . . Such books as Norman Hapgood's serve a purpose that is good in a way not intended by their authors. This book lets us know at a glance the various forces that are unleashed to subvert our government, the personnel of the anti-constitutionalists who are working day and night to accomplish their sinister purposes.

Two other publications are notable for their patriotic propaganda: the *National Republic*, and the *Woman Patriot*, both published in Washington, D. C. The *National Republic* formerly claimed Fred Marvin as one of its leading contributors, and now continues a department called

"The Enemy Within Our Gates," which describes in detail the insidious activities of the Reds. The *Woman Patriot* describes itself as "Dedicated to the Defense of the Family and the State AGAINST Feminism and Socialism."

These are the more imaginative and voluble of the civilian-commercial group of patriotic propagandists. The military group work hand in hand with their confrères in mufti, filling the naïve with tales of enemies within and without about to pounce upon our land. The uniformed hobgoblin dispensers are, of course, primarily interested in scaring their listeners into the conviction that this nation cannot spend too much in arming itself against the unseen foes; they are equally desirous of suppressing all peace workers, and the old reliable method of labelling them Bolsheviks has been found highly efficacious. The grisly stories of the military group acquire added conviction and horror because of the raconteurs' uniforms, which lend an air of authority. The open-mouthed listeners are permitted to get the impression that the information is semi-official and really emanates from the War or Navy Department. Technically that is untrue, but those departments have never shown signs of being genuinely angry at the retired officers who spun yarns. Now and then, by way of preserving Governmental dignity, the War Department is forced to state that the military Little Orphant Annies are not official mouthpieces.

The National Defense Act of 1920 established a new military force known as the Organized Reserves, men who have some army training and who could be quickly mobilized. Most of this force is composed of reserve officers, of which eight thousand are banded together into a technically unofficial Reserve Officers' Association. When the organization was formed in 1922, Brigadier General John McA. Palmer, former aide to General Pershing, pointed out that the National Defense Act was complete as far as original legisla-

tion was concerned but needed support among the public such as the new organization could give it. "The necessary legal sanctions," he said, "are already embodied in our law. Whether they shall become effective depends upon the development of sound public opinion, and the successful organization of the Reserve Officers' Association promises the strongest assurance that the public opinion actually will be developed."

The Reserve Officers' Association has vigorously plunged into its task of developing "sound public opinion." In its official organ, *The Reserve Officer*, the Association made the following announcement: "Your national headquarters can supply you with a load of authoritative information concerning the activities of the Reds in America and can provide data for speeches, papers, etc. Remember, we are the source of information (official) of this character." A subsequent publicity bulletin announced that the National Council for Prevention of War was sending a lecturer through the South to speak for peace measures, and proceeded to describe how dangerous this speaker was. Its information was credited to the Lusk Report, Fred Marvin and Edward H. Hunter, of Boston.

The Illinois Department of the Reserve Officers' Association branched out in 1927 with an organ of its own, entitled the *National Defense Magazine*, which announced as its motto, "The preservation of our integrity, our ideals and our national wealth depends on the fulfilment of all the provisions of the National Defense Act," and described itself as the official publication not only of the Reserve Officers' Association but also of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, Harry A. Jung's organization. The magazine contained a leading editorial headed "Socialism and Pacifism in Education," which explained that "it is our intention to expose the increasing viciousness of radical

teaching and the steady development of radical teachers.”

In each issue there appears Jung's department “dedicated to revealing the ‘boring from within’ tactics of anti-American groups.” In one typical number the Open Forum movement as manifest in Chicago was found to be Bolshevik inspired. “How much longer,” he demanded, “will self-respecting citizens tolerate this form of ‘free speech’!” In the September-October, 1929, issue was an utterly unsmiling announcement of the National Patriotic Association that it had obtained as a speaker that foremost authority on navy matters, William B. Shearer. In extending an invitation to the lecture, the Association remarked, “You are assured of an intensely interesting and informative discussion of international naval affairs.”

The Reserve Officers' Association is not the only military propagandist organization busy developing sound public opinion. It has a disciple in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps honorary society, Scabbard and Blade, which distributes its bulletins to some seventy colleges. The bulletins re-echo the warnings about the subversive intellectuals at large in the nation. Included among the menacing individuals have been Jane Addams (“To-day she stands out as the most dangerous woman in America”); Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches (who contributes to the *Christian Century*, which lists many notorious Reds and Pinks among its contributors); Professor John Dewey, Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar; and Dr. Mary E. Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke.

In the spring of 1931 the Reserve Officers' Training Corps Association, delightedly seizing upon the more lurid points of the Fish Congressional Committee report on Communism, sent out a leaflet headed, “These are not dreams nor night-

mares. These are disclosures which should alarm and impel Americans to immediate action."

The *Coast Artillery Journal* joins the chorus of semi-official military organs. An article about "Activities of Anti-War Societies" praises the D.A.R. and the American Legion for their work in combating the "radical group of professional propagandists." Among such groups were listed the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Church Peace Union, characterized thus: "This subversive movement for the reduction of armaments and the abolishment of all armed forces has a very sinister aspect when it is realized that such a policy coincides with the fundamentals of Communism."

A number of minor military organizations are busy spreading the news of Bolshevik plots. The Military Intelligence Association in Chicago keeps Midwesterners posted, and the Military Order of the World War in New York and Washington spreads the tales throughout the East.

All the Little Orphant Annies, be they civilian-commercial or military, find that the various patriotic societies furnish their most enraptured audiences. The Daughters of the American Revolution, listening wide-eyed to the tales of the Bolshevik menace, set the precedent for the many other Daughters and Sisters organized to hymn the nation's past and glorify its future prospects. The various Sons' and Veterans' organizations likewise are susceptible to the yarns. The patriotic societies, with their preoccupation with past wars, naturally are excessively flag-conscious. Having banded together with lofty preambles, they cannot be content thereafter merely to reiterate their principles among themselves and they soon feel a restless urge to action.

They must do something about the state of the nation, and it must be something patriotic in line with their avowed

purposes. The average Daughter or Son, however, is apt to be at a loss as to just what to do; to set out being a practising patriot is not as simple a matter as it might appear. An objective of some sort must be found, an objective that meets two requirements: it must not, in the first place, be too subtle nor complicated, nor must it, in the second place, be too controversial, lest the members divide among themselves.

At this stage of bewilderment, the professional patriots come to the rescue. They proclaim their patriotism in such an energetic and persuasive manner that the societies unquestioningly take their word for it without troubling to inquire into motives. They are most entertaining, for they tell exciting stories of plots and conspiracies, and they tell them so convincingly, throwing in the flavour of official secrets, that the societies believe implicitly. Best of all, they offer an objective, nicely adapted to the needs of any patriotic society: Combat the Bolshevik menace! The plan of action turns out to be simple, involving practically no inconvenience: (1) Schedule staunch patriots as speakers, and heed their advice to vote as dutiful citizens against new, subversive ideas and in favour of big armaments; (2) keep posted upon dangerous movements, organizations and persons, so that they may be avoided; (3) do patriotic missionary work among friends and neighbours by denouncing nefarious schemes and preventing, if possible, Reds and Pinks from pursuing their ends in the press, pulpit, school and lecture platform. In short, all that is necessary is to "mind yer parents and yer teachers fond and dear" and the Bolsheviks won't get you. The result is that the patriotic societies become not only receptive audiences for the Little Orphant Annies, but convert themselves into gigantic sounding boards that spread the tales through the land and broadcast the message of intolerance.

The American Legion has not been wholly immune to the influences of the professional patriots.

Some Legionnaires, of course, do not share the anxieties of the Little Orphant Annies nor approve of their methods, but among the leaders of the Legion who have a large share in determining its policies and representing it to the country are a number of men who belong to patriotic propagandist societies. The interlocking directorate is especially noticeable between the Legion and the Reserve Officers' Association, ardent members of which are to be found in nearly all Posts. Among the men who are moving spirits in both organizations are Paul V. McNutt and Henry D. Lindsley, former Legion National Commanders; William F. Deegan, once a runner-up for National Commander; Colonel Charles B. Robbins and Brigadier General Roy Hoffman, both active on Legion National Defense Committees.

When Fred Marvin's "Key Men of America" organization was in its heyday, it had an impressive Advisory Council on which, among others, were Paul V. McNutt, Major General Amos A. Fries, former Legion Commander in Washington, D. C.; Clifford K. Fitzgerald, Post Commander in San Diego; Major General Eli Helmick, Inspector General of the Army. These Legionnaires were comrades on Mr. Marvin's Council along with Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau, president-general of the D.A.R.; Captain George L. Darte, promoter of the Military Order of the World War; Joseph Joplin, of the Better America Federation; Mrs. Lucia R. Maxwell, author of the original spider-web chart; and Harry A. Jung.

In 1931 the treasurer of Edward H. Hunter's Industrial Defense Association in Boston was Ross H. Currier, adjutant of a local Legion Post. Among his duties were the moulding of public opinion against the use of Soviet lumber

in school houses; he was also kept busy worrying Communist and Socialist summer schools in the vicinity.

The most striking example of the influence which the patriotic propagandists wield in the governing councils of the Legion was afforded in the case of Frank C. Cross, who was for a time director of the Americanism Commission. Mr. Cross determined to find out the status of the Red menace in the nation and gather together a summary of the situation in a pamphlet so that he could better guide the Legion in knowing what to combat.

First he wrote to the Reserve Officers' Association asking where to obtain information about the Communist peril. He was informed that Fred Marvin, who had been devoting his very wonderful abilities to the work for thirty years, was the leading authority in America on the subject, and would be the principal source of information for the Legion. The Reserve Officers' Association, in fact, thought so highly of Mr. Marvin that it had purchased his daily data service on the Reds and urged each of its six hundred branches to do likewise. After Mr. Marvin the next leading authority was Harry A. Jung.

Next Mr. Cross inquired of Scabbard and Blade, the R.O.T.C. honorary fraternity. Scabbard and Blade placed Francis Ralston Welsh first among those from whom they received data on the Reds, and recommended him as highly reliable. Harry A. Jung was mentioned second and Edward H. Hunter of Boston also was suggested.

So Mr. Cross wrote to Fred Marvin, explaining that he intended to compile a Legion pamphlet about pacifism and Communism and could Mr. Marvin help him out? Mr. Marvin could indeed; he would be only too glad to place at the Legion's disposal any information in his possession dealing with un-American organizations and forces. He

did. Similarly Mr. Cross wrote to Francis Ralston Welsh and to Harry A. Jung. He accumulated a complete library of their bulletins, information services and miscellaneous writings, and entered into extended correspondence with them. When it came to the actual writing of the pamphlets, he inquired of Marvin, Jung and Welsh whether he might be allowed to quote passages from their works, and the permission was readily granted. Their works, as one of them explained, were "pro bono publico."

The next move of Mr. Cross was a serious mistake. He sought the other side of the story, by asking peace organizations about their aims, in an effort, he said, "to penetrate the fog of misunderstanding and recrimination that characterizes the present quarrel between the advocates of disarmament and of preparedness." "No unfair use," he wrote, "will be made of any information that you send me. My pamphlet is not to be another effort to connect peace workers with Moscow. In fact it will deny such a liaison, aiming instead to meet the issue on a basis of fairness and intelligence."

If Mr. Cross, as director of the Legion's Americanism Commission, had been content to take the data furnished by the professional propagandists and act upon it, he presumably would have encountered no trouble. But his conciliatory letter to the peace organizations came to the attention of the Reserve Officers' Association in Illinois. A diligent official of the Association, apparently a disciple of Harry A. Jung, thought there must be some mistake because the peace movement was not only sponsored by Communism but in some cases actually financed by Communists. He made a complaint which reached the ears of Howard P. Savage, then National Commander of the Legion.

Less than one month after the original complaint, Na-

tional Commander Savage dismissed Frank C. Cross from his position on the ground that his Americanism policy was weak-kneed, lacking in initiative and decidedly lacking in aggressiveness to the point of apologizing for the Legion's programme.

THE OPPOSING SIDES

SUPER-PATRIOTS

Their Organizations and Their Journals

Civilian-Commercial:

Fred R. Marvin, New York;
American Coalition; "Daily
Data Sheet."

Harry A. Jung, Chicago;
American Vigilant Intelli-
gence Federation. "Items
of Interest."

Edward H. Hunter, Boston;
Industrial Defense Associa-
tion; "What's What."

Francis Ralston Welsh, Phil-
adelphia; no society; no
journal.

The late Colonel LeRoy F.
Smith, Los Angeles; Better
America Federation; Weekly
"Bulletin."

Military and Semi-military:

Reserve Officers' Association,
Washington; "The Reserve
Officer"; "National Defense
Magazine," Chicago.

Scabbard and Blade
(R.O.T.C.), Washington.
"Special Situation Bulletins."

Military Order of the World
War, New York; Captain
George L. Dart.

Military Intelligence Associ-
ation, Chicago.

Publications:

Pennsylvania Manufactur-
ers' Journal.

The National Republic.

The Woman Patriot.

PINKS

Peace-seeking and Liberal Organizations

Semi-religious or Religious:

Federal Council of the
Churches of Christ in
America.

Church Peace Union.

Fellowship of Youth for
Peace.

Committee on Militarism in
Education.

Liberal and Anti-war:

American Civil Liberties
Union; New York; Roger
N. Baldwin.

National Council for Pre-
vention of War, Washing-
ton; Frederick J. Libby.

Women's International
League for Peace and Free-
dom, Washington; Jane Ad-
dams.

Publications:

The World Tomorrow;
Kirby Page.

ENFORCING PATRIOTISM

UNDERLYING the Legion's Americanism work is a curious assortment of motives. The remnants of war hatreds persist in suspicion of aliens, resentment at non-fighters, aversion toward Bolsheviks. The war-time version of patriotism, carefully stimulated by Government instructors and by military bands, lingers. There is, perhaps, a touch of understandable vanity; the desire not to retire completely from the limelight gained in uniform as saviours of the nation. A genuine and admirable love of country and well-developed sense of duty toward it enters in. There is, finally, a fear of a changed future, which is perhaps the most vital motive.

The veterans enlisted to preserve the nation and they feel that they must maintain vigilance in peace time lest it become something other than the country they defended. They acquired a vivid attachment for America as it was in 1917-18, and they want to keep it so. The United States reached its pre-eminence among nations in the first place, as the ex-soldiers see it, because of ardent patriotic nationalism expressed in willingness on the part of its citizens to sacrifice their lives in war on its behalf; and, in the second place, because of its social and economic structure.

Therefore these features must be maintained, the Legionnaires reason, if America's greatness is to continue.

The Legion feels that, as spokesman for the ex-soldiers, it has priority rights to the custody of the conception of patriotism in this country. Having qualified themselves as experts in patriotism by virtue of having fought for the nation, the veterans feel that no other group has so deep an understanding of it nor so keen an interest in preserving it. Therefore the Legion assumes the double task of defining patriotism, and of nurturing it—that is, enforcing it. This is the thought behind the purpose expressed in the preamble of the organization's constitution: "to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent Americanism," and this spirit runs through the subsequent efforts.

The task of defining one hundred per cent Americanism, which the Legion has undertaken, presents difficulties. The term was created in the exigency of the World War, and thereby given validity and meaning. A one hundred per cent American was one who subordinated his own interests and consented to a certain curtailment of his freedom of speech and action for the sake of helping unify the nation in its effort to win the War. With the advent of peace and the resumption of civil liberties the term lost much of its original significance. Individual variations of thought and action no longer endangered the country, no longer could be described as unpatriotic. The phrase one hundred per cent American probably would have died out with the passing of the emergency which created it if the Legion had not cherished it.

The Legion's definition of one hundred per cent Americanism was not deliberately formulated, but was built up by the negative process of deciding what it was not. As the tenets that were regarded as un-American grew more numerous through the years, the conception of American-

ism gradually took form like an island of dry ground in rising flood waters. The original idea was that the Bolsheviks who were about to rise up and overthrow the Government constituted the un-American element. The Legion was confirmed in this position not only by its own carefully fostered aversion but by preponderant public sentiment. The Bolsheviks provoked no overt crisis, but the Legion still was anxious, so the ranks of the foe were enlarged by definition to include the secondary forces whose activity might pave the way indirectly for marked change.

The Legion mentioned by current nickname the "Parlour Socialists," and branded them as "by far the most dangerous, for they, under a mask of respectability, insidiously inject infamous teachings into the minds and thoughts of our citizens." By 1928 the warning was even more inclusive: "Notwithstanding the statement of a nationally known preacher that there is no such thing as a 'Red menace,' we observe from every side positive evidence that the activities of Communists and radicals in America are spreading. We also observe that these people have changed their tactics and that they are not now devoting their entire time to the ignorant immigrant but are working feverishly through the intelligent, wealthy women who are giving considerable time to club work. Our problem is much more insidious because we have now to deal not with the uneducated, but rather with the best trained minds of the country . . . Through the schools and through the churches the radicals are now seeking to put across their policies. Under cover of abolishing war they seek to weaken the American nation to the point where its overthrow will be a simple matter."

Little by little the Legion pushed more persons beyond the pale of patriotism until along with "Bolshevik" as a term of opprobrium indicating un-Americanism were bracketed the terms "radical," "Socialist," "pacifist," "interna-

tionalist," "liberal," and even "idealist." The final pronouncement on the subject is contained in a booklet, "Service—A Handbook on Americanism," distributed for the guidance of Posts. "The clever Red propagandist—and he is clever—" it says, "stands outside the factory gate and serves mental poison to the outgoing working man in the form of printed matter urging the worker to rise and tear down. He rises to the speakers' platform and spreads his poison, sits in a darkened room and sticks stamps on envelopes that carry Communistic messages into the American home and meeting place."

The treatise divides Reds into two varieties, the first of which is the stamp-licking radical just described. "The second, by far the most dangerous, is the idealist," the Legion warning continues. "He is educated, wise in books and the knowledge of humankind. He plays upon the ignorant mind as a violinist upon his fiddle. When the former commits his acts of crime against man and nation he goes to jail while the man who inspired him, the idealist, sits back and gloats."

By the method of elimination, the definition of Americanism is reached. Those who are not one hundred per cent Americans are those who do not agree with the Legion as to the political and economic system now in vogue, the advisability of building armaments to maintain peace, and various other matters. "Americanism," the Legion decrees, "is nationalism and patriotism . . . It is that same spirit which has led us to victory in all of our wars."

Having arrived at a definition, the Legion's goal is to bring the public at large into conformity with the conception of patriotism. The Americanism Commission was instructed early in its career to "appear before Congress in all matters affecting Americanism." At the same time, active campaigns were to be prosecuted throughout the country,

designed to imprint upon the nation the conception of one hundred percentism.

In this capacity, the Legion envisions itself as a super-patriotic society. "Throughout the past few years," reported the Commission, "it has been our object to bring into closer unity the many organizations taking part in Americanism work. There is glory enough for all in the field of Americanism. It is not the National Americanism Commission's idea to domineer or dictate in this field. It is our idea, however, to bring together all these organizations in order that plans may be worked out whereby a united effort upon the part of all patriotic, civic, fraternal, commercial and other organizations may be adopted to bring about a national program and carry it out for the welfare of our Government."

Four main paths of action can be distinguished in the Legion's propagation of Americanism: A general effort to arouse sentiment by appeal to symbols of patriotism; a drive for Government action with reference to alien and immigration policy; an attempt to suppress the expression of dissenting views; and the sowing of patriotic propaganda seeds among the youth of the nation. In pursuing its various plans, the Legion has at times won applause, and at other times precipitated itself into most heated controversies. Although all four of these methods of promoting Americanism interlock with each other and have been prosecuted concurrently, with varying emphasis, they may for convenience be considered separately.

In fostering the outward expressions of nationalism, the Legion has assumed leadership in the observance of holidays. The policy was summed up in a resolution at the third Convention in 1921. "The Legion," it said, "should always be ready to co-operate with other organizations in the observance of patriotic holidays or occasions, and steps

should be taken in conference with such organizations both nationally and locally, to increase such co-operation, to decrease the duplication of effort and expense, and to increase through such co-operation public reverence for the flag and other patriotic symbols."

The resolution added that "on Armistice Day, the American Legion should be accorded the position of leadership in the observance." November 11 always has been of special concern. The Legion has long tried to persuade Congress to declare it a national holiday, but failing success there, has pushed bills in the various legislatures to have it made a state holiday. Thirty-seven states have heeded the Legion's wishes in this matter. Another patriotic date has been added to the calendar of observances solely on the Legion's initiative, but the celebration is confined almost exclusively to the originators. This is April 30, designated as Americanism Day. The date was chosen with the idea of "crystallizing patriotic feeling and minimizing the effects" of May Day, the rallying time of radicals. All Posts were instructed to hold exercises if possible in conjunction with other patriotic societies. The Legion thus has a full calendar of celebrations, which have been listed as follows: Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Arbor Day, Grant Day, Americanism Day, Mother's Day, Memorial Day, Lee Day, Flag Day, Independence-Citizenship Day, Constitution Week, Columbus Day, Armistice Day, American Education Week, and Thanksgiving Day.

Appropriate suggestions for observance of each are sent out in pamphlet form by the Americanism Commission, together with ready-made speeches to be delivered by Legionnaires to their communities. Difficulty is experienced only with Memorial Day, upon which occasion the Legion has noted a tendency toward relaxation rather than solemnity. After cautioning the country at large, it was found neces-



CHEERING COMMANDER-ELECT O'NEIL AT THE
BOSTON CONVENTION IN 1930

sary to add a word of warning to its own membership. The 1924 Convention recommended "that Legionnaires refrain from all sport and athletic activities on Memorial Day, and that they aggressively oppose the activities of those persons or groups who violate the sanctity and observances of that sacred day." On the whole, however, satisfaction was recorded in the matter of holidays in 1929. "The American Legion is rapidly becoming the leader in all community celebrations of patriotic holidays," the Convention learned, "and especially of Memorial Day, Flag Day, July 4, and Armistice Day. The men of the Legion . . . have earned the right to leadership in patriotic activities, and the citizens of communities therefore naturally look to them for that leadership and guidance in the observance of the holidays on our calendar."

Odds and ends of lesser importance also have been disposed of by the Legion. The Americanism Commission reported in 1924 having "waged a strenuous national campaign" to have "The Star Spangled Banner" adopted as the national anthem by joint resolution of Congress. "It is appalling to your Commission," it noted, "to observe at many meetings that many Americans are confused in their own minds between the song 'America' and the national anthem, 'The Star Spangled Banner.'" People had been seen to rise to their feet upon hearing the wrong strains. This confusion was corrected through nation-wide publicity that culminated in the official adoption of the desired anthem by Congress in 1931.

There was, too, the threat of the Bolshevik trees. "The Commission," it reported, "upon learning of the proposal of the Reds and Pinks of this country to plant memorial trees to Lenin, immediately took steps to prevent these memorial trees being planted at all, especially as was proposed in the District of Columbia, where it was sought to plant them

alongside of the trees dedicated to the dead heroes of the World War. We met with great success in our undertaking in that the commissioners not only of the District of Columbia, but public officials elsewhere, refused to allow these trees to be planted."

Extreme solicitude about the flag has been expressed by the Legion since its inception, accompanied by demands that the colours be flown more frequently from public buildings and less frequently for advertising purposes. The Americanism Commission aroused sixty-eight societies to consideration of flag problems and rallied their delegates to a National Flag Conference in Washington in 1923. The conference was able to standardize the many varying codes describing the proper treatment of the flag which had been in use by patriotic organizations. A few changes were made in the pledge of allegiance. The new code was published and broadcast by the Legion in six million pamphlets telling city officials, school teachers and the general public what to do and what to avoid. In several cities and in some states the Legion succeeded in having ordinances and laws, rules and regulations, enacted for the care and use of the flag.

The Commission was exuberant over its work. "Nothing ever undertaken by the Legion," it said, "has accomplished more good than the flag conference and the flag campaigns as inaugurated by us. It has placed the Legion squarely before the people as standing for those principles and ideals for which we were willing to sacrifice our lives that the flag might fly with honor in the future as it has in the past."

A dearth of American flags was discovered in some foreign countries, particularly in Latin America. Efforts were made to have them displayed there upon all suitable occasions by American citizens and firms, who were further pre-

vailed upon not to overlook the observance of holidays. This was part of the Commission's Americanism work abroad. Legion films, such as "Flashes of Action," and "Where Poppies Bloom" were distributed in Mexico, where an effort was made "to combat German anti-French and general allied propaganda." The opium situation was taken up in China, and the lack of jury trial after arrest was deplored in Porto Rico. London reported no problem in Americanism.

After going to such pains to build up patriotic sentiment, the Legion was naturally indignant when Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, suggested that nationalism had become "a religion with a special brand of worship," and added that the "cult of the flag" had developed "very curious liturgical forms." Although Professor Hayes had not mentioned the Legion by name, the Americanism Commission reprinted parts of his remarks in its report, denouncing them as efforts to ridicule its work, and pledged itself to renewed efforts toward obtaining proper public reverence for the Stars and Stripes.

Simultaneously the Legion attacked the problem of Americanization from an entirely different angle by prompting Government action. It demanded that the United States abrogate the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan and exclude all Japanese; also, that Congress send subcommittees to the Pacific Coast, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands to formulate legislation to halt alien penetration. On the East coast, a two-fold policy was launched. The Legion urged the Government to deport all radical aliens and, on the other hand, sought permission to install members of the Americanism Commission on Ellis Island at the source of the stream of incoming foreigners in order to lecture each immigrant.

The late Louis F. Post, then Assistant Secretary of Labor,

proved a stumbling block in both instances. He refused to allow the Legion access to immigration records at Ellis Island and found no room to house its Americanizers there. Moreover, Mr. Post cancelled most of the Department of Justice warrants for deporting suspicious aliens. He maintained that the epidemic of deportation proceedings were the result of post-War hysteria, from which he intimated the Legion might be suffering. The Legion, aroused to anger, accused him of "flagrant abuse of discretion," and the National Commander appointed a committee to go to Washington and have Mr. Post dismissed from his office. The Secretary of Labor, however, investigated and announced that since Mr. Post was one of the most capable and conscientious officials in his service, no action would be taken.

Thereupon the Legion fell back from the contemplated advance post on Ellis Island into a second line of Americanization in the courts where aliens became citizens. Feeling that the naturalization ceremony was too simple, it devised a new one for judges to follow, involving more quizzing and more ritual. There was to be a speech of welcome by some high political official. At the close of the address a body of women from the D.A.R. or the Legion Auxiliary would present each new citizen with a silk flag, made in America. The Legion co-operated with the Bar Association in getting this ceremony adopted and in some cases Legion committees appeared in naturalization courts to add dignity.

Within a few years it was decided that the only way to shut out possible Reds was to stop immigration into this country entirely. The objection to aliens was on the ground not only that they might endanger American institutions, but that they might not take up arms in the next war. Furthermore, the Legion joined with the American Federation of Labor in realizing that the influx of foreigners might have

an adverse effect upon available employment and wage scales. Formal demand was made in 1923 for total suspension of all immigration for five years. This was impossible of achievement, but Albert Johnson (Legionnaire), chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, drew up the act of 1924 which was designed to cut in half the admissions by changing the quotas from a basis of three per cent of 1910 resident aliens to two per cent of 1890 residents. With the help of Legion testimony at hearings, the bill became law. "The American Legion's battle on the immigration question, though a great victory, is just half won," the Americanism Commission reported.

The desire to halt immigration and to deport as many foreigners as possible has not lessened through the years. In 1931, Secretary of Labor William N. Doak was aided in his wholesale roundups of aliens for deportation by the Legion. In its canvas of New York City for jobs for veterans, the Legion found that many employers were unwittingly giving work to aliens alleged to be in the country illegally. Information so gained was turned over to Secretary Doak whose agents took the interlopers to Ellis Island, whence after a hearing they were shipped back to foreign shores.

The appointment of the Congressional committee headed by Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr. (Legionnaire), to investigate Communism in the United States was hailed with delight by the 1930 National Convention. "The American Legion," it resolved, "emphatically endorses such action of the House of Representatives in ascertaining the facts in connection with the insidious propaganda and revolutionary activities of Communists in the United States." Going a step farther, the Convention virtually endorsed in advance the results of Mr. Fish's investigation by urging Congress "to promptly consider the findings and recommendations of said special committee and to forthwith enact appropriate

legislation to end all Communistic activities subversive of our form of government."

The proposal had been made as early as the first Convention that the Department of Justice be changed "from a passive evidence collecting organization to a militant and active group of workers, whose findings shall be forcefully acted upon by this, our American Government." The views of the Fish Committee were in sympathy with this attitude, but its report was so vigorously expressed that considerable disagreement was voiced through the country, together with some ridicule. The Legion's Americanism Commission cautiously refrained from commenting on the Fish report itself, but was content to recommend that more funds be appropriated to enable the Department of Justice, which had been hampered by economy, to enforce properly the existing statutes designed to curb Communist and other subversive activities and seditious conspiracies, as well as laws providing for the deportation of aliens.

MUFFLING OPPOSITION

BUILDING patriotic sentiment and prompting Governmental measures are good methods of Americanizing the nation as far as they go, but they encompass only part of the problem, to the Legion's way of thinking. While this work is being carried on, other persons are spreading liberal and pacifist doctrines that tend to counteract it. In order to make its own campaign fully effective, the Legion must undertake to muffle the voices raised in opposition to its beliefs. This idea loomed large in the minds of the early leaders. The first instruction to the Americanism Commission on its creation was, "Combat all anti-American tendencies, activities and propaganda." The resultant combative phase of the organization's programme has formed a conspicuous chapter in Legion history, the more conspicuous because as might have been expected, it has given rise to more and bitterer word battles than any other Americanism effort.

There was uncertainty in the beginning as to how the combating should be carried on. The use of vigorous measures, such as raiding radical meetings, was the original manifestation, but public opinion forced the abandonment of that method. "The first purpose for which we have bound ourselves in association is to uphold and defend the Constitution

of the United States," said a Legionnaire, addressing the 1928 Convention about the meaning of the preamble. "At the time that the clause was written into our preamble, it probably was in the minds of those who wrote it that defence by force might and possibly would become necessary. As the years have gone on, it has become evident that the original idea was probably erroneous, but it has also become evident that there is just the same necessity to uphold and defend the Constitution from destruction by peaceable means . . . We have certain minority groups who believe that if things do not suit them, the easiest remedy is to amend the Constitution." The speaker was saying, in effect, this: At first the Legion planned to fight violent revolution; now the organization plans to throw its power and prestige into opposing such peaceful evolution as it thinks unwise. The speech indicates the continuity of purpose that links the Legion's present combative Americanism work with the early post-War period of hatreds and disorder.

By the third years of its existence, the Legion more definitely formulated its plans of combat. The National Convention resolved: "That all Legion Posts keep a watchful eye on radical propagandists and use all lawful means to prevent the fulfilment of their plans, that owners of halls and auditoriums in which radical meetings might be held be urged not to lease their property to such persons for such purposes, that newspapers be requested not to publish advertisements announcing radical meetings, and that officials of Legion Posts be urged to notify peace officers of all such contemplated gatherings coming under their observation, that such meetings may be prevented or dispersed if they transgress upon our laws." This was a blanket authorization to Posts to suppress, if possible, peaceful assemblages and prevent the expression of ideas which the Legion classed as radical.

Such were to be the methods of combat. Against whom were they to be employed? Who were the radical propagandists to whom reference was made? The answer is found in the Legion's cumulative definition of un-Americanism. The foe included aggressive Communists, energetic peace-workers, and some political liberals. By convenient use of the label, all such persons were classed as Reds or at least Pinks.

Ferre C. Watkins, one-time Department Commander in Illinois, told the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs that Jane Addams' Hull House was a hotbed of Communism and of "Pinks trying to sell out America to international schemers for their own personal advantage." "We do not fear the acknowledged radicals," he said. "The danger lies in organizations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in churches, in schools, and in women's clubs." Similar charges against Jane Addams and Carrie Chapman Catt—reminiscent of the accusations of Harry A. Jung and his American Vigilant Intelligence Federation—were made by Colonel Hanford MacNider, past National Commander of the Legion, in an address in Boston when he had been raised to Assistant Secretary of War. The suggestion in both cases was, of course, that such "radicals" should never be scheduled on club lecture programmes.

Paul L. McGahan, when he was Department Commander in the District of Columbia, spoke his mind in the Washington *Herald* about the peace movements nearest his ken. "Propaganda," he was quoted as saying, "that reeks of the principles enunciated by the Third Internationale, Communists, the Bolshevist Soviet, the revolutionary radicals and the I.W.W. is daily making its appearance here from the headquarters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the National Council for Prevention of War."

The National Council, in its peace efforts, arranged "No More War" parades, and singled out a calendar date for "Law—Not War Day." The Greensboro, N. C., Legion Post asked General Pershing (Legionnaire) what he thought of Law—Not War Day. He replied that the movement was being sponsored by those who believed our Army and Navy unnecessary and especially by those who were preaching revolution and advocating the establishment of a Communistic government. He mentioned that Secretary of War John W. Weeks had told a delegation of seven organizations affiliated with the so-called Council that he was afraid "they were engaged in endeavors which were giving succor and aid to those who were disloyal."

The Iowa Legionnaire, official organ in that state, made unfavourable remarks about the Foreign Policy Association, and the editor upon being rebuked by a reader, cited his source of information and reiterated his conclusion. "Our information," he wrote, "came from the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, whose reports are usually reliable. With the utmost respect for Comrade Robinson . . . it is difficult for us to believe there are any wholly 'responsible members of the Foreign Policy Association' in the light of the color of some of them."

These are the persons and the organizations, then, whom the Legion has come to consider the dangerous radical propagandists to be combated.

The National Council for the Prevention of War and its executive secretary, Frederick J. Libby, head the list of the Legion's foe. The Council, supported largely by Quakers, advocates decreasing armaments by international agreement and the joining of the World Court by the United States. Libby, a mild, gentle-spoken Quaker, once was a Congregational minister and during the World War was a Red Cross worker.

The G.A.R. of Santa Barbara, California, planned a joint Memorial Day service in 1925 with other patriotic organizations and invited Libby to address the meeting. The Reserve Officers' Association and the American Legion protested against Libby's being on the programme, so the G.A.R. decided to adjudicate the controversy by holding a trial in which Dr. L. L. Wirt, a friend of Libby's, was the defendant for him, the Legion and the Reserve Officers' Association were the plaintiffs, and the old men of the Grand Army the judges. The Legion and the Reserve Officers charged that Libby was raising his son to be a slacker. Replied Dr. Wirt, Libby was unmarried and had no son. Said the prosecution, Libby persuaded people to sign pledges never to fight. Replied the defense, Libby was a Quaker and did not approve of pledges. So the trial went. The old G.A.R. men pondered the discrepancies, learned that Libby's father fought in the Civil War, and decided in favour of retaining him as a speaker. But the Legion and the Reserve Officers did not abide by the verdict. They abandoned the proposed joint observance and held a rival Memorial Day service of their own.

The Legion and other patriotic societies protested to the mayor of Indianapolis in the following year against Libby's being allowed to speak in that city at a meeting of the Indiana Council of International Relations. The mayor told the police chief, and the chief dispatched patrolmen to arrest Libby if he spoke. They arrived at the meeting to find some of the most prominent citizens of Indianapolis in attendance and sponsoring the meeting. This put the policemen in a pretty quandary, and they quietly left. The Indianapolis *Times* commented the next day: "Much more serious than any menace of Communism in the United States is the ready acceptance of the theory that it is right to suppress by force the utterances with which you disagree."

Two churches in Wellesley, Massachusetts, invited Libby to speak at a joint men's meeting, but cancelled the invitation because of the local Legion's charge that he was a Red. Two of the church men investigated the accusations against Libby and reported as follows:

CHARGE: Libby was expelled from England during the War for seditious activities while working for the Y.M.C.A.

ANSWER: Libby was not in England during the War, nor did he ever serve in the Y.M.C.A.

CHARGE: He had been in Russia in the early years of the Bolshevik régime.

ANSWER: Never in Russia.

CHARGE: He got money from foreign sources for the campaign to reduce armaments, and he sent funds to Moscow.

ANSWER: Not a penny received from abroad, nor any money sent there by the National Council or Libby.

CHARGE: Libby advocated abolition of the Army and Navy.

ANSWER: Advocated only the reducing of Army and Navy by international agreement.

CHARGE: He was an associate of William Z. Foster, Communist chief.

ANSWER: Never met Foster.

The investigators decided that their churches had acted hastily and unwisely in letting the Legion persuade them to cancel Libby's invitation to speak.

Libby was scheduled to speak again in Santa Barbara in June, 1930, at the State College there. The commander of the local Post told the president of the college that Libby should not be allowed to talk in any public school, because he was subversive. The speaking date was cancelled.

Dr. Karl Borders is another of the foe. He is a former missionary, now a settlement worker in Chicago, and secretary there of the League for Industrial Democracy. In Oc-

tober, 1930, Harry A. Jung sent out a two-page memorandum designed to prove that Dr. Borders was a Soviet propagandist. Two months later the leading item in Jung's weekly bulletin on Red activities was as follows:

MORE POWER TO THE AMERICAN LEGION

In Evanston, Illinois, Legionnaires have comrades of whom they may be proud. When we mention "comrades" in this sense, we do not mean the Communist variety, but the true-blue buddy type of "comrade." Karl Borders, Open Road tourist and friend of the Soviets, was scheduled to speak in Evanston before a men's club of a church. Legionnaires rose up in their might, led by Bill Bechtold, commander of the Evanston Post, and protested the diffusion of Soviet philosophy by Borders. The result was that Borders was replaced by Fred Busbey, former Americanism director of the American Legion Department of Illinois.

Lieutenant Busbey discoursed on "The Enemy Within Our Gates." Mr. Borders learned subsequently that eight members of the Legion, also members of the church which had invited him, threatened to resign from the congregation unless the invitation were cancelled; and that their information about Mr. Borders' subversive character had been received solely from Mr. Jung.

Another of the foe is Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, a grey-haired Bostonian who has devoted thirty of her seventy-five years to patient endeavour for international peace, especially through the agency of a league of nations, and who is the author of a number of books on social and economic questions.

Mrs. Mead scheduled a speaking trip through the South for the winter of 1926-27. Six months before the trip was to begin, Mrs. Alfred Brosseau, president-general of the

D.A.R., received from the Military Order of the World War a seven-page letter denouncing Mrs. Mead as subversive, and suggesting that everything possible be done to prevent her obtaining lecture engagements. A month later, the Reserve Officers' Association sent out a publicity bulletin mentioning the proposed lecture tour and quoting no less than five professional patriot organizations to prove that Mrs. Mead and the organizations with which she was affiliated were endeavouring to overthrow all law and order.

By the time Mrs. Mead was about to arrive in Greenville, South Carolina, resolutions calling on all representative bodies of Greenville not to permit Mrs. Mead to speak were adopted at a joint meeting of the D.A.R., American Legion, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Sons of the American Revolution and United Spanish War Veterans. Their charge was that the National Council for Prevention of War, which sponsored Mrs. Mead's trip, stood for pacifism, Communism, Socialism and equality of the Negro. Shortly afterward, Frank M. Dixon, Legion Commander in the Department of Alabama, wrote to the League of Women Voters in Birmingham trying to head off Mrs. Mead in that city on the grounds that she favoured the abolition of private property and a policy of friendship with Germany. "We know," he wrote, "that once you are acquainted with the purposes of the organization which Mrs. Mead represents, that you will in no way encourage her presence in our midst." On another trip her dates were called off at the last moment at two small educational institutions near Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta ministers who investigated found that the action was prompted by the Commander of the Legion Post, acting with the local D.A.R. When they inquired his reasons, the Commander drew from his pocket an eight-page document which he said had been sent him by the Military Order of the World War, and which had led

him to believe that Mrs. Mead's views were not only un-American but a peril to the safety of the nation.

A few months after Mrs. Mead's first lecture tour had been curtailed by Legion pressure, Dr. Harry F. Ward, formerly a Methodist pastor and for thirteen years a professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, went to Wheeling, West Virginia, to speak at the Woman's Club on problems of the Pacific. On arrival he was informed that a few days previously the president of the club had been waited upon by the Commander of the Legion Post, accompanied by a past Commander, who presented printed material concerning Dr. Ward's supposedly subversive activities and views. The Legionnaires intimated that on becoming acquainted with the material, the club president doubtless would decide that he was not a proper person to deliver an address to the members.

The protesting Legionnaire disclaimed any personal animus in the matter and said he was merely doing his duty as Commander of the Post. He believed in letting opponents express themselves, but it was also his duty as a reserve officer of the Army to prevent the undermining of the Government. Dr. Ward identified some of the material used against him as that sent out by Fred Marvin. On a previous occasion the Woman's Club had cancelled a speaking engagement of Thomas Q. Harrison because of the interference of the Legion, but in the case of Dr. Ward, the club's executive board, in special session, decided to stand by its guns.

Dr. Ward was chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, of which Roger N. Baldwin is director. The Civil Liberties Union is an especial *bête noire* of the professional patriots, and Roger Baldwin takes the brunt of the attack. He has been denounced in the same bitter terms by all of the Little Orphan Annie organizations in various parts of

the country. When he was in Southern California, the Better America Federation took the trouble to discover his plans and nearly every move he made. Its bulletin later announced where he was hour by hour, what he did, and to whom he talked. Through the intervention of the American Legion and the Reserve Officers' Association, Mr. Baldwin's engagement to speak before the Los Angeles City Club was cancelled. An attempt was made to prevent his speaking before the State Conference of Social Workers in Pasadena, but this failed. The conference, however, had to be moved from the First Methodist Church into another meeting place because of the protest.

Legionnaires who do not agree with the policy of suppressing opposition expression maintain that it is not that of the Legion as a whole, but is merely a sporadic enterprise of over-zealous Posts. A tolerant Post in Beloit, Wisconsin, once appointed a committee to investigate the situation. The committee found accusations of suppression true and recommended that the Post "go on record as deploring and protesting the suppressionist activities undertaken in the name of the Legion." "After studying a considerable mass of information on all angles of the subject," the report continued, "we feel that the American Legion can best serve the interests of Americanism by assisting in a campaign of education in well known fundamentals of American rights rather than in the arbitrary cutting off of all debate on the subject. . . . It would seem that there must be some more diplomatic manner in which pacifism and radicalism might be combated."

The particular case investigated by the Beloit Post was that in which Sherwood Eddy's speaking dates were cancelled. The details of the story would seem to indicate that the national organization of the Legion was very definitely involved.

Sherwood Eddy was at that time, 1928, associate general secretary of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. The attacks on him were because of his pronounced opposition to war and his advocacy of the recognition of Soviet Russia. "I am not and never have been a Communist or a sympathizer with their doctrines," wrote Mr. Eddy shortly afterward. "I am not and never have been a Socialist. I am, in a modest way, a capitalist. I believe in the application of Christian principles to the whole of life and to the solution of all of its problems—economic, interracial, international."

Mr. Eddy arranged a speaking tour in Kentucky and North Carolina. Dates were cancelled in Fayetteville, Canton and Kannapolis by request of officials of the Legion, and pressure was exerted to stop his speaking in a half dozen other places. Mr. Eddy sought information as to the cause from his sponsor in Raleigh, and received a letter which said in part: "Before I made any announcement with respect to your coming, the American Legion Commander called on me insisting that you had better not visit our city. He had received communication from the National Headquarters and also from State Headquarters of the organization, advising him that you were scheduled for — and insisting that he take action against it. I saw the communication from the National and State Headquarters of the American Legion, which clearly showed that they were following your scheduled visits (or preceding them rather) with determined efforts. They take exception to your position with respect to the Russian Government, pacifism, and military training."

Delving further into the matter, Mr. Eddy succeeded in obtaining copies of two letters, which he quoted in the *Christian Century*. The first was received by a Department Commander of the Legion:

MY DEAR —

I have information that our well-known internationalist, Sherwood Eddy, is scheduled to speak in — as follows: —. I enclose herewith copy of the history of Sherwood Eddy obtained from Colonel Ralph Royal Bush, editor of "The Scabbard and Blade," Akron, Ohio. Mr. Eddy was scheduled to speak in — on —. His engagement was cancelled because proper pressure was brought to bear.

It is best not to attempt to put over any public propaganda against Mr. Eddy, for there is nothing better in the world to insure a packed house.

Mr. Eddy is a very versatile speaker, and when he is speaking to an audience which he knows to be entirely out of sympathy with him he does not preach ultra-pacifism or radicalism. It seems, therefore, the best thing to do, if possible, is to prevent his speaking, and failing in that to see that he is followed up with a good speaker who will instil a little radical nationalism.

(Signed) EDWARD SPAFFORD.

Mr. Spafford was at that time National Commander of the Legion. The next letter quoted was from the Department Commander to a local official of a Post:

MY DEAR —

I am advised by Ed Spafford, National Commander of the Legion, that Sherwood Eddy is billed to speak at — on —.

Sherwood Eddy is not the sort of man that can do any good. I enclose history of Eddy prepared by Colonel Ralph Royal Bush, editor of "The Scabbard and Blade," of Akron, Ohio. I understand that Eddy has endeavored to schedule other engagements in — but in most instances he has been refused, or if the engagement was made, engagement was later cancelled.

I suggest that you get in touch with the proper people at

— and either have the engagement cancelled or arrange for some good Legionnaire to speak after him.

I have stopped Eddy's engagements in — and received a letter of congratulation from General Bowley for same.

(Signed) — —

Department Commander

The Reverend J. A. Ellis, a Legionnaire, and formerly a Post chaplain, wrote from Raleigh to Commander Spafford protesting against the campaign to keep Mr. Eddy from speaking. "Does, or does not the Legion believe," he asked, "that an honest, clean American citizen, whose convictions lead him to the pacifist position, should have the same right to express his views as has another equally honest and clean American citizen whose convictions lead him to become a militarist? Of course, this question is not limited to militarism and pacifism. It is equally true for other subjects upon which equally honest men differ." The Reverend Mr. Ellis mentioned the Constitutional guarantee of free speech. "How can the Legion pledge itself to support the Constitution of the United States," he asked, "and then deny one of the fundamental things in that Constitution? How can the Legionnaires who are going up and down the land, as spokesmen for the Legion, boast that it stands for a one hundred per cent Americanism? Does not a one hundred per cent Americanism demand a one hundred per cent support of one hundred per cent of the Constitution of the United States?"

The Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer* asked General Albert L. Cox, North Carolina Department Commander, what he thought of the Reverend Mr. Ellis' letter. "I do not feel," the General was quoted, "that it is proper for any Legionnaire to publish letters attacking the Legion, especially at this time when, as he well knows, the membership drive is being launched."

Criticism of the campaign to stop speakers became uncomfortably strong at times. One of the expressions was printed in the *American Legion Monthly* itself, in an article by Rupert Hughes. "Americanism," he wrote, "means the constant increase of liberty, not its constant diminution, yet the most un-American crimes are being almost daily committed in the name of Americanism. Many of the most violent protectors of Americanism are doing their best to destroy it or make it a by-word of oppression and intolerance. There is nobody who abhors Bolshevism more than I do, or who would more deeply regret its introduction into this country. Yet Bolshevism was only the reaction to the age-long horrors of despotism, and the best way to make this country Bolshevik is to turn local units of national patriotic organizations into police stations from which czaristic policemen will sally forth to beat up people who are trying to express their honest opinions."

When Professor Albert Einstein was unsuspectingly sailing up the West Coast to visit the United States in 1931, Dr. A. D. Houghton arose before his assembled comrades of the Legion in Los Angeles and demanded that they take immediate action to prevent the scientist from landing. Einstein, Dr. Houghton declared, was "a pacifist travelling in the guise of a mathematician." He said in passing that he did not think much of Einstein's theory of relativity: that was one thing, "but his pacifism is another—he is a propagandist against the best interests of the country." The Post, however, did not put itself on record.

Some decrease in the suppressionist activities has taken place, not so much because they are considered wrong in principle, but because the Legion has noticed that they sometimes defeat the intended purpose. The statement of policy which, inasmuch as it is still being sent out, may be considered the official attitude of the national organization,

is contained in an issue of *The Huddle*, the monthly bulletin of the Americanism Commission. "The Communist movement thrives on the negative energy expended by patriotic groups of individuals," says the bulletin. "In other words, the movement is aided every time a martyr is made of one of its speakers." The article continues:

It is an actual fact that when the Communist party starts one of its speakers on a speaking tour, it is very careful to see that the speaker's itinerary is placed in the hands of every patriotic group with a membership in the towns to be covered. This is done to get the leaders of the patriotic groups exercised to a point where they will publicly denounce the speaker, condemn his impending meeting and take public means to stop him from speaking. This is the best sort of ballyhoo stuff; it arouses far greater public interest in the speaker than any other means of exploitation that could be used. The subversive groups are smart enough to know it, while many good patriots do not realize it until too late. Generally when there has been a lot of ballyhoo, the Communist speaker makes a mild sort of a speech in which he says nothing that will make him criminally liable. This maneuver puts the patriotic organizations in the position of appearing to have made a ridiculous ado about nothing. . . .

Our first impulse is to take these disciples of Sovietism, line them up on the border of the sea, and give the command "Forward, March!" But mature thought tells us there is a better way. . . .

Here is the better way:

When one of the Communist speakers is billed to appear in your town, do not give him any publicity by opposition. Go quietly to the office of your district attorney. Tell him what you know of his character, and the sort of unlawful revolutionary doctrines he is spreading. Ask the district attorney to place his representatives there, quietly and without public notice, to listen in. When the speaker oversteps

his rights and abuses the privileges of free speech, as defined by the Supreme Court of the United States, arrest can be made. Prosecute the culprit! When he commits the overt act—and he will do it if he thinks the authorities are not looking—nail him to the mast! Strip him of his robes of martyrdom!

We cannot do too much by way of impressing upon our membership the importance of keeping an eagle eye on the promoters of radical movements. . . .

The Americanism Commission later reported that its efforts to enlist local authorities as allies in the campaign to combat peace-workers, liberals and radicals had met with success. "Following the advice of our director," it noted, "many Posts, including those at Pittsburgh and Reading, Pennsylvania, have skilfully offset the efforts of Communists without in any way involving the Post as such."

Leaving no stone unturned, the Legion in 1929 sought the aid of the United States Senate in stilling the Pinks. The National Convention noted that the Senate was conducting an investigation of the activities and connections of William B. Shearer at the 1927 Geneva conference on naval limitation. If Shearer, who was only trying to hamper the success of the conference and thus protect the shipbuilders, was to be submitted to a Senatorial grilling, the Legion knew some others whom it would like to see investigated. The Convention, after referring to the Shearer matter, passed a resolution which continued as follows:

Whereas the American Legion is also aware of the fact that numerous other individuals, associations and organizations, openly or covertly financed and supported, have been and are now engaged in the dissemination of propaganda and the use of other insidious means to hinder and defeat appropriations and other provisions to insure adequate national defense: Now therefore be it

Resolved, that the American Legion, believing in equality and justice for all, demands that the Senate, now investigating lobbying, extend the scope of its investigations to include all lobbies and particularly those quasi-religious, pacifist, radical, and Communist organizations attacking each and every law of the United States dealing with the vital questions of national defense, to the end that the American people may know who these lobbyists and propagandists are, the source of the funds which they spend so lavishly, and why they continually urge a policy resulting in national weakness or to break down national ideals and Americanism, which in the natural course of events could only endanger the safety of the Nation.

Among the organizations which should be investigated are the following, named in the order in which it is urged they be investigated:

1. National Council for the Prevention of War.
2. Federal Council of Churches of Christ.
3. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
4. American Civil Liberties Union.
5. League for Industrial Democracy.
6. National Student Forum.
7. War Registers' League.
8. Young Workers' League.
9. The Young Pioneers.
10. The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism.

Senator Caraway announced almost immediately that the Senate Judiciary committee would meet within a few days to select a subcommittee to conduct the investigation of lobbies, including the organizations mentioned by the Legion. Representatives of all ten would be called upon to explain the source of their funds and their activities, as the Legion had requested.

The organizations at whom the finger of suspicion was

thus pointed took the matter lightly, even jovially. "We shall welcome the opportunity to co-operate with the committee by giving full information of our activities," telegraphed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The Federal Council of the Churches pointed out that the activities of its Commission on International Justice and Goodwill, which seemed to have caused the alarm, had been under the direction of the late Bishop Charles H. Brent and George W. Wickersham. Even though those men were hardly Bolsheviks, it would be glad to be grilled and even offered to submit to investigation by the Legion itself. The American Civil Liberties Union not only announced that its records were always open and inspection encouraged, but volunteered to collect those of the other organizations named and send them in to Washington by way of saving the committee's time.

Newspapers throughout the country inquired whether the Legion's zeal had not been carried somewhat too far. The Senate Committee, perceiving the unpopularity of the move, quietly failed to carry out the investigation.

The 1930 National Convention modified its demand slightly. "We regard the Reserve Officers' Training Corps," said the National Defense Committee, "as a vital element in our system of national defense and we deplore the action of certain misguided individuals and societies who are seeking to destroy the Reserve Officers' Training Corps by having it abolished in our schools and colleges. We therefore reaffirm the action taken at the last National Convention to the effect that the Senate investigate the lobbying activities of all such individuals and societies." Since most of the ten in the previous year's resolution opposed compulsory R.O.T.C. courses, the 1930 resolution differed from its predecessor more in phraseology than in intent.

THE CHURCH SUBVERSIVE

THE inclusion of the Federal Council of the Churches in the list of suspicious organizations cited for Senate investigation was an outward manifestation of an inward resentment. Other similar manifestations have indicated, in increasingly frequent instances, a lack of sympathy on the part of the Legion with some aspirations of the church.

The root of the discord lies in the war-time problem presented by men whose religious principles did not permit of their taking part in fighting. Long-standing American tradition dating back to the time when the Quakers were welcomed to this country caused the Government to recognize the privilege of conscientious objection when conscription was decreed. Veterans have found it hard to believe in the sincerity of conscientious objection; they are inclined to regard it as an evasion not unconnected with cowardice. By the same token, they feel a certain annoyance with the church for affording what they suspect is a pretext.

“Whereas,” resolved the Legion’s first Convention with a touch of annoyance, “the members of the War Department, though manifesting great diligence in punishing the defenders of our country for the slightest infraction of military discipline yet persist in showing such anxiety for the

safety and welfare of conscientious objectors many of whom were naught but enemies of this country hiding behind the cloak of religion . . . Resolved, that we demand that Congress shall at once enact such laws as may be necessary to prevent ever again enemies of this country hiding behind a religious cloak, to be honored by this country when deserving nothing but disgrace."

The only way surely to accomplish that end would be to discard the tradition which has allowed Quakers freedom of conscience, and the Legion seems not unfavourable to such a step. Mennonites have somewhat the same principles in respect to fighting. The 1920 Convention found out that a "colony of 8,000 German-speaking conscientious objectors, calling themselves Mennonites" were planning to leave Canada and come to the United States. The Legionnaires pledged themselves "to take all lawful means to prevent their proposed colonization, both by the enforcement of existing laws and by securing the passage of such new laws as may be necessary." Vigorous protests of the Legion in various states put the Mennonites in great bewilderment about their migration.

Major Granville Fortescue, the Legionnaire who chronicled the 1930 Convention for *Liberty*, noted that former President Coolidge received a more enthusiastic ovation than did the incumbent President, Mr. Hoover. "Somehow," wrote Major Fortescue, "I felt a lack of understanding between President Hoover, the Quaker, the prophet of pacifism, the man who has hamstrung the Navy, and these men [the Legionnaires] who had stood the test of shell, shot and machine gun at Château-Thierry and St. Mihiel."

Even more alarming than the existence of the Quakers or the threatened immigration of the Mennonites, from the Legion point of view, is the tendency on the part of other denominations to recognize conscientious scruples. A general

conference of Southern California Methodists in the summer of 1931 appealed to Congress to grant military exemption to conscientious objectors in their ranks. The Better America Federation Bulletin chronicled with favourable headline the prompt response of 120 California Legion Posts. "We believe," the Posts protested, "the sentiment expressed in the Methodist Episcopal resolution to be inimical to the security of our nation, that in case of dire emergency requiring war that no citizen should be permitted to shunt the defense of our country upon the shoulders of others." One Legion Commander said he was dumfounded at the Methodist action. He foresaw the Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics doing likewise, leaving the fighting of wars to a "pitiable group of loyal Americans whose love of country is not subverted by unpatriotic ideals and actions."

Conscientious objection is not the only point in which the Legion has found itself in disagreement with church groups. Religious workers, some of them perhaps feeling that the World War indicated a weakness in Christianity's leadership, have taken a more aggressive part in working for peace within recent years. Some have urged a total rejection of war by Christians. The majority have taken more moderate steps, seeking to build up a public sentiment against recurrence of world-wide warfare. They have, for example, advocated joining a world court, cutting down of large armaments, and the lifting of the compulsion to military training in the school Reserve Officers' Training Corps course.

Such efforts have drawn the denunciations of all the experienced patriotic propagandists, who have resorted to the familiar tactics of endeavouring to link the church with Bolshevism. The logic of the argument has been somewhat weakened, of course, by the notable atheism of the Soviet Government, but this has not deterred the patriots from

maintaining that Russia was undermining America's safety through the churches. The small volume *Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists* by the late Colonel Leroy F. Smith (Legionnaire) of the Better America Federation, contains a double-page diagram describing the structure of the Federal Council of the Churches. A sort of shadow halo is drawn around the circle representing the Federal Council, and the radiations are labelled: Slacker's Oath, World Court Propaganda, League of Nations Propaganda, I.W.W. Sympathizers, Communistic Propaganda, Tariff Tinkering, Socialistic Propaganda, Anti-Preparedness Including Military Training, Pro-Japanese Propaganda, Fostering Subversive Youth Movement. The Federal Council does not admit to all these enterprises.

A blast against the Federal Council was loosed also by Harry A. Jung, who is the sales agent for Colonel Smith's book. Mr. Jung quoted an assertion that the Council was co-operating with and frequently working under the direction of radical groups affiliated with the Third Internationale. A different source of guidance was spotted by Captain Dudley W. Knox (Legionnaire) writing in the Naval Institute Proceedings. He intimated that British contributions were helping the Federal Council's campaign against a big navy. When Kirby Page, editor of *The World Tomorrow*, a liberal religious periodical, found that 12,000 clergymen would refuse to sanction any future war, General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff of the Army, vehemently denounced Mr. Page and the ministers. The General said that by their pacifist position they would "hearten every potential or actual criminal and malefactor who either has or contemplates breaking some other law." Numerous other patriotic propagandists have made plain their belief that the church should confine itself to preaching peace in generalities and not venture into specific suggestions. Such sen-

timents expressed by its outside counsellors and by outspoken members within its own ranks helped the Legion to its decision to ask a Senatorial investigation of the Federal Council.

Constant references are made to church radicalism in the national Conventions, which help to create a state of mind in Legionnaires favourable to friction rather than co-operation with the church. The Americanism Commission reports, for example, "a close watch has been kept upon the anarchists and their organizations in all parts of the country," and adds the caution, "Their work and methods are found among some of the church people and many other places. The Legion should be untiring in its efforts in combating this great menace to our nation."

A speaker at the same Convention in which that alarm was sounded attributed the opposition to Defense Day—a War Department plan for an annual mobilization demonstration which has since been abandoned—to an autocracy of the cloth attempting to set up "a government by clerical bloc." "When any clerical bloc attempts in the name of the church," continued Mr. James T. Williams, Jr., "to meddle with the business of the state, when any propagandists of the cloth, either here, at home, or in the Far East or the Near East, or elsewhere, organize sapping expeditions for the purpose of undermining our national defense, or obstructing our traditional policy, foreign or domestic, the Legionnaires, north, east, south and west can be counted upon to raise up for their countrymen a leadership that will liberate them from government by clerical bloc and overthrow an autocracy of class which is repugnant alike to men and things American."

This was stronger phrasing of the protest than the Legion had employed. The feeling of the more ardent military-minded Legionnaires, analyzed and paraphrased, probably

would reduce to this: We patriotic people are doing our best to see that our country is well protected against war, and all the time certain church leaders are counteracting our efforts by using the name and prestige of the church to campaign for a peace policy which is wrong and dangerous to the country.

On the other hand, some religious leaders regret that the Legion's name is invoked to further a conception of patriotism which they are equally certain is wrong and dangerous to the country. Thus a lack of harmony appears.

Usually local Posts rather than the national organization take the lead in trying to check church peace efforts.

Legionnaires objected strenuously to the conference of the New England Fellowship of Youth for Peace, in Concord, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1926, which was held in Trinity Church Parish house there. After protests were unavailing, a group of patriots advanced upon the meeting place, created an uproar of jeers and hoots and threw a few eggs. The rector reported that nobody was hit. Later the Boston Sunday *Globe* printed the following account:

Concord is an embattled village again. . . . The pacifists themselves have been egged. A local clergyman was stoned while leaving one of the meetings. The postmaster has been threatened with the loss of his job because he voted to let the peace crusaders use his church. Police have stood guard about the home of the chairman of the selectmen since the mob gathered one evening to boo and sing jeering songs under his windows, because the selectmen permitted the peace conference to meet in the Town Hall. . . .

The war veterans, feeling themselves the custodians of the Revolutionary tradition, declare their town has been traduced by the presence of men some of whom were conscientious objectors in the World War. The vestrymen of Trinity Church and the older citizens, proud of Concord's tra-

dition as the home of idealism and freedom in all its higher forms, feel equally that Concord has been disgraced by the attempts at denial of free speech and the persecution of her guests.

Under the leadership of the Legion a counter-demonstration was held in the Concord town hall as a protest against the peace-seekers. A town crier went through the streets to summon citizens to the patriotic mass meeting, which was addressed by Fred R. Marvin. Resolutions were adopted favouring world peace and denouncing the Fellowship of Youth for Peace as "not a dependable peace organization, closely allied with certain highly radical and Socialistic movements," the ultimate result of whose policy would be "to endanger the Government of the United States."

The Legion in Colorado attempted in the following year to have a pastor dismissed from his post in Golden on the ground that he was a subversive influence among the students of the Colorado School of Mines. "There is a student pastor on the campus named Frank Olmstead," reported an investigating committee named by the Department organization of the Legion, "who in the opinion of the American Legion is an adherent of the Soviet form of government of Russia. He does not believe in military training and is active in preaching pacifism and in encouraging interest and adherence to the Soviet form of government of Russia, and is otherwise talking and conducting himself in a manner in our opinion inimical to good government. . . . In the opinion of the American Legion by and through the said committee, such student pastor should be censored and expelled from the institution and its campus. . . ." It was further recommended that one member of the Board of Trustees of the school, who was encouraging Olmstead, be removed and

his place be "filled by a patriotic citizen having the other necessary qualifications for the position and who believes in military training."

Alarmed by these charges, the governing board of the church activities conducted an investigation of the pastor on its own account, and the report was published by the School of Mines. It was a complete contradiction of the Legion's assertions. Olmstead admittedly spoke Russian, having learned it while serving with the Allied troops against the Bolshevik armies, but he had never favoured the Soviet system of government. He had been opposed to military training, and war, but he had not preached pacifism. The Legion demand for his dismissal was not granted.

In the case of Olmstead, the action against him was taken formally by the state organization of the Legion. Frequent minor disagreements with local churches are precipitated by groups of Legionnaires or individual Posts bent on observing the Americanism Commission's injunction to keep alert to guard their communities against radical influences. Frequently they are directly inspired by the writings of patriotic propagandists.

Members of the Post in Des Plaines, a suburb of Chicago, read in the news sheet of Harry A. Jung's American Vigilant Intelligence Federation an item about the formation of a Chicago unit of the Civil Liberties Union. One of the "principal characters" involved, said the item, was the Reverend Mr. W. B. Waltmire, of the Federal Council of the Churches, who had helped Roger N. Baldwin obtain police permission for an unemployment parade. This showed, according to Jung, how Federal Council men worked closely in co-operation with the Reds. The Legionnaire readers of Des Plaines took special notice because Dr. Waltmire was a Methodist minister in their town. They straightway

formed a delegation to call upon him and sound him out about his views.

After the interview, the Legionnaires decided that although Dr. Waltmire was a peacemaker he was not a pacifist and therefore not subversive, and they wrote to Jung clearing the minister's name. They added, however, that they would keep their eyes and ears open and watch his activities and orations, and that they would appreciate any further information from Jung, as their organization could always be depended upon, at least in Des Plaines, to help chase down any Reds in the community.

Another pastor was less fortunate. "Jefferson Post, Louisville, Kentucky," reported the Legion's official organ several years ago, "has won the first skirmish in its fight on disloyalty in its city. The People's Church, whose pastor's utterances on the War have been subject to severe criticism, has been forced to disband because of pressure exerted by the Post."

A gesture by the Legion at the state conference of Congregational Churches of Illinois at La Grange in the spring of 1931 was commented upon unfavourably by some clergymen. At the opening meeting of the conference a delegation of six Legionnaires in uniform wearing tin hats and carrying the Legion and American flags—one man bore a rifle, as well—marched in military fashion to the front of the church, gave the command to halt, placed the flags on the platform, saluted, about faced, and marched out of the church.

Liberal religious periodicals have from time to time found themselves differing from the Legion on various points. The most notable case is that of the *Christian Century*, which has published numerous articles deploring the attitudes and actions of the Legion. Early in 1930 an article inquired in its title whether Legion chaplains were "yes-

men." The article related the experience of a minister who, after being elected chaplain of his Post, was asked in a Sunday evening church question service how a man of his ideals could belong to and serve in the Legion. The minister's reply from the pulpit, noteworthy for its outspokenness, was printed in the local newspaper.

"Many pronouncements, I regret to say, of the American Legion officials certainly are directly opposed to Christian principles," he said. "I must also concede that the actions of many Posts are anything but American, and assuredly not Christian. In the last few years the Legion leaders have been either men who were victims of deliberate propagandists for shipbuilders and armament manufacturers or men whose ideas on international relations were fifty years behind the times. . . . It is astounding to see how many of those who are loud in their demands for a Prussianized America have had no real war experience except that of guarding Lake Michigan or the Statue of Liberty. Most of the veterans of actual conflict who are intelligent understand too well the meaning of war to believe that national egotism and threatening armaments will bring peace." He admitted that Commander Paul V. McNutt's rebuke of President Hoover for stopping cruiser construction was not to his liking, nor were the "mob actions" of Posts in stopping liberal speakers, nor did he approve of the rowdiness at Conventions.

But, the newly-elected chaplain contended, the avowed principles of the organization as expressed in its preamble, were above reproach. He saw no reason why persons of his convictions should not participate in Legion affairs and do what they could to prevent "intolerant jingoists" and "office seekers" from gaining dominance. Furthermore, he had genuine praise for the community betterment work carried

on by some Posts. "The work of the local organization in providing a recreation field for the town is among the many acts of constructive service which attract me to hold my membership," he said.

Within a few days, the minister received notification that his Post had resolved to "postpone the installation of Comrade — as chaplain of — Post until such a time as he may appear before a regular meeting designated by the Commander to explain his quoted sentiments and to express his willingness to comply with the policies, by-laws and constitution of the American Legion." Upon receiving that notification, the new chaplain resigned his position immediately and his membership in the Legion. He explained that when he had joined, he heartily subscribed to the preamble, "but now it seems that I am expected to agree with everything any official of the Legion may say or with anything Legion Posts may do." "At least," he added, "the Post seems afraid of self-criticism. I do not see how any organization can claim to be one hundred per cent American on that basis. To me one hundred per cent Americanism means democracy, freedom of speech, the right of every man to his honest convictions."

National chaplains of the Legion usually are men whose convictions are much more harmonious to the organization's point of view. Chaplain John W. Inzer, of Alabama, was a conspicuous figure in the early days, and very popular with the Legionnaires. "Gentlemen," he once said, speaking of the Bolsheviks in America, "you don't know how badly I do hate some of those guys. . . . Now that the War is over they are in lucrative positions and our boys haven't got jobs. We've got to say, 'Send those scamps to hell!'" There was prolonged applause. He also took a firm stand on the righteousness of war. George S. Wheat, in his *Story*

of the American Legion, quotes one of Chaplain Inzer's speeches at length. In part it ran:

Oh, men, if I might make it plain to you that it seems to me I stand on the very rim of creation and I am speaking there to an Angel who had never been able to see the light. I said, "Angel, what are you doing here?" and he said, "I was placed here when God created this world." And he said, "God sent me to look down upon this world and report to him at one special time and at that one time only," and I said, "What was to be the nature of that report?" And God had said to that Angel, "Don't you ever leave that world until you see dawn, until you see that man has come to a place where he will begin to measure up to what I expect of him," and that Angel said to me, "I have sat here through all the ages and I have seen times when I thought that the sunlight of God's great knowledge and love and truth was going to come over the hills and then some being like the Kaiser or Alexander or Napoleon or some one that was of a Bolshevik type would rise up and retard it and the sun would never rise," but he said, "Thank God on April 6, 1917, I reported back to God when America entered this War that I had seen the dawn."

Again the assembled Legionnaires applauded.

National Chaplain Ezra G. Clemans, a Methodist minister, also won great applause from Legionnaires in Convention. As a newspaper at the time pointed out, they could not cheer during his invocation, but the veterans made up for it when he read his report deploring the "tremendous propaganda of pacifism permeating some of the great religious bodies of America." There was an outburst of enthusiasm. "Bands led delegations in shouting, cheering parades around the Convention hall for ten minutes," said the newspaper's description. The sentence in Chaplain

Clemans' prayer to which the demonstration harked back was recorded as:

“And, Our Father, if Thou canst bless the pacifists, we pray you, bless them. And if Thou canst do nothing else for them, we pray You, make their hearts as soft as their heads.”

XVIII

MILITANT WOMEN

WIVES accompanied Legionnaires to National Conventions in increasing numbers, and at the third Convention, in 1921, they formed their own organization, the American Legion Auxiliary. Not only were wives made eligible to belong, but also sisters, mothers and daughters of Legionnaires, and of service men who died in the War or afterward. The Auxiliary was to be recognized so long as it carried out the purposes and policies of the Legion. The arrangement was a happy one for both sides. The women were interested in the men's projects and wanted to help carry them out; they were afforded activity of their own while the men were busy with Conventions or Post meetings. From the Legion point of view, the Auxiliary held out promise of substantial assistance which has since been amply fulfilled.

"The Legion represents the head and the Auxiliary represents the heart," said an early president. This meant that the Auxiliary accepted its policies from the men and carried them out in suitable feminine ways. The thought has been amplified in the addresses which the Auxiliary leaders have made in National Conventions. "We are unique among women's organizations," said one president, "because we

are the only women's organization that takes its entire program of activity from a man's organization." Laughter and applause was noted in the minutes. The 1931 president assured the new National Commander, "'Wherever you go, whatever you do, with my 400,000 women I will be following you.'"

True to these expressed ambitions, the Auxiliary has become a twin of the Legion, extending that organization's personality and impressing its characteristics not only upon the Auxiliary's own membership, but also to a lesser degree upon other women of the nation through social contacts. The Auxiliary has the same ambitions as the Legion, to grow in numbers and influence; to do good for the disabled veterans; to Americanize the women of the nation. With the Legion, the Auxiliary believes that there will be more war, and that the United States should gird itself well for that eventuality; like the Legion, the Auxiliary has been subject to outside suggestions from the military group and the patriotic propagandists. The influence of this feminine wing upon the country's future is the greater for the larger share that women take in moulding the thoughts of children.

Political strength has been added to the Legion by the Auxiliary, the rise of which has to some extent paralleled the growing participation of women in public matters since the vote was granted them. "Realizing the increased influence of women in the affairs of the country," said the 1929 president, "the Auxiliary this year has made extensive efforts to bring the support of the women to the legislative program of the Legion. Whenever calls came from the Legion's National Legislative Committee for support of measures pending in Congress, the Auxiliary has endeavoured to mobilize the full strength of its membership and the influence of all patriotic women behind the Legion's

stand." The Lobby in Washington has become accustomed to notifying the women whenever a flood of messages was needed to convince wavering or stubborn legislators, and has found among the women many ready, even eager pens.

The desire for size, common to American organizations that measure progress in numerical terms, has led the Auxiliary to proselyte even as does its masculine counterpart. Each year the president is able to report to the National Convention that under her term of office the Auxiliary has dotted several hundred more units, or chapters, over the country and engraven several thousand more names upon its roll. The growth has been truly remarkable, proportionately faster than that of the Legion itself. The Auxiliary started with less than 200,000 members, and in 1931 had slightly less than 400,000 distributed in about 7,000 units. In seeking new members, the Auxiliary frequently helps out the aspirations of the Legion in that line, for in order to be enrolled a woman must have a Legionnaire in the immediate family or else prompt one of her men-folk to join. "Over the top with the Legion," was the women's slogan the year that the men particularly concentrated their energies upon bolstering the membership.

On behalf of the disabled veterans, the Auxiliary has rendered willing and effective help, both moral and financial. The women have visited and cheered many ex-soldiers in hospitals. Their special innovation has been the annual Memorial Day poppy campaign. The poppies are made in hospitals and convalescent workshops by veterans who earn a total of \$100,000 a year thereby; and the women sell the flowers to raise \$1,000,000 to carry on rehabilitation work.

The Auxiliary, of course, desires world peace, but being primarily a patriotic organization, it does not yield to over-optimism. In her presidential address Mrs. Boyce D.

Ficklen, Jr., mentioned the members' knowledge of how "solemn treaties were regarded as scraps of paper when the war gods began running amuck," and vouched for the Auxiliary's determination that the way to promote peace was for the United States to be thoroughly armed. "Because of our firm stand for the maintenance of the country's defense," she told the Legion, "your Auxiliary has been denounced as a militaristic organization even as you have been. Nothing could be more absurd than this charge. We have seen our men march away to the most terrible war in history, the ordeal of this generation, and we have a clearer understanding of what war means than any other group of women in America. No one hates war more sincerely than the women of the American Legion Auxiliary, yet we will not let our love of peace blind us to the fact that the possibility of war has not yet been banished from the world. Just so long as war remains a possibility it must be guarded against, and a strong national defense is the only adequate safeguard. Until all possibility is past your Auxiliary will continue to raise its voice in support of an adequate national defense, undaunted by any charge of militarism."

This attitude pervades the Auxiliary's Americanism work, with the result that the effort to further the cause of patriotism becomes indistinguishable from the campaign to increase the country's armaments. In the enthusiasm for preparedness, the desire actively to promote peace is overshadowed. Persons and organizations engaged in peace work become opponents inasmuch as they seek to discourage the building of a war machine. By such a chain of associative processes the Auxiliary has chosen as its particular field of activity the combating of what it regards as impractical pacific movements and tendencies among the women of the nation. The method devised has been the calling together of groups of women in annual conferences

to solidify and extend their conception of patriotism as military preparedness and to encourage them to spread that gospel through the country.

The Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, as the annual gathering in Washington, D. C., is called, was the idea of an early president of the Auxiliary, and has been perhaps the outstanding contribution of the organization to the Legion's cause. So successful was the first conference that it has been repeated, with one exception, every year. Each Auxiliary president lays great stress on the conference in her report in National Convention, and with justice, for the Legion's objectives are thus effectively propagandized among a whole class of the population which the Legion itself cannot directly reach.

Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, the national president under whose term of office the first conference was held, explained its purposes to the next Convention. "You did well," she said, "when you organized an American Legion Auxiliary, because in our country today women play an important part in citizenship, and the greatest danger in this country today is coming from women leaders who are seeking to undermine our country through the power of the citizenship of women. Somebody has got to stop them, and that somebody is your American Legion Auxiliary. We have already made a start in carrying forward, among the women, the principles that you stand for. We did it last February in Washington in that Defense Conference we held, and called to our side sixteen great women's patriotic organizations of America."

The conferences have illustrated perfectly the susceptibility to outside influence characteristic of the Legion and other patriotic societies. Since the Auxiliary and its cooperating organizations are intent on furthering patriotism they turn for guidance to the group of men whom they con-

sider the upholders of the glory of the flag—the military leaders and the experienced patriotic propagandists. This is providential for the energetic generals and the ambitious admirals, for their gravest worry lies in peace-seeking movements among women, which have become a menace to large armaments. Hence the generals and admirals are only too willing to devote time to addressing gatherings such as the Auxiliary sponsors, for the women can thereby be converted into missionaries of militarism voting and talking for larger Army and Navy appropriations. Likewise, the expert patriotic propagandists are glad to co-operate, for every woman instilled with a fear of Reds and Pinks means another potential supporter.

On Washington's Birthday, 1925, there foregathered in Washington at the beck of the Auxiliary, delegates representing the D.A.R., Colonial Dames, Sponsors of the United States Navy, Ladies of the G.A.R., United Daughters of the Confederacy, and ten similar organizations. After a pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier they settled down to the business of the first Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense. The keynote was struck by Mrs. Oliphant who told the women they were assembled "to hear our country's greatest experts on preparedness and common defense as peace insurance."

The second day was designated Army Day, and four generals and two representatives of the War Department addressed the conference. The generals stressed the importance of the Army, and told the women how necessary was their support of it. The Inspector General, Major General Eli A. Helmick, gave a history of the radical movement through the ages, the subject matter of which was strikingly similar to the writings of the patriotic propagandists; he identified the opposition to compulsory military training in colleges as of Communistic origin carried on through lib-

erals and church workers. He concluded by announcing his conviction that "revolutionary forces are at work in our country and in our schools and colleges," and summoning the women to "rise up and destroy" them.

The third day was Navy Day, and three admirals and the Secretary of the Navy spoke. They aroused enthusiasm among the assembled women for an invincible armada. "It is a comfort to us of the Navy," said Rear Admiral W. R. Shoemaker, "and an inspiration to greater effort, to feel that we have with us the high-thinking, earnest, sensible women of our country to help stem the tide of pacifist and Bolshevik near-sightedness and sentimentality which threatens our standing and prosperity as a nation." The secretary of the Reserve Officers' Association announced the need of enrolling 100,000 young men every year in the Citizens' Military Training Camps, and gave each woman delegate an application blank to pass on to some boy. "The pacifist," he said, "is working to destroy our land, and unless we work he will succeed."

As the conference neared its close, the Honourable Fred R. Marvin—introduced as "the best informed man in this country on the character, purpose, methods and ramifications of subversive and radical forces seeking to undermine the Government"—spoke on "Propaganda," and gave the women the benefit of his knowledge of Bolshevik plots. He declared that Communism and Socialism were the same thing, and described it. He told how the patriotic Teapot Dome oil lease was granted despite the opposition of "Socialist-pacifist groups." He warned that the good nature of the American people "has resulted in our being drawn into a veritable sink of legislative reforms every one of which has, in some way or in some manner, weakened the nation and been the opening wedge for additional destructive legislation."

In the final session the women concurred "in heartiest approval on every point brought forward by the distinguished speakers"; urged sufficient appropriations for national defense; and undertook a campaign to raise the Citizens' Military Training Camps enrollment from 34,000 to 100,000. Although no definite steps were taken to raise the country out of the sink of reform to which Mr. Marvin alluded, the official account of the conference expressed the confidence that a "nation-wide movement backed by loyal and patriotic citizens" would arise to "inaugurate a real offensive against radicalism." The conferees were photographed on the White House lawn with the President and the First Lady, and the Auxiliary saw itself as the foremost patriotic society of all American history.

The conference became an institution, and accumulated more affiliating societies, until in 1929 delegates gathered from thirty-eight women's patriotic organizations. There were Daughters of Colonial Wars, Colonial Daughters, Daughters of the Seventeenth Century, Daughters of the Defenders of the Republic and Daughters of the Cincinnati, Daughters of 1812 and Daughters of Founders and Patriots, Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War and Daughters of the American Colonists, Daughters of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution and Daughters of the Union. The Auxiliary noted that the conference "was held in Washington during the Senate consideration of the naval construction bill and effectively refuted the claims of the pacifistic opponents of the measure to the support of the women of the country."

Although honours are shared, the Auxiliary maintains its leadership. Its president was chairman of the 1931 conference, and the president-general of the D.A.R. was first vice-chairman and hostess because her organization furnished the meeting place, Constitution Hall. The pro-

gramme was much more elaborate than in the early days, for it included military band concerts, vocal recitals, sessions mornings and afternoons and banquets at night, and a personal handshake for each delegate from the President. Senators joined admirals at the speakers' table. The American Legion philosophy dominated the gathering. Its National Commander talked on national defense and was joined by five other Legionnaire speakers besides Mrs. Oliphant, now chairman of the Auxiliary Defense Committee, who delivered an address on "What Price Peace."

The conferences have gone beyond the simple achievement of impressing the women with the financial needs of the Army and Navy. The latter-day gatherings develop the theme by advertising the prospects of another war, and by showing how the peace-seekers are a menace to the nation. The chairman of the Legion's Defense Committee (Colonel Charles B. Robbins, former Assistant Secretary of War) made war seem heroic as well as necessary. "It is pleasant indeed," he said, "to contemplate the chimera of universal brotherhood and easy to forget that nations are founded on bloodshed and agony and sustained by self-sacrifice and devotion. The belief in such dreams is aided by universal abhorrence of war and it is by playing upon the strains of this harp that pacifists and internationalists seek to weaken the very foundations of our national structure."

The National Commander of the Legion pointed out just how preparedness and in particular the Universal Draft plan would achieve peace. "This nation would be virtually invincible . . . Since defeat would be assured, certainly there would be few nations which would desire to declare war against the United States." He overlooked the possibility of other nations matching America's preparations. But Representative Fred A. Britten, seeking to heighten the dramatic effect of war warning, unwittingly pointed out

that although any single nation might hesitate to break the peace, there was no guarantee that a combination of foes might not be formed. "Nations are but composites of human beings. The principal nations of the world to-day owe us many billions of dollars," said Mr. Britten, stopping just short of naming names. "Debtors are not generally concerned over the misfortune of their creditors; some nations might benefit greatly by a war between the United States and some other power or combination of powers."

Not only are the peace-seekers damned by being linked with Bolshevism but advanced political views also are made to appear subversive to the assembled women by the same method of association. Mrs. William Sherman Walker, chairman of the D.A.R. national defense committee addressed one of the gatherings on the same topic Mr. Marvin chose years before—propaganda. Mrs. Walker divided dangerous propaganda, for convenience, into three varieties: pacifism, Socialism, and Communism. But she made clear that they were closely interwoven. "I see the Soviet plan working everywhere in America," she said. "I see people quarrelling over things they do not understand, babbling of peace that means only weakness and death. . . . There is a saying which the Communists employ, 'building Communism with non-Communist hands' . . . Pacifists prepare letters for signature by housewives and busy people who have not time to write letters of their own accord. They ring doorbells and beg busy people to sign these letters as a token of their desire for world peace. Unsuspecting any unusual motive, thousands of signatures are obtained in this way from guileless people."

"The vandals are here," declared Mrs. Walker in her peroration. "They would rob us of Army, of Navy, of normal home life, of the Constitution, and all that it implies. Religion itself is not exempt from the attack."

How the vandals consort is emphasized and made clear to the women by pamphlets, for the speeches at the patriotic conferences are supplemented now by abundant literature gathered by the Auxiliary and other sponsors and made available for the delegates to read and take home to their neighbours. Quotations may be found from the works of Fred R. Marvin, Harry A. Jung, the Better America Federation and other such authorities. One brochure supplied by the National Republic was designed to show that Communism, Socialism, internationalism and pacifism were all alike, by listing common aims of the four movements. Among the aims so denounced were: (1) Social insurance such as unemployment benefit and old age pensions; (2) prohibition of injunctions in labour disputes; (3) Government aid and farm relief; (4) increase of civil liberties; (5) free trade; and (6) reduction of armaments.

Another pamphlet gives clues to the Legion Auxiliary and the assembled sister patriots as to the identity of some of the vandals, under the title, "The Enemy Within Our Gates." Among the persons mentioned are Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, for his "tolerance toward revolutionary Communism"; Reeve Schley, vice-president of the Chase National Bank in New York, and Henry Ford, for their business dealings with Russia; Professor John Dewey, philosopher, for being president of a "radical propagandist organization"; and Owen D. Young, for his "internationalistic activities."

No longer are the women content to pass a few general resolutions before adjournment; they now formulate at the patriotic conferences an extensive programme of action for the country embodied in a long series of resolutions which embrace the principal demands of the military group, many of the desires of the American Legion, and a few extra patriotic ideas. The 1931 conference "earnestly urged" that

more funds be granted to increase the number of reserve officers and give more training to the present ones; that more land be given West Point; that the pay be raised for enlisted men in all branches of the service; and that particular attention be paid to developing poison gas warfare, inasmuch as Russia was doing so. Turning to naval matters, the women asked Congress to pass quickly the naval construction bill, and urged everybody to patronize American ships "in order to develop and encourage the maintenance of our Merchant Marine."

Congress was urged to enact measures practically suspending immigration by cutting quotas to ten per cent of the present allowance, and the Fish Committee's investigation of Communist activities was enthusiastically applauded. In the matter of foreign policy, the women decided the country ought to avoid "entangling alliances which could operate to limit our full liberty of decision in international affairs." The reference presumably was to the World Court and the League of Nations although they were not named.

Two minor patriotic gestures were made in the endorsement of legislation making the Star Spangled Banner the national anthem, and in the designation of April 3 as American Creed Day, to be appropriately celebrated by the participating groups. The conference noted that "many organized groups . . . allow frequent reference to be made in many of their meetings to a change in the economic order, providing for so-called 'production for use and not for profit.'" These references were deplored. In order to "overcome as far as possible malicious propaganda in this connection" the women were asked to "make an intensive study of conditions pertaining directly to the protection of home and country."

Alarmed about the "anti-American elements . . . incessantly working to overthrow our constitutional form of gov-

ernment," and the formation by Communists of "cells, sections, fractions and nuclei wherever possible," the women favoured "the enactment of an oath of allegiance to the United States as one of the qualifications requisite for teachers in the schools and colleges of our land," and urged "school authorities in every city to set up barriers against the entrance of anti-American organizations into the schools."

The conference took cognizance of the movement to remove the compulsion to military training in schools and colleges and noted that bills to that end were pending in Congress and state legislatures. "Whereas," decreed the women, "such bills have been prepared and are being sponsored by the Committee on Militarism in Education and other pacifist organizations, together with subversive groups including those advocating the abandonment of nationalism and patriotism for internationalism and the slackers' oath, Now Therefore Be It Resolved, That we vigorously oppose all legislative bills and other measures now under consideration or that may be proposed to in any wise diminish, curtail, prevent or prohibit the continuation of military training in any manner, directly or indirectly . . ."

A further suggestion for the regulation of education was embodied in the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The schools and colleges are considered a fertile field for the dissemination of Socialist and Communist theories, often so subtly presented that the students fail to recognize their significance; and

WHEREAS, The press in many states have carried news stories describing forums that have been organized within educational institutions, to break down patriotism, to weaken the spirit of national loyalty, and to interfere with military training and other phases of national defense.

RESOLVED, That the organizations participating in the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense determine to expose and combat all such activities; and
RESOLVED, That the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense register its approval of further unity and consolidation of effort to the extent of having all its participating organizations co-operate in all the communities of the United States similarly as they are working together in this national conference.

These resolutions present a summary view of the conception of patriotism which the American Legion through its Auxiliary and the Auxiliary's collaborators are endeavouring to instil in the women of the nation. To be a patriot, one must favour a generally increased military establishment; on the other hand, to refer to the possibility of change in the economic system or to encourage student discussion groups is un-American.

"The Auxiliary," said its 1929 president, "has risen to the position of the largest women's patriotic organization in the country at a time when women have been given a greatly enlarged influence in the nation's affairs. We are in a key position to give American women an example and leadership in using this new influence. We can do much to make sure that American manhood is not captured by those who do not hold America first in their hearts, but that the women of the country in their widened sphere of activity devise their energies to the patriotic good of the country."

Surely Lysistrata would be astonished by this twentieth century development.

MILITARIZING THE YOUTH

WHILE the preaching of Legion doctrine among adults continues unabated, the organization as it grows older is coming to realize more and more keenly that its doctrine must also be implanted in the nation's youth. It has taken a look into the not too far distant future when both Legionnaires and their opponents will have to give way to younger men, and it has seen that if the Legion's spirit is to outlive its members, Legionnaires must have younger prototypes.

In taking cognizance of the axiom that as the twig is bent so grows the tree, the Legion is following a trend noticeable in post-war Europe. Each nationalistic group is trying to perpetuate its ideals through the next generation. The Fascisti in Italy band together little boys in the Balila and older ones in the Avanguardia so that when the present dominating group becomes too old it may have a counterpart to take over the reins of power. In Russia the Young Pioneers are being carefully groomed to carry out the Soviet tradition.

The efforts of the Legion in America are basically similar. No longer is the American boy left to pick up his political views and form his own idea of patriotism from listening to

the conversation at his father's dinner table. The Legion sees a bitter contest being fought out between itself and influences which it regards as subversive, with the children's confidence as the trophy to be awarded the victor.

This activity among children is in perfect alignment with the rest of the Legion's programme. The organization sees its old foes the pacifists, Communists, internationalists and liberals marking their ideas upon youthful American minds. It uses its old weapons to combat them, and teaches the children how to use these weapons, too. Each year the Americanism Commission and the National Defense Committee spend a large share of their time devising new ways and perfecting old ones to corral more boys and stamp them with the Legionnaire brand of one hundred per cent Americanism—passionate nationalism and whole-hearted support of military preparedness. Individual Posts and members are urged to co-operate in thus making better citizens of the coming generation.

Under the subtitle *Combating Subversive Groups*, the Americanism Commission reported to the twelfth Convention, "Subversive Movements—We have in this country a large group known as the Communistic. The Communistic group works through our children. It realizes that our men and women are of such an age that they are not easily led to new and false doctrines, but that the youth of our land makes most fertile soil for their pernicious teachings. The pacifists and Communists are endeavoring to work through our churches and our schools. One wing of the organization makes a concentrated drive upon our schools and the other wing works upon our churches. They are seeking to implant in our youth disrespect for our home, for our Government and our religion. That is why we are so vitally interested in those movements, Education, Boy Scouts, R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. . . . The preservation of our na-

tion depends on our youth, through sound teachings, education, and through our program for youth."

This programme includes activities for boys of all ages, beginning with the Junior Baseball League and Legion-sponsored Boy Scout troops for youngsters still in short trousers.

The Junior Baseball League is an original institution of the Legion's. Mindful of the sentence, "The Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton," Legionnaires are leading American boys out onto the sandlots of the United States.

When the idea was first proposed to the Legion, the Americanism Commission said, "The basic purpose which should motivate the American Legion to organize a Junior All-American Baseball League is to promote citizenship through sportsmanship. . . . A popular athletic program would afford the American Legion the best possible medium through which to teach the principles of Americanism. Under cloak of a sport code, we would inculcate more good citizenship in a boy during one year than would be possible in five years of direct appeal." The plan seemed perfect in every way. "The Junior All-American Baseball League," continued the report, "is an idea which has every attribute of nation-wide popularity. Even though it did not have great possibilities for the promotion of better citizenship, it would provide the American Legion with a most desirable and effective type of publicity. . . . It is not unreasonable to predict that many capable men, veterans of the World War, would be attracted to our ranks by the program which is here presented."

The members took up the idea and Junior Baseball has flourished increasingly each year. Teams are formed under the supervision of local Posts and play for district, Department, sectional and regional championships until all but

four teams are eliminated. These four, the champions of their respective regions, meet and play for the "world title." Players must be amateurs and under seventeen.

For several years the project was seriously handicapped by lack of funds, but in 1928 the National and American Leagues of Baseball appropriated \$50,000 to defray the expenses of Department champions through sectional, regional and final tournaments. The professional leagues have continued this substantial co-operation every season since, and Junior Baseball has consequently found clear sailing. In 1930, the Americanism Commission said that 400,000 boys were in the game under Legion guidance.

The Boy Scouts also have been adopted by the Legion in its efforts to combat Communism, and encourage a more martial spirit in youthful ranks. The first Convention urged Posts to give as much assistance as they could to troops in their respective neighbourhoods. Since then there has been greater insistence each year on the duty of each Post to adopt or organize a troop of its own. The Americanism Commission has declared, "If the Legion can help to get this program to more of our boys, then we will have no cause to fear subversive movements." Furthermore, the Commission pointed out that "the boys see their heroes in the persons of the World War veterans. Posts are urged to adopt troops, furnish scoutmasters, and set examples for these future citizens."

These arguments are appealing to Legionnaires. Although Scouting was originally intended to teach boys woodcraft, self-reliance out of doors, and appreciation of nature, bit by bit a nationalistic value has become apparent. In 1920, James E. West, head of the Boy Scouts of America, was interviewed for the *American Legion Weekly*. "While the spirit of Scouting is not militaristic," he said, "experiences of the last years have completely demonstrated that

Scout training helps immeasurably in fitting a man for the duties of a soldier." He recalled that during the War, Scouts sold \$300,000,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and \$50,000,000 worth of War Savings Stamps; that they located 20,000,000 feet of lumber, collected enough fruit pits to make half a million gas masks and distributed 30,000,000 pieces of Government literature.

This recital was congenial to the Legion's own ideas of the possibilities of the Boy Scouts. Troops sponsored by Legionnaires are sometimes found now getting their physical education in drills led by Army officers or practising marksmanship with Government ammunition in armories. Now and then they spend week-ends at Army camps. Scouts no longer simply help keep spectators in place at soldiers' parades. They are to be seen marching behind the band, their childish legs bravely trying to keep step with the brisk strides of their heroes. Bright silk flags stream out before them, there are prancing horses alongside, bayonets and buttons shine in the sunlight, there is inspiring music; and mother and father and little sister stand among the thrilled and audibly admiring crowd to see Johnnie parade. Being a little soldier seems much more splendid than being a little Daniel Boone.

The chief trouble with American youth, the Legion feels, is that they are not sufficiently military-minded, and it has a plan designed to remedy the situation at a single stroke. Let the Government force every young man to learn soldiering by serving time under Army officers. Such a course would accomplish two objectives. In the first place, the United States would have tremendous manpower resources already partially trained for the next war. "Without universal military training," the *American Legion Weekly* once pointed out, "it is the four million of us who trained in the World War who will do any fighting there is to do, at any



THE LEGION PARADE IN BOSTON

time within the liability limits of age. . . . Shall we again rush forward to serve, or shall the coming generation, too, have a stake in the country's security?" In the second place, the nation's young men, moulded by military discipline, would tend to become impregnated against "subversive" ideas of pacifism and internationalism. With these ends in view, the Legion has urged since its first Convention that the United States make universal military training compulsory.

As yet the Legion has been unable to realize this policy in law, however, because a number of opponents both in and out of Congress have arisen to point out that never in the history of the United States has any citizen been forced in time of peace to prepare himself for war; that our forefathers, having emigrated from countries where compulsory military training was an established institution, were as anxious to escape that system as they were to escape religious intolerance, class rule and suppression of free speech, because they saw danger in it.

The Legion has come to realize that the fight for compulsory universal military training is destined to be long and difficult and must be waged with caution. Therefore, it is skilfully using the means now at hand to achieve the same result as far as possible and to pave the way for acceptance of the complete programme by the next generation. The Americanism Commission and the National Defense Committee lead the Legion in a campaign to put more boys in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and Citizens' Military Training Camps. The Legislative Committee does its part in lobbying for bigger and bigger Congressional appropriations for these War Department projects.

In a number of schools and colleges membership in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps is required of first and second year students. Of recent years there has been a

movement to do away with this compulsory aspect and make the training elective instead. Students sometimes resent being forced to take it, and men and women who are interested in world problems are inclined to feel that the system is out of harmony with the efforts now being made to pave the way toward permanent peace. A group of persons, including such noteworthy figures as H. G. Wells, John Dewey, Albert Einstein, Selma Lägerloff, Jane Addams and Rabindranath Tagore, signed a peace manifesto not long ago saying that the world's arming seems to them inconsistent with the various international pacts outlawing war; that instead of training youth for war, we should be educating the newer generation to thoughts of peace and ways of utilizing and improving upon the various methods of pacific adjudication which have been worked out among nations; that the time has come when every sincere lover of peace should demand the abolition of military training for youth.

Another group, which holds the same opinions and is endeavouring to put them into practice, composes the Committee on Militarism in Education. The chairman of this committee is Dr. George A. Coe, Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University; and Professor Manley O. Hudson of Harvard Law School, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, William Allen White and Marion Parks, President of Bryn Mawr College, are members.

The Legion and the Committee on Militarism in Education have had more than one tilting match. For the Legion is determined that military training shall continue to be compulsory wherever it has been so established. If it were made elective, the Legion feels that students, disliking the course anyway, would grow even more apathetic; fewer and fewer of them would enter the Reserve Officers' Training Corps so that finally it might fade out of existence altogether. Abolishment of compulsory Reserve Officers' Train-

ing Corps throughout the country might prove an entering wedge for the abolishment of all civilian military training.

In 1931 a bill was introduced in the Iowa State Legislature to make military training optional in state institutions where it had been compulsory. Supporters of the bill included nine groups ranging from college students and the Parent-Teachers' Congress to farm and labour organizations. Petitions asking that compulsory drill be abolished were presented by student groups of two Iowa colleges; one was signed by 1,300 State University of Iowa boys who had taken courses in military training, and another by 823 students of the Iowa State College at Ames.

The Legion immediately mobilized for action. A Legion "minute man" was named to speak in every county to warn the farmers and students that support of the bill might be construed as unpatriotic and un-American. Maurice J. Cahill, Department Commander, who has been called "the Abraham Lincoln of the Iowa Legion," and Frank Miles, editor of *The Iowa Legionaire*, spoke in every hamlet. Legion Posts flooded state Representatives with resolutions urging that compulsory military training be continued. Every kind of pressure was exerted. The Legion saw Red handwriting on the wall, and in an editorial entitled "Bad Company" *The Iowa Legionaire* strove to prove by elaborate deduction that the Communists were involved in the controversy.

The particular ogre was the secretary of the National Committee on Militarism in Education who had come from New York to help the Iowa Committee. He is young Raymond Wilson, product of an Iowa farm and about as Communistic as Abe Martin. But *The Iowa Legionaire* reasoned like this: Wilson had taken desk space in the offices of the regional officers of the National Council for Prevention of War, the officials of the Council sympathized with his cause

and the secretary of their organization was Frederick J. Libby, a conscientious objector; moreover, Wilson's committee had on its board a man who was also on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose director was Roger N. Baldwin, who had been "in prison for slackerism during the War," who was associated with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who was "reputed to be an anarchist," who was frequently seen in company with William Z. Foster, who was "American Communist chief-tain," who was connected with organizations that had benefited from the Garland Fund, whose donor once founded a "free love colony." Glanced through rapidly this makes Wilson little short of a desperado, although most of the people at whom the specific charges were levelled had nothing to do with the Committee on Militarism in Education.

Iowa newspapers took up the fight. Some ran such headlines as "Military Drill Fight Led by Russian Reds." The Des Moines *Register* championed the bill to do away with compulsory R.O.T.C. and summarized the arguments against required drill as follows: "It violates the academic freedom of the colleges"; "It teaches . . . the glamor of war, but shows . . . nothing of the probable methods to be employed in the next great conflict"; "It neither fits a man physically for war, nor teaches him anything of value to be used in actual military service"; "It is contrary to the democratic spirit of America"; "The discipline compulsory military training teaches is irrelevant to American life."

Numbers of Legionnaires objected to the stand their organization was taking and wrote to the newspapers. One of them, after the Legion had testified against the bill, said, "I protest against the implication that those opposed to compulsory military training are un-American and unpatriotic. On behalf of myself and hundreds of others I

resent the implication that members of the American Legion who profess to speak for it, have any monopoly on patriotism and loyalty, or have any exclusive knowledge of war and what is needed to prevent it."

The official Legion stand had powerful support, however, and the bill was defeated. The R.O.T.C. Bulletin said, "Our victory in Iowa is of national importance. Patriotic forces were led by our vice-president, Colonel Charles B. Robbins, a former assistant Secretary of War, of Cedar Rapids, with the assistance of Maurice Cahill, Department Commander of the American Legion; Frank Miles, editor of *The Iowa Legionaire*; Colonel Paul M. Shaffer, of the adjutant general's office; the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Military Order of the World War; D.A.R.; National Guard Officers of Iowa; American Vigilant Intelligence Federation of Chicago; the publishers of the *National Republic*, Washington, D. C., and numerous other patriotic organizations and persons."

There have been somewhat similar controversies over compulsory drill at various other colleges, notably in New York, California and Nebraska. In almost every case, military training has remained a required course. The Legion also successfully opposed a bill, introduced in Congress by Representative Welsh in 1926, which was designed to do away with military training as a requirement for graduation from certain land-grant colleges. The House Military Affairs Committee, having heard the veterans' arguments against the bill, refused to report it out.

Young boys are quite as impressionable as the Legion believes them to be, and Legionnaires have had several demonstrations of the fact that their trust in the R.O.T.C. is not misplaced. One of them was reported in the *National Republic* for May, 1931, as follows:

Roosevelt High School students (Los Angeles, California) have had enough of the Young Pioneers and Parents' League, Young Communists, Young Workers and other forms of Communism. Recently, a group calling themselves "Young America" organized to put an end to Communism in the school, and turned upon the young Reds as they undertook to distribute literature in the school. The outcome was a severe beating for the Reds. Roosevelt High School has been the scene of much Red agitation for nearly two years, but Young America has at last awakened. Members of the R.O.T.C., American Legion and the Red Squad finished the work of "Young America" when they raided the co-operative restaurant meeting place of the young Reds and broke up the fixtures, smashed the windows and made a mess of the place.

A year or so before, the student Y.W.C.A. of the University of West Virginia invited Kirby Page to speak under its auspices. He accepted and his topics were announced—"Intolerance" and "The Meaning of the Cross." The student officers of the R.O.T.C. greeted the news with indignation. A Special Situation Bulletin of Scabbard and Blade, R.O.T.C. honorary fraternity, had convinced them that Mr. Page was a subversive character, and they lost no time in appealing to local chapters of the American Legion, D.A.R., and the Ku Klux Klan to help prevent his appearance. A committee of prominent citizens representing these organizations was hastily dispatched to call upon the president of the University and protest. The president yielded to its wishes. The following day he announced that the projected meetings could not be held and that Mr. Page would not be allowed to speak on the campus. Not content with this victory the student officers of the R.O.T.C. declared they were going to "get" the secretary of the student Y.W.C.A., who had precipitated the controversy, that

they were going to see that she was discharged on one count or another, and that they were going to try to secure the dismissal of the dean of women who had supported the Y.W.C.A. stand.

The *Army and Navy Register* once drew back the curtain on its opinion of the Red menace in education and the R.O.T.C. In a disarmingly frank editorial the *Register* said in part:

You must admit that the R.O.T.C. must keep pushing hard to keep the naturally pacific mind of America from becoming pacifist. . . .

Young men of this country are naturally conservative and conventional, not radical in their opinions. The "Red" danger in the colleges is a lot of noise, and very little more. If we had compulsory military training and a conscription system, we could park our spurs on our desks and let the citizens go hang. . . . But with a voluntary training system, we need the limelight. Our staid and unattractive work needs to be brought to popular attention, and, indeed, the best way to bring anything to the attention of the public is to start a fight about it. This the "Reds" are most obligingly doing. They get the space in the papers by forcing the issues and by sensational attacks. The papers follow up the matter and find that the wind bag explodes, and the big-wigs in the academic world inevitably support the military training program. . . .

There are "Reds" in the colleges, but they are usually "grinds," looked upon as "nuts" and "freaks" and "high-brows" and exert little if any leadership, devoting most of their extracurricular energies to reading "liberal" weeklies, talking about "capitalism" and pursuing the glittering Phi Beta Kappa key. . . .

Keep your eyes open on this subject of "Reds" in the colleges; but do not open them wide with fear, open them rather with a mind to promptly seizing the opportunities

for publicity and counter measures, which the "Red" criticism may afford.

The Legion is doing quite as much in its own way as the Reds to hasten the time when R.O.T.C. officers may park their spurs on their desks and let the citizens go hang.

The Reserve Officers' Training Corps includes a comparatively small proportion of American boys, however. The problem of how to get military training to the others still remains. The Legion decided that this problem would best be solved by full attendance at the Citizens' Military Training Camps throughout the country and set about to procure it. But the Legislative Committee noted that there was some difficulty in getting sufficient appropriations from Congress for so extensive a C.M.T.C. programme. Shrewdly the Legion hit upon the idea that if thousands more were to apply each year, then Congress would be persuaded that there was a wide demand among its constituents. So the Legion systematically set about constituting itself a vast recruiting agency for the camps. A volunteer organization of Legionnaires has been constructed to parallel the Army system, with a chairman in charge of each Army corps area, corresponding to its general. The chairman directs the work of each Post in his district in tempting the young men of the neighbourhood to enrol, by picturing the personal pleasures and patriotic necessity of subjecting themselves to military drill in their holidays.

The camps open in June. In April the Americanism Commission through its monthly bulletin, *The Huddle*, stirs Posts to activity by running long articles suggesting the best methods of encouraging enrolment. There is a terse outline of effective talking points. In May the Citizens' Military Training Camps promotion campaign is sometimes used as a feature for Post meetings. An invitation to all

young men of proper age is broadcast through the papers and members bring those they know. Employers are invited so they may become sufficiently impressed with the idea to grant the boys working for them enough time off to go to camp. An Army officer who has commanded boys in camp, or a reserve officer speaks. There is often community singing. Civil War veterans may be asked to lead the meeting in "Dixie" and "Just Before the Battle, Mother"; Spanish War veterans may set the key for "Ta-ra-ra-Boom-De-Aye" and "A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," and then the Post quartette starts World War songs. There is an enthusiastic description of camp life from some boy who has already been there. The Auxiliary, with the aid of pretty high school girls, serves refreshments and the floor is cleared to let the young people dance. Meanwhile, the Post Americanism committee is on duty with blanks ready to help the boys make out their applications.

Gayle H. Somers, a Legionnaire history teacher in a high school in Fostoria, Ohio, once sent an item to the *American Legion Monthly* suggesting how individuals might help. He himself urged his students to attend C.M.T.C. camps. "This year," he wrote, "seventeen boys in the history classes signed up to go to the Citizens' Military Training Camps with the idea of completing the four year course." Occasionally he had encountered a parent who objected "because of purely pacifist reasons" but he had always made a personal call and usually had been able to overcome the objection.

The National Americanism Commission feels that this is the right spirit. It points out, "The young men naturally look to Legionnaires for advice about attending military camps. The Legionnaires have been through the mill, they realize, and know what's what about military training. If the men of the Legion aren't enthusiastic about the camps,

they may figure that military training isn't such a good thing." The Legion wants every member to be emphatic in saying that it is a good thing. It feels that the pacifists are busy discouraging young men from attending camps and is anxious to lift its voice to contradict their views. "There is no finer training for citizenship than service under our flag," it proclaims. "The C.M.T.C. movement takes our young men at the formative age and gives them a month's training, which develops true American citizenship." It also asserts that such training teaches the boys "how to be of maximum assistance to our country when a national emergency calls them for the common defense."

The pacifists assert that these statements are not wholly accurate. They contend that the boys learn drills and manœuvres which are effective on the parade ground but give no practical lessons in how to fight the next war. To substantiate this view the pacifists cite the admission of Major General Charles P. Summerall that the camps do "not directly serve to promote any military objective." "The chief benefit to the Army," he said, "lies in the increased confidence in its personnel on the part of the civilian population . . ." Second, the pacifists say, the camps encourage belief in the inevitability of war, distrust of peace treaties, and suspicion of other nations. Third, patriotism is taught in the terms of militarism. For example they cite a speech made by General Pershing as he finished reviewing R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. troops at Camp Meade. "And the time will come, young gentlemen, in this glorious country of ours," he assured them, "that whenever a red-blooded American girl is being proposed to by an American boy, the first question she will ask will be, 'How many years' service have you seen with Uncle Sam?'" The fourth objection is that the boys are not taught good citizenship, but learn intolerance instead.

Representative Ross A. Collins, member of the House Committee on Military Affairs, discussed these objections in a speech he made in Congress in 1930.

"The War Department has published an official Manual on Citizenship Training (T.M. No. 2000-25)," he said in part, "for the use of officers teaching young men in the Citizens' Military Camps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and so forth. . . ."

"It takes a slap at those who do not continually boost for a bigger and still bigger Army by referring to their attitude as 'destructive idealism.' I quote:

"The attempt to undermine the nation from within is more serious than the threat of armed force from without.

"An impractical and destructive idealism called internationalism is being propagated by certain foreign agitators and is being echoed and re-echoed by many of the nation's 'intellectuals.'" Its efforts are to combat the spirit of patriotism, to destroy that spirit of nationalism without which no people can long endure. . . ."

"I take it President Hoover and Prime Minister MacDonald had not read this or they would not have made the dangerous internationalistic pronouncement quoted from earlier in this speech. By this standard the words of Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God,' sound like the rankest Bolshevism.

"I am disturbed by a recurring note in this official manual on 'citizenship,' where the General Staff seems so concerned about what they call 'enemies within' the country. They come dangerously near suggesting that a class war is inevitable by continually harping on the dangers of what they call 'collectivist' activities. One wonders if they are trying to strike at such old American organizations as trade-

unions and such. This fear is deepened by their definition of democracy, which I quote:

“‘Democracy: A government of the masses. Authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of “direct” expression. Results in mobocracy. Attitude toward property is Communistic—negating property rights. Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed by passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences. Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy.’

“Why should the General Staff of our Army so characterize democracy? This is a sample of citizenship that our military men are teaching our boys. Does it look toward progress or toward militarism? Will it not aggravate the very Communism it is meant to check?”

Henry Allen Overstreet, head of the Philosophy Department at the College of the City of New York, has said, “To lure our children and our young men with the glitter and glory of military life; to tickle them with military titles, is dangerous enough. But to make them sceptical of the great effort that is at last being made throughout the world to find a more decent way of international life; to lead them to join in sneers at those who work for a peace that shall be permanent; to fill their minds with base fears of neighbor peoples, to bring them up suspicious of every concerted effort after social, political and industrial betterment—this is profoundly and tragically to change the mind of America.”

TEXTBOOKS WITH A MORAL

A FIERY, energetic little man who wore a stringy black bow tie was employed shortly after the War by William Randolph Hearst to think up ideas for editorial campaigns, and to carry them out. This little man, the late Charles Grant Miller, hit upon the idea, among others, that history textbooks should have a more nationalistic slant in order to instil a strenuous, flag-waving brand of patriotism in the young generation. The more he thought about it the more excited he and the Hearst papers became. The history books told about the military triumphs of this nation so briefly and with so little effort to arouse the martial spirit in youth that he concluded it must be a gigantic conspiracy; America's historians must have been corrupted with foreign gold to undermine the children's virility. He flew into an attack on the leading historians and undertook to get their books discarded from every school in the country. The storm he stirred has long since subsided, but the after-effects have persisted to this day, for Charles Grant Miller passed his idea on, in altered form, to the American Legion.

John F. Hylan was mayor of New York City at the time by the grace of William Randolph Hearst. Mayor Hylan suddenly discovered that the school children were being

“inoculated with the poisonous virus of foreign propaganda which seeks to belittle American patriots,” and he appointed a city investigating committee to find out all about it. This put the matter on an official plane, and gave the textbook campaign standing and prestige outside of New York City. Charles Grant Miller, of course, was the guiding spirit behind the entire investigation, but when the report was issued, the general public regarded it as the voice of the city of New York. Eight history textbooks were condemned for pro-British propaganda (the crack at Britain went well with the Irish voters) and the Board of Education was told that they ought to be barred from the schools.

This was a flying start, and Charles Grant Miller went right on from there, growing ever more aggressive and extravagant. Because the United States was swelling with nationalistic pride, as any country would after a successful war, the time was auspicious. He informed the patriotic societies about the menace, and found them readily excitable. When he assembled his charges in a pamphlet named *Treason to American Tradition—Spirit of Benedict Arnold Reincarnated in United States History*, he was able to claim a long list of allies in addition to the city of New York.

“The charges herein presented have been endorsed,” said his pamphlet, “and the accused books condemned, in formal resolutions unanimously adopted in their national conventions, by the following named great patriotic organizations: Veterans of Foreign Wars, Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration, Grand Army of the Republic, Knights of Columbus, Sons of the American Revolution, United Spanish War Veterans, American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, and the Daughters of 1812.”

The pamphlet assailed Professor David S. Muzzey's history because in its six hundred pages John Paul Jones got

only one sentence and the story of Bunker Hill was "compressed into seventeen insipid words." "In this tabloided and denatured account of the War of Revolution," proclaimed Miller, "there is not . . . an example that stirs desire for emulation, nor an ideal that thrills to patriotic fervor." School histories by Albert Bushnell Hart, Edwin Greenlaw, McLaughlin and Van Tyne, William West and other scholars were similarly demolished.

Miller went about prompting patriotic societies to take action against the books by passing resolutions urging that the poisonous histories be thrown out of the schools. Various "trials" were held in which patriots, among them Legionnaires, armed with Miller's data, appeared before boards of education as plaintiffs against offending histories. The local Legion was a leading spirit in one of the most notable trials, that before the Jersey City board in which the supposed culprit was Professor Muzzey.

National Headquarters took up the hue and cry and instructed the Americanism Commission to investigate the teaching of history and find out what should be done about it. The investigators did not go the whole way with Charles Grant Miller, nor did they join in denunciations. "We are certain," said the Americanism Commission, "that such outstanding historians as we see discussed and criticized every day in the press are not unpatriotic or their books written as the result of organized foreign propaganda." Their faults were not malicious, but unintentional. The Commission decided to make no definite charges against any publisher or author. "It was found much better to talk these questions over in person with the historian than to publicly denounce him."

Eliminating Miller's sensationalism, the Legion nevertheless seized upon his underlying premise and adopted it as the Legion philosophy of education. How better could

the Legion fasten its conception of patriotism upon America than by carrying its gospel directly into the schools and catching the next generation in its most pliable state? To get boys into military atmosphere in the R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. was all very well, but not sufficient; the campaign must be carried into the classroom itself. Thus it became the avowed purpose of the Legion to fix the war-time nationalism permanently upon the country by instilling it into the children through the educational system.

America's greatness, the Legion reasoned, was founded upon military glory; to preserve the greatness, maintain the prowess: make certain that the next generation will be "virile" and ready to fight if need be. Only if our children have a passionate nationalism will they be proof against the creeping scepticism about war that is filtering into this uncertain world of today. Therefore, teach them to love the flag, to salute it, to wave it! Tell and re-tell the legends of our heroic fighting forefathers! If the United States were ever wrong in a past war, then it might be again in a future one. Let no doubt enter any young head. Therefore, our country never fought but righteously, and never will. If any dispute arises, the other country must be wrong.

Moreover, America's greatness was founded upon our institutions. To preserve the greatness, maintain the institutions unchanged. The least alteration might be an entering wedge to turn things upside down. Youth is notoriously susceptible to new ideas; new ideas lead to changes. Therefore, teach the children that all is well as it is; that our institutions must be cherished and guarded against tampering. Let not the new ideas of youth be encouraged, lest the coming generation be led astray. Thus the thought that the present social and economic régime must not be altered would be linked inextricably in the emotional conception of patriotism. The flag would become a symbol not only of

military glory but of conservatism. Liberalism would become potentially treasonable.

History teaching for the sake of propaganda is not a new phenomenon, as Bessie L. Pierce points out in her comprehensive work, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History*. Many nations have employed it in the name of patriotism to put a lively nationalism into the heads of their youth. Livy extolled Rome, and Green lauded England. "Treitschke and Nietzsche," says Dr. Pierce, "pictured the glories of an imperialist régime in Germany. As a result there has developed an overweening pride in national and racial attributes and achievements. From such a source has sprung much of the hereditary enmity between France and Germany." The South before the Civil War wanted to bar Yankee schoolmasters who paraded under the "black piratical ensign of abolitionism."

History books, the Legion determined, should be purposeful in selecting which truths to tell. Historians should realize that their duty was more than the mere setting down of truths; they should so marshal their facts as to point a moral. They should, in short, consider themselves missionaries of patriotism. "We further believe," said the Americanism Commission in 1924, "that some of these authors to-day are at fault in placing before immature pupils the blunders, mistakes and frailties of prominent heroes and patriots of our nation. History lays the foundation for future citizenship to a great extent and it should contain inspiration and good example for the boys and girls, inspiring love of country and admiration for noble ideals . . . Material is sometimes presented to give critical results or recent historical research rather than to influence good citizenship."

To rescue our children from the texts that presented recent historical research in preference to good plain national-

ism, the Legion hit upon the plan of writing and publishing its own history book which every child in the country would study in the seventh and eighth grades.

For three years the book was laboured over and it finally came forth in two impressive volumes. It was perhaps unique in all literature as a triumph of wholesale committee authorship. The Legion wanted a book that represented the viewpoint not of any single writer but of the entire nation. Charles L. Horne, a professor of English at the College of the City of New York, drew up the first draft and it was sent out to "over a hundred carefully selected critics." "These represent," said the Americanism Commission, "experts of every sort. Each one of these is the voice of some special form of patriotic activity; each represents some different religious sect or national section or universal brotherhood [Reference presumably is made to fraternal orders such as Elks, Knights of Pythias]. All are doing what child cannot form his own views; he must and does take the guidance of these critics brought before our own committee [the phrasing is somewhat vague; the thought is that the pupils' minds are too immature to form sound opinions so a composite patriotic opinion is assembled for them]. The text is revised so far as possible to meet these counsels. It is then again set up in type as a new book—not one man's work but the nation's."

The Story of Our American People, as the Legion's history was entitled, was issued by the United States History Publishing Company, a subsidiary of Parke, Austin & Lipscombe, a New York City firm of which Colonel Lemuel Bolles, former National Adjutant of the Legion, was vice-president. In the front of the book it is explained that the text was examined and revised by statesmen, including seven Senators, three generals, Dr. Archibald E. Stevenson, principal author of New York's famous Lusk Report, Miss Etta

V. Leighton, civic secretary of the National Security League, R. M. Whitney, author of *Reds in America* and director of the American Defense Society, a forerunner of the patriotic propagandist organizations, and the chairmen of both the Republican and Democratic parties. Also, it was prepared with the critical aid of and endorsed by twenty-seven organizations among which were the American Legion Auxiliary, American Federation of Labor, American War Mothers, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Boy Scouts of America, Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of 1812, Daughters of the Confederacy, Knights of Pythias, National Civic Federation, National Security League, Sons of Confederate War Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Women's Home Missionary Society. "To all of these and to one thousand others the character of this book is due," said the foreword.

The purposes of the book are stated at length in the introduction, including "to express to the rising generation a faith in our country and a BELIEF in it that shall tend to create a broad patriotism and love of America, to give an understanding of our institutions that shall inspire confidence in our laws and loyalty to our Government."

Chapter One is entitled, "The Meaning of America," and the first paragraph is: "This is the Land of Hope—AMERICA! A thrill of love leaps into our hearts at the mention of the name. Even strangers love America." Page six adds the thought: "The fact that our continent lay so long unused has seemed to many earnest thinkers one of the world's most striking manifestations of the Divine Purpose of God."

The first volume goes through the Revolutionary War. In the second volume one page is devoted to literature, listing seven American authors. Twelve pages are devoted to the Mexican War, of which the children are taught: "It seems clear that some such war with the Mexicans was sure

to come. The moment our frontier touched theirs in any inhabited region, strife was bound to arise, just as it had arisen against the Indians. The border Mexicans of that day . . . were scarcely more civilized than our southern Indians had been. . . . Vacant lands belonged to the man who would plough them and make them valuable. That was the doctrine of our frontiersmen. . . . Mexican leaders looked down on us with contempt mingled with anger, and showed this at every turn. They knew so little of the outer world that they really thought they could defeat us with ease. . . . The gallantry of our troops carried them successfully onward to amazing victories.”

A few suggestions about economic and social affairs are interspersed from time to time. The children are permitted to choose whether they would like to be little conservatives or little liberals on the basis of the following definitions: “Conservatism wants to progress cautiously. It sees clearly the good in present things and knows the dangers of change. Liberalism looks rather to the evils of the present and is willing to risk dangers in the hope of improvement. Each party thus draws its strength from some of the noblest human qualities, but each also appeals to some base elements. The earnest conservative finds himself supported by the laziness and greed of many who are specially favored by present conditions. The liberal who urges any radical change draws to his side the blind destroyers of every sort, reckless adventurers who hope to snatch from the ruins some robber prize and foolish folk who do not know how hideously common man suffered in the past and so assume that their present possessions, liberty and protection, would be but little things to lose.”

If the children should miss the cue there, they are advised more explicitly on page 472: “We believe thoroughly in the organization of society and the method of government by

which we have advanced. We shall not lightly cast aside what our fathers won with so much effort and sacrifice."

The Story of Our American People ends on a religious-psychological-economic note: "God's glorious Law of Free Will has given to man alone, among the known forces, the power to choose his path. Thus no matter how often we fail, we can always start anew. The opportunity ever opens before us of helping on His future if we will."

The 1925 National Convention was told by its Americanism Commission that the publication of the book had been given over to a commercial firm since it was decided that the American Legion could take no profit from it. "We must not forget, however," the Legionnaires were told, "that it is our idea, nor must we forget the purpose for which it was brought into existence. The American Legion should actively sponsor its adoption throughout the country." Some slight opposition may have been anticipated, for the Commission added the warning, "It is our business to defend it against criticism wherever such defense is necessary."

The textbook, however, never thoroughly caught the imagination of the Legionnaires, and the organization failed to throw its customary zest into pushing this project to success. Not many schools use it.

That the Legion could, when it tried, penetrate into the schools and even map out courses for teachers to give their pupils was amply demonstrated in another campaign undertaken about the same time. The objective was the same—to generate patriotic ardour among the youth—but the instrument was less complicated than a history book, and less controversial. Through the efforts of the Legion, the veterans' revised flag code was placed in the hands of thousands of educators, and pressure was brought to bear to have all schoolhouses fly flags if they had been negligent about it. When necessary a local Post furnished the flag,

on the theory, as the Georgia Department expressed it, that "boys and girls who go to school under the Stars and Stripes will learn to love Old Glory." But the Americanism Commission reflected that this was not sufficient; some doctrine should be added. Patriotic exercises should be held in the schools, and a course of instruction given in flag study.

Accordingly, an outline was prepared telling teachers just what subjects to take up with their pupils in studying the flag during one class period each week for an eighteen-week semester. This has become part of the Legion's official programme, and every Post is sent a printed memorandum of the study course, with instructions how to set about having it administered in the near-by schools. The first class period is a patriotic demonstration built around a flag-raising exercise. The entire membership of the local Legion, wearing Post caps, is to participate, and the Commander is to be master of ceremonies.

The subjects to be studied in the remaining seventeen weeks include Proper Respect Due the Flag—Salute—Oath of Allegiance; The First Appearance of Our Flag in Battle; Patriotism of the Flag; Proper Manner of Displaying the Flag; History of "The Star Spangled Banner." In the eighteenth week of the course, the teachers are to give an examination covering the semester's study, and the Americanism Commission furnishes the quiz. Some of the questions asked are:

- Q. What naval commander first flew the Stars and Stripes? When and over what ship?
- Q. In what war did the Stars and Stripes first replace regimental colors as the official flag of the Army of the United States?
- Q. When used to cover the casket of a veteran, what should be the position of the union of the Flag?
- Q. Was the Flag of the United States flown over front line

troops during the World War? Over what occupied territory was it flown after the Armistice?

Q. When was the Flag of the United States first borne into a major engagement by the American Army?

Cognizance is taken of the possibility that some school principals and teachers may not be immediately congenial to the Legion's arranging a course of study for their pupils. "In order that the suggested plan of flag education may be properly presented to the pupils of our schools," the Americanism Commission instructs Posts, "the school authorities should be contacted and informed of our plan and idea of classroom study and convince them to use same."

Another early project of the Legion for instilling nationalism in the young generation did not work out as well as the flag programme. This was the national essay contest. In earlier years it flourished, and was regarded with the greatest favour by the Legion because the topics chosen were so worded that the school children found themselves writing in support of some Legion theory. The topic in 1923 was "Why America Should Prohibit Immigration for Five Years"—an idea which the Legion had been vigorously pushing. The Americanism Commission estimated that 330,000 pupils vied for the prizes of \$750, \$500 and \$250. The 1924 subject was "Why Communism Is a Menace to Americanism." In 1925 the topic served a double purpose by incorporating a publicity angle: "Why Has the American Legion, An Organization of Veterans of the World War, Dedicated Itself, First of All, 'To Uphold the Constitution of the United States'?" In the following year, "on the advice of various school authorities, a departure was made from the type of essay which had been stipulated in former contests." The subject was "Patriot's Flag Creed."

There was a second departure. The Legion was desirous

of determining just how much was being achieved by the annual outlay of \$1,500 in prizes, so instead of having the children send their essays to local superintendents to pick out the best ones, all the compositions were sent to the Americanism Commission. The Commission reported to the next National Convention as follows: "One motive for the change was to make possible a definite check of the number of entries throughout the nation. Such a check had never been made. The check was far from gratifying. Out of the forty-eight states in the Union, forty-five averaged approximately eighty-seven entries each, an almost negligible number. Twelve states sent in less than twenty-five each and two sent in none. California, Minnesota and Oklahoma were the only states promoting the contest with any degree of success." The essay contest was thereafter dropped as a part of the national programme, but numerous local Posts still sponsor similar contests of their own.

The Legion found an even more effective device for carrying its ideals into the schoolroom as a substitute for the withered national essay contest. The new project was the American Legion School Award. It has thrived more and more each year, until in 1930 medals were awarded by 2,607 Posts. Since a probable average of twenty children competed in each case, some 50,000 children at least were reached by the Legion. The hope, which seems in a fair way of realization, is to make this school medal comparable for eighth grade grammar school pupils to the Phi Beta Kappa key in colleges. The basis of the award is twenty per cent credit each for honour, courage, scholarship, leadership and service. Both boys and girls are eligible.

The definition of these qualities is left to the local Legionnaires. The award serves not only the purpose of "cultivation of high character and wholesome ideals in the youth," but also the purpose of shaping those ideals according to

the Legion's own beliefs. Through the course of the school year, the donors of the medal speak before the students to arouse enthusiasm and to explain what is meant by honour, courage and service. The speakers are also to serve as living examples. "There is a streak of hero-worship in every boy," as the American Commission points out to Posts, "and so long as a man has worn the uniform honorably for his country in time of war, that man is a hero to the boys." The Commission went on to give its idea of what the medal award project would accomplish:

"Thus, during the years as American Legion members grow older, there will be perpetuated in the winners of its awards those fighting qualities and that love of country, that unselfishness, that high regard for truth and honor shown in the American participation in the World War."

The report of the California Department was cited as a model for other states to follow. About 600 medals were distributed in 300 schools and the plan was to increase the number to 3,000. "The presentation of the medals," California reported, "was the one opportunity that we had during the year to reach many, many thousands with whom the Legion had no other contact, and we talked almost universally as a topic when we presented these medals on the necessity of having the nation prepared. We were able to combat much of the pacifist propaganda by this means."

THE LITTLE BLUE SCHOOLHOUSE

THE path of the Legion's patriotic campaigns within the schoolroom has not been entirely smooth. Occasional controversy has been met with, and in some instances Posts have found themselves involved in rather spirited community disagreements. Persons who do not accept the Legion's philosophy of education feel that to propagandize education in behalf of ardent nationalism is unfair to the next generation in that the resultant martial spirit tends to breed war by hindering the development of a psychology of international trust and co-operation. The contention is that the future greatness of our country may not necessarily rest upon military glory; that children of the present generation, if not hampered by old-fashioned ways of thinking, may be able to settle international problems by adjudication rather than by fighting. One educator advocates a school course in the development and possibilities of international machinery for avoiding war. Moreover, some who do not share the Legion's views hold the opinion that to teach children that our institutions are perfect is not only untruthful, but undesirable from a purely practical point of view. To implant in the next generation a deep-rooted prejudice against new ideas is to prevent desirable change as well as

undesirable; since some sort of change is inevitable, the result would be to breed revolution by trying to halt orderly evolution. New ideas, zeal to improve, critical capacity, should be encouraged, not stifled.

Opposition to the nationalistic training of youth arose in connection with one of the Legion's most important contributions to the schools—American Education Week. The Legion believes strongly in universal education, and has been a valuable agency in strengthening public support of schools. In pursuance of its aim to quicken interest in educational affairs, the Legion inaugurated in 1921 American Education Week, and shortly afterward obtained the co-operation of the National Education Association and the United States Bureau of Education (now called the Office of Education). It was the programme of 1924 and 1925 for celebrating the week to which exception was taken because it was thought the Legion was letting too much of its nationalistic ardour enter in.

Every school in the country was advised to observe the week from November 17 to 23, and furnished with detailed instructions by the Legion and the N.E.A. and the Bureau of Education. The subject for each day was specified, slogans suggested, ideas for posters and publicity offered, and topics for essays and speeches provided. The week opened with Constitution Day. "Co-operation of various veterans and other patriotic organizations should be enlisted for the effective observance . . ." said the printed rules. The motto was: "The Constitution is the bulwark of democracy and opportunity." This was to be amplified by stressing:

1. Life, liberty, justice, security, and happiness.
2. How our Constitution guarantees these rights.

3. Revolutionists, Communists, and extreme pacifists are a menace to these guarantees.
4. One Constitution, one Union, one flag, one history.

Tuesday was Patriotism Day, and the appropriate quotations were given as, " 'If there are places where the tide of patriotism should run higher and stronger than in others, they are in the schools of the United States.' " The purpose was "to arouse in the general public a wholesome pride in the achievements of America." "Nobody doubts," continued the official pamphlet, "that it was substantially true that 'the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton,' and that 'the Prussian schoolmaster won the Battle of Sadowa.'"

"Co-operation by local patriotic associations will undoubtedly be freely accorded, and should be utilized fully. The American Legion is one of the principal promoters of American Education Week and local Posts may be trusted to take a leading part, perhaps upon their own initiative, in any exercises or other activities that may be proposed. One of the first steps to be taken, therefore, should be to consult officers of the Legion. If they seem inclined to assume direction of the celebration of this day's proceedings and appear able to do so successfully, they should be encouraged by all means to do all they can. . . . Besides the American Legion, effective co-operation may be expected from all other patriotic organizations in the community. Cultivation of patriotism is among their prime purposes. Confidently call upon them for assistance . . . If pageants are to be given, they will take part; if meetings are to be held, they will attend in a body and furnish speakers; . . . They may be depended upon to be there. Let this day be celebrated with zest equal at least to that of July Fourth, Decoration Day, or Washington's Birthday . . . All the glorious deeds of

the past should be recalled, but only to stimulate a desire to maintain in the nation the qualities that made them possible."

The first suggested subject for the children to write essays about was "Patriotism, the Paramount Human Emotion." The text was to be taken from Andrew Jackson: "Every good citizen makes his country's honour his own, and cherishes it, not only as precious but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defense, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it."

Wednesday was School and Teacher Day; Thursday, Illiteracy Day on which it was suggested that the American Legion give a demonstration of the care of the flag; Friday was Physical Education Day, featuring a health parade with Boy and Girl Scouts in it; Saturday was Community Day; and Sunday was For God and Country Day (after the Legion preamble phrase) with the slogan: "A godly nation cannot fail." Near-by clergymen were to preach on education, with topics suggested by the Legion, together with suitable Biblical texts.

The American Federation of Teachers felt that this programme of the Legion, embodying its ideas about stimulating martial spirit, was not only lacking in progressiveness, but was not one that all parents could agree on for their children. The Federation illustrated its contention by offering its own suggestions as to how American Education Week should be observed the following year. Two of the Federation days will serve to indicate the difference in the points of view:

NATIONAL PROGRESS DAY

National Progress in Times of Peace

1. The Development of Agriculture
2. The Development of Industry
3. Transportation

4. Commerce
5. The development of public education, workers' education and of general educational institutions; the part played by the labor movement and other organized groups.
6. The development of new world culture; literature; philosophy, art, music, drama.
7. The promotion of the national spirit through friendly relations with other countries—as advocated by Washington, Jay, Franklin, Jefferson.

Slogan: The Highest Patriotism: Progress Through Peace.

POLITICAL LIBERTY DAY

The Extension of Political Intelligence Among the People of the Nation.

1. Town Meetings
2. Free discussion of all political questions to promote general understanding.
3. Freedom of assemblage
4. Freedom for all political parties
5. Universal suffrage
6. The duty of the teachers and of all other citizens to encourage the discussion of political and social questions, subject to the guidance of sound educational principles.
7. Freedom of the radio.

Slogan: No Progressive Government Without Ideas; No Progressive Ideas Without Freedom.

The Federation of Teachers was joined by the American Civil Liberties Union in requesting the Government to cease co-operating through the Bureau of Education in the Legion's Week. The ground for the protest was that it was contrary to custom and conducive to setting bad precedent for the Government to lend its weight to the private plans of an outside organization. The protest was successful.

The Americanism Commission reported to the next National Convention that the United States Bureau of Education had withdrawn from the joint promotion of Education Week, and that in its place there had been obtained the co-operation of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

As a result of the opposition that was aroused, the programme for Education Week was modified to omit Patriotism Day and Constitution Day. The Week no longer is so effective in serving the original purpose of promoting nationalism, and the observance is now largely in the hands of the National Education Association. Somewhat less emphasis is placed upon it in the Legion's Americanism programme. Posts are advised that the arrangements should be left to school authorities, but that the Posts can render service by offering to help out.

The Legion has not confined its activities within the schoolroom to positive efforts, such as prescribing courses of study and promoting awards and observances, but also has embarked upon negative enterprises on numerous occasions with the purpose of stamping out tendencies of which it disapproved. The Americanism Commission has reiterated its warnings to local Posts to be on the watch for signs of Reds and Pinks in the educational system. The class of malefactors embraces even more persons than the corresponding group that works among adults. Grown people are somewhat less susceptible to subversive influences. Special care needs to be taken to keep children from contact with even the most moderate pacifists, as well as to protect their young minds from all manner of suggestions that might lead to mental restlessness.

Long ago Governor Thomas E. Campbell of Arizona warned the Legion about the menace of liberalism in education. "I can conceive of no greater service," he said, "than teaching through our schools and through organized

propaganda . . . how thoroughly absolute equality of opportunity is guaranteed in the United States by our Constitution. . . . The presence of numerous groups of active enemies of our form of government, which include college professors and people of education and apparent intelligence, shows we are facing a condition, not a theory. These people, rebelling against the possession of large fortunes by various individuals, do not seem to be able to realize that the wealth of these individuals usually proves the desirability of our system. . . . The man without wealth usually has been unwilling to pay the price in self-denial, effort and thrift."

The advice has been taken to heart. The Americanism Commission in 1924 noted that the revolutionary radicals had "made some progress, such as placing highly paid and intellectual 'Pinks' in our universities and colleges." The Commission late in 1930 again sent out a warning to all Posts. "There is little difference," the message ran, "between some kinds of so-called Socialism, liberalism, radicalism and Communism. It is a known fact that we have professors in our colleges today who are out and out exponents of Communistic thought. They are making regular breeding grounds out of the classrooms for their un-American teachings. This is being done under the guise of so-called 'new thought, liberalism and academic freedom.' "

The methods of combating such movements when found in schools is left to the individual Posts to work out, hence there is variation according to the disposition of Posts or local Commanders.

Legionnaires in Washington, D. C., have been particularly alert in noting and protesting against what they regarded as Red activities in the schools. The first attack was launched against Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, who

occasionally addressed school audiences on peace topics. The Augustus P. Gardiner Post No. 18 demanded a ban on Libby in May, 1924. "This Post," it wrote to the Board of Education, "hereby expresses its unqualified condemnation of those inviting or permitting Libby or any other person promulgating his or like views and propaganda or allied organizations inimical to true patriotism and participation in the defense of our country in time of war or emergency to address children in our schools, public or private."

No immediate action followed so the aid of the Legion's Department Commander was enlisted. "Propaganda that reeks of the principles enunciated by the Third Internationale, Communists, or Bolsheviks, Soviet, the Revolutionary radicals and I.W.W.," said Paul L. McGahan, the Commander, "is daily making its appearance here from the headquarters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and from the National Council for Prevention of War." Other organizations such as the D.A.R. and the Military Order of the Loyal Legion also joined in pressing the Board of Education to purge the schools of peace workers.

Seven months after the agitation was begun the Board was persuaded to hold a trial. Legion officials, representatives from other patriotic societies, and a retired marine general appeared against Libby, who was accused of, among other things, "endeavoring to disarm the nursery of toy pistols, toy soldiers, etc., as a means of inculcating in the impressionable minds of children to hate war and the uniforms of America's military." This was held to be unpatriotic. The Board of Education prohibited him from speaking thereafter in any school in the District of Columbia.

Another campaign was launched by patriotic organizations when Norman Angell, the British author, was

scheduled to speak in a Washington high school. Harry A. Jung had sent out from his American Vigilant Intelligence Federation some time before, a condemnation of Angell in which it was set forth that his "associates in England consisted of most of the Socialists, liberals and worse, such as Arthur Ponsonby, Bertrand Russell, Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, Philip Snowden, H. G. Wells . . ." Harlan Wood, then Department Commander of the Legion, wrote to the Board of Education, going into some detail about the Legion's philosophy of education. He said:

As the Department Commander of the American Legion in the District of Columbia and as an American citizen and a resident of the National Capital, I wish to add my protest against the use of the Auditorium of the Central High School building for the proposed lecture by Norman Angell.

There has already been placed before your Board sufficient evidence to show that the appearance of Mr. Angell in one of our public school buildings is, to say the least, of doubtful propriety.

The Legion does not question the right of free speech, but I am sure I speak the minds of all Legionnaires in this city when I say that the public school buildings, maintained as they are at public expense as instrumentalities of the Government, should not be used as forums for the expression of ideas and the spread of propaganda by persons whose views are well known to be opposed to the generally accepted principles of American Government and American political and economic ideals and whose views on controversial international questions emanate from an un-American, if not wholly anti-American, mind.

The public school houses of the country should be maintained for the dissemination of American principles and American doctrines. They should not be subjected to even occasional use for the opposite purpose either during school hours or otherwise. If we are to maintain public institutions

at public expense, let them be dedicated exclusively to the preservation of American ideals and not used for their destruction. If subversive propaganda must be tolerated, let those who desire it find their own forums.

The school authorities decided not to comply with the Legion's demand. "Freedom of speech," said the president of the Board, "in the opinion of some of us, gives a man the right to express an opinion we agree with. When we do not agree with him that is not free speech, that is license." The indignation of *The Woman Patriot* (the propagandist publication in Washington opposed to pacifism, Socialism and feminism) caused that periodical to burst out into italics:

The District of Columbia Board of Education failed in a simple intelligence test—which was also a test of its spinal column—in refusing the reasonable request of the Department Commander of the American Legion . . . that Norman Angell, notorious British slacker and pacifist agitator, should not be given *the use of Central High School* for a subversive speech . . .

They reached the conclusion that this foreign slacker had some sort of "right" to *use a District High School*—and that the local American Legion Commander and other loyal American citizens were utterly *wrong* in denying it.

However, Norman Angell, lacking sufficient personal "leadership" to have any organization of his own followers in the District numerous enough to "*hire a hall*" to hear him, was kindly taken by the hand of the *District Board of Education*, and given the use of *Central High School!*

To this the District Commander of the American Legion and other citizens (who care nothing about Norman Angell but much about the preservation of our *public school buildings* for American educational purposes) strongly objected.

If Norman Angell and Will Durant and other agitators of their calibre had to "*hire a hall*" and depend *upon paid*

advertising for an audience—like any other commercial “entertainers”—the chances are that they could not make expenses!

The skirmish between the Legion and the District of Columbia Board of Education that attracted the most attention centred around Henry Flury, a teacher in Eastern High School, Washington. The *Forum* magazine held a contest for short definitions of Socialism, Mr. Flury entered it, and his paragraphs were printed. They came to the eye of Major General Amos A. Fries, head of the Chemical Warfare Service of the Army, the man whose librarian had prepared the famous spider web chart of radical activities. He was at that time Department Commander of the Legion. General Fries immediately wrote to the superintendent of schools calling his attention to the definition of Socialism in *Forum*. Fries' letter continued:

I am just informed in a letter that Mr. Henry Flury is a teacher in one of the high schools of the District of Columbia. I am writing you this letter at once to find out whether you know of Mr. Flury and if it be true that he is a teacher in our high schools; and if so, what action you propose to take in the matter. I shall await your answer before taking the matter up with the various patriotic organizations in this city.

The American Legion stands for God and Country. It stands for a vigorous Americanism. It stands for nationalism and the vigorous upholding of the Constitution of the United States. It is for this reason that as Commander of the American Legion for the Department of the District of Columbia, I object most strenuously to the ideas put forth in the *Forum* by Mr. Flury and against any one being kept in the schools of the District of Columbia who says in effect that workmen in America are slaves; that our civilization is cruel; that little children still toil in factories

(some do but very few and lessening all the time); who says that those who toil in building automobiles, Pullmans, and palaces, walk and live in boxcars or hovels. Any one who has gone to the factories of Henry Ford, or who has taken the trouble to go where building operations are in progress anywhere in this city, will find that the majority of the workmen ride to their work in their own automobiles. He will probably find also that they get paid equally well or better than high school teachers.

Finally, in asking the question, "Is not the industrial civilization we have created a Frankenstein that has made itself our master?" he is using in only a slightly different form the statements of the Communist that our form of government is bad. The Communist then adds that our government should be overthrown and if necessary by force and violence. This is just the type of un-American radicalism that the American Legion and other patriotic organizations are bitterly opposed to. Particularly are they bitterly opposed to this sort of stuff being taught to our boys and girls.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) AMOS A. FRIES,

Major General

Commander Department of the District of
Columbia American Legion.

Once more the Board of Education conducted an investigation of Legion accusations concerning the subversiveness of its schools. Mr. Flury was questioned, and the principal of the high school was grilled, and the matter was pondered for a month. Finally General Fries received a communication from the authorities conveying their courteous refusal to dismiss the teacher as demanded. "The Board of Education," the letter said in part, "believes that every individual is entitled to entertain his or her own private views regarding religion, the functions of govern-

ment, and political and economic issues without necessarily involving questions of loyalty with respect to the fundamental ideas of our institutions. Such views become inimical to our institutions or intolerable to society only in case they are voiced in improper places or arouse improper action."

The Legion has not hesitated at times to attack entire colleges. In the summer of 1931 the Post in Indianapolis, in the shadow of National Headquarters, was given to understand that De Pauw University, the Methodist institution fifty miles away at Greencastle, had become a hotbed of sex, Socialism and Sovietism. The Indianapolis Legionnaires straightway proposed to undertake an investigation of the University, and published the intention in the press, together with the preliminary charges that the University had issued invitations to speak on the campus to such dangerous figures as Kirby Page, Sherwood Eddy, Maurice Hindus and Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, chairman of the peace commission of the Methodist Church. The statement from Indianapolis stung the Legionnaires in Greencastle, who wanted to be allowed to attend to local subversiveness themselves. This triangular controversy had not been settled at last reports.

An earlier engagement between the Legion and a college resulted in a deadlock. The Commonwealth College in Mena, Arkansas, a labour institution affiliated with the Arkansas State Federation of Labor, had come under the unfavourable notice of Harry A. Jung. Arkansas Legionnaires became alarmed and charged in State Convention that Commonwealth College had received a grant of \$100,000 from the I.W.W. and one of \$50,000 from Soviet Russia, and that it taught "doctrines of Sovietism, free love and the like." The basis of the accusations was said to be a report from the Department of Justice. The Legion con-

vention deliberated three possible courses of action: (a) organizing a vigilance committee to go to Mena and chase away the fifty students; (b) seeking a state law barring from the state any institution accepting funds from the I.W.W. or Soviet Russia or teaching certain subjects; and (c) referring the matter to a committee for an investigation.

The last course was chosen. The chairman of the Legion's investigating committee wrote to William E. Zeuch, director of Commonwealth, asking an interview with each student and teacher, the right to examine the library and equipment, and information on the following points, among others: (a) name, birthplace and life history of each member of the faculty; (b) the course of study and lists of texts and collateral reading; (c) religious affiliations and practices, if any, of the college and faculty. Dr. Zeuch replied by asking to see a copy of the Department of Justice report on which the charges were based, and the Legion investigators refused. A few days later Dr. Zeuch made public a letter received from the Department of Justice. "You are advised," it said, "that no statement of any character has been issued by the Department of Justice concerning Commonwealth College." The Legion's investigation brought no tangible results.

There were results, however, in the case of the Legion *vs.* two professors in the West Chester, Pennsylvania, State Normal School. The Liberal Club at the school took issue with the policy of President Coolidge and Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State, toward Nicaragua early in 1927. This brought forth indignant letters from local Legionnaires and precipitated a lively rumpus in the town newspaper. The Commander of the Bernard F. Schlegel Post inquired of the Normal School principal whether it was the purpose of the Liberal Club "to laugh away patriotism and to instil in the minds of future teachers contempt for the President

of the United States and members of his official family." Two teachers in the school, Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, head of the English Department and faculty adviser of the Club, and John A. Kinneman, entered the lists with a letter to the local paper vigorously defending the right of the Liberal Club to criticize Nicaraguan policy if it liked.

As the discussion grew livelier, the Schlegel Post appointed an investigating committee which reported finding traces of Bolshevism in the Liberal Club and, citing evidence from Fred R. Marvin, indicated its belief that there was a connection between this Liberal Club and all liberal clubs and Moscow. With the report in hand, the county committee of the Legion, composed of representatives of all near-by Posts, passed a set of resolutions. The Club had a "disrespectful attitude toward the Government and its officers" and the conduct of Professors Kerlin and Kinneman, who had encouraged the Club and defended its right of discussion, was "unbecoming, unpatriotic and grossly improper."

The West Chester State Normal School forbade the Liberal Club to meet; threatened the editor of the school paper with suppression of his publication if any further reference was made to the affair; and dropped from the faculty Professors Kerlin and Kinneman.

Legionnaires of Hollywood, California, have sponsored an annual essay contest in the Fairfax High School there, leaving the subject to be selected by the faculty. In the spring of 1931 the subject chosen was "The Young Patriot's Attitude Toward Disarmament." The topic itself was highly satisfactory to the Legion, for it was a matter on which the Legion was particularly anxious for the youth of the country to take a firm stand; but in this case it turned out badly and Fairfax High School was swept by a tempest the like of which it had not seen.

Most of the students entering the contest studied under a teacher for whom they had the greatest admiration and affection, Mrs. Belle Parsons Clewe, a dynamic little woman whose eyes snapped and whose head was full of fresh ideas. Mrs. Clewe belonged to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and held the opinion that races among nations to build large armaments were not conducive to world peace. When the essays in the Legion's contest were turned in to the faculty for judging, most of them were found to be pacific in tenor. The judges found it necessary to award both first prize and second to contestants who thought the young patriot should take an attitude favourable to disarmament.

Naturally the Legionnaires were embarrassed at being put into the position of donating prizes to pupils who wanted the world to reduce its war machines. Protests were made; there was talk of calling off the competition. But the Legion had so far committed itself that it was too late to draw back; the topic had been chosen according to the agreement, the pupils had written what they believed in good faith for promised prizes, and the faculty judges had judged to the best of their consciences.

It was a pretty dilemma. The Legionnaires solved it by bringing forth their best orator. After the winning essays had been read before the assembled student body, there arose the Legionnaire to make the address of presentation—the late Colonel Leroy F. Smith of the Better America Federation. Cleverly, amusingly, Colonel Smith erased the effect of the peace-seeking essays and showed the pupils why preparedness was practical and patriotic; why disarmament was a foolish dream of the future. Not until the end of his suave address did Colonel Smith venture into direct thrusts. Then he said: "These various organizations, these leagues for peace and freedom, are all built upon the slack-

ers' oath, they are all aided by Soviet Russia. They are all ruthless, blasphemous, atheistic, selfish, not recognized by our Government." He then bestowed the prizes.

The strife, however, was not lulled, but stimulated. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, California branch, observing the interest in the American Legion's annual contest, had sponsored a competition of its own that spring, which had run concurrently. A trophy was offered for the best ten-minute speech on the reduction of armaments. Mrs. Clewe had introduced the contest to her pupils in a public-speaking class which enrolled nearly the whole school. It was her established custom in her course to encourage her students to observe the motto of the Fairfax family for whom the school was named: "Say—Do." In connection with consideration of armament limitation, she suggested (after obtaining permission from the Board of Education) to the students that if they wanted to do something, they could seek signers for the international disarmament petition currently being circulated by the Women's International League. The students' activity, of course, was entirely optional and to be carried on outside the school hours and grounds.

The petition asked for complete disarmament by all nations on the ground that competition in armaments was leading all countries to ruin without giving security. Among the first signers were Carrie Chapman Catt, Henry Ford, Silas Strawn, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and Dr. Mary E. Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke College.

When Legionnaires discovered that such a petition was being circulated, four hundred representatives of twenty Posts in the Los Angeles district gathered in an indignation meeting. "There exists among certain professors, teachers and students in our publicly supported schools and uni-

versities," they proclaimed, "a tendency to teach, expound, foster and practice un-American doctrines and principles." A programme was urged to educate students "in the true military history and expansive military policy of our country prior to 1920 and in the dangers of pacifism and unpreparedness in destroying the conditions of peace which the American Legion had so large a part in restoring." It was further resolved that the Board of Education should forthwith stop the students from circulating the petition, investigate how permission came to be granted in the first place, and discipline the teachers and officials of Fairfax High School who were responsible.

Within a few days a meeting of representatives of a dozen patriotic and military societies including the Legion and the Gold Star Mothers and the Veterans of Foreign Wars demanded that the principal of Fairfax High School, Rae G. Van Cleve, be summarily dismissed, that Mrs. Clewe be disciplined, and that the disarmament petitions already signed be seized and destroyed.

The Board of Education ordered the circulating of the petitions stopped, and called in the signed ones for seizure. The promised student assembly for the presentation of the Women's International League trophy for the best oration was cancelled. Principal Van Cleve and Mrs. Clewe were questioned by the Board of Education. As this was being written, Mrs. Clewe was threatened with transference to a remote school.

MISSIONARY WORK

TO have its own million members thinking and talking Legion philosophy and acting upon it is not sufficient for the Legion. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, its message is broadcast, now in a roar from the rooftops, now in an even more effective whisper.

The organization has skilfully developed, as a separate and important department of its activities, one of the most effective publicity systems in the country. The thousand ways of moulding public opinion have been studied by well-paid experts. They know not only from experience but by the patient method of trial and error the surest devices for getting the Legion into the front pages of the nation's newspapers, to the end that it may never fade from memory.

They know the shrewdest ways of insinuating the gospel according to the Legion into the news columns. This quieter phase of publicity is perhaps more important. A person reading an advertisement, or a frank partisan advocacy of any sort, is much more apt to retain his independent critical judgment than one who reads news subtly shot through with taken-for-granted opinion. An article, for example, on "Taking Profit Out of War" is likely to be attractive to the Sunday editor of a newspaper. Written in a reportorial

manner, simulating complete objectiveness, it can win readers to the Legion's viewpoint about the Universal Draft plan without mentioning the Legion until the last paragraph, and then only casually. The reader probably will not realize that the article emanates more or less directly from the Legion's publicity bureau, and there is never induced in him that attitude of mind which would lead him to think of, or weigh, possible objections to the plan. Similarly, even the most discerning newspaper reader may read feature articles about immigration, or the relative standing of the British and American navies, without in the least suspecting that unimpeachable facts may be presented in such a way as to tinge the whole story.

The system arose quite naturally. Most organizations want publicity, especially if they need members. The interest of a large body of ex-soldiers can be maintained, and that of non-members acquired, only if the name of the Legion is constantly kept before their minds. The large membership in turn is "continuously made a matter of public information, available to Congressmen and Senators in Washington." "Its effect on national legislation," the Publicity Director points out, "is seen in the record of successes in the Legion's sponsorship of major laws in the interest of veterans." Moreover, by missionary work, the Legion can make converts to its views among the general public and so reinforce its power. Publicity becomes vital to the million dollar corporation's self-preservation.

The Legion had barely outgrown infancy when it realized the necessity of making a noise in the land. It had the expert advice of Ivy Lee, master manufacturer of purposeful news. But the Legion did not hire Mr. Lee; instead it developed its own staff of publicity artists, recruiting them from newspapers, and naming their department "The American Legion News Service." As the department grew in

prestige and popularity it was able to drop the masquerade, and now reports its accomplishments to the National Convention every year as, merely, "Publicity Division."

Coincident with the growth has come an increase in the cost of press-agentry. Some Legionnaires at first felt that a thousand dollars was too much to spend on such a luxury; now it feels that \$25,000 a year is cheap for this necessity. Of that sum, about \$15,000 goes for salaries, \$2,000 for making photographs, more than \$1,000 for postage stamps, and the rest for miscellaneous items such as travelling expenses, telephone bills, stationery, mimeographing, clipping bureau fees, and the like.

By 1924, the publicity department had got well enough into its routine to formulate a philosophy. "The News Service," it reported to the sixth Convention, "is in effect the advertising department of the American Legion . . . so constantly reminding the nation of Legion activities that over a period of years the name American Legion has become synonymous with World War veterans." The next year it added the observation that "its mission is to make the Legion and its policies sympathetically understood by the public through the media of newspapers, magazines, radio and photographs." The advertising department in other big business corporations, the publicity director pointed out, "spreads the message through paid space in newspapers and magazines, whereas the News Service is obliged to obtain free space in both media for the message which it has to tell."

The first and most obvious point of attack was, of course, the three big news distributing services, the Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service. A constant stream of stories was fed to them from the Legion publicity office in the hope that the stories would be sent out on the telegraph wires over national circuits. If National

Commander Blank said in a Pawnee, Oklahoma, Rotary luncheon that America was four submarines behind England in navy construction, the A.P., U.P., and I.N.S. promptly were supplied full quotes.

Frequently, however, the press agents would write five hundred words on a story, and fifty would be sent out by the news agency—a phenomenon which has annoyed all publicity seekers. So the Legion got the Indiana chief of the Associated Press to advise them, and he “laid stress on the point of not burdening a news service or newspaper with unnecessary copy.” The press department now feels that “by establishing a high ethical standard, namely, not to send propaganda,” it has “obtained the confidence of the agencies which supply 20,000 newspapers with news, and they, as a rule, use all news items sent them.”

If this statement is true, it represents a large total. The publicity bureau boasted to the sixth Convention that in the year previous a total of 873,625 words “were written and placed by this department.” The wordage approaches that of a ten-volume set of books. The impressiveness was underscored by adding: “This must be understood to mean that each word . . . appeared in print in some publication and was read by hundreds of thousands of persons. The value of such publicity is, of course, inestimable. It is the force that sells the Legion to the public.”

It does more than that; it sells not only the Legion but the Legion’s ideas. “The News Service,” it proclaimed, “has been very active over the period of years when the Adjusted Compensation issue was a constant battle . . . Thousand of stories were broadcast throughout the country . . . A series of articles explaining Adjusted Compensation was written . . . for the National Commander’s signature which were syndicated in the biggest newspapers of the United States. So wide was their influence that the en-

tire series was read into the House Ways and Means Committee report . . .”

The Publicity Division, however, does not pin its entire faith on the wire services and syndicates. It has organized a service of its own by mail. Every week it sends out a digest of its gleanings of news, once in the form of a “clip sheet,” like a miniature newspaper, printed and with the headlines all written; but now in mimeographed sheets to save time. This goes to 2,000 daily and weekly newspapers “selected thoroughly to cover every state,” of which total 481 newspapers requested the service.

A second and separate weekly outpouring is called “On the Front Line of Legion Activities,” a sheet of brief items making only two or three lines of type. These bits are the press bureau’s shrewd answer to the problem of “justifying” newspaper columns; when an editor finds he has not quite enough type to fill a column, as often happens, he reaches for a tempting Legion morsel lying on a galley for that very purpose. Less provident editors print the items all at once in a string. Small though these bits may be, as the publicity authors point out, “Each item has carried a fundamental Legion principle in some way.”

Of late years the bureau has begun sending out news stories to the various Legion Posts far in advance with “release dates,” and with instructions to the Posts to dress up the stories with local angles as bait to the home town editors. If, for example, the Legion is adopting a policy of promoting rifle clubs through the country, the whole story is written in Indianapolis, with the name of the local Post left blank, to be filled in by the Oskaloosa Legionnaires for the Oskaloosa *Gazette*, and simultaneously throughout the land by the others.

The small town editors are particularly easy prey to the Legion publicity men, who know that their newspapers are

run economically, and that the editors, inured to "boiler plate," are only too glad to get comparatively fresh copy, free. So, in fact, are some of the feature syndicates. The press bureau boasted that it furnished the Western Newspaper Union, serving 1,000 newspapers, with two columns of material a week, with photographs of prominent Legionnaires.

Likewise, it finds in some magazines fertile ground in which to sow the Legion seed. To the sixth Convention the Publicity Division mentioned with pride having got articles into the *Breeders' Gazette*, the *Outlook*, the *American Viewpoint Society Magazine* and N.E.A. service. This outlet had grown by 1930 until 14,000 words a year saw the light in 457 periodicals. The total includes wordage supplied to another weak spot in the editors' defenses that the Legion discovered: namely, the bull-dog editions of Sunday newspapers (the invention whereby one can buy a Sunday paper on Thursday night), which sometimes sadly need copy.

Leaving no stone unturned, the Publicity Division has developed its own photographic branch. It started modestly by furnishing prints of the current National Commander when required, then branched out to other Legion officials and even occasional action pictures, until now the bureau scatters throughout the country about 3,000 photographs a year. For less luxurious newspapers which hesitate at engraving costs, it sends out matrices, or ready-made illustrations. Some 10,000 of these mats carried the Legion gospel pictorially to all parts of the country in 1930.

The News Service boasted to the 1926 Convention of having "prepared and distributed to the Legion and the public more than 1,000,000 words of copy" during the year, which exceeded the previous high water mark, it noted, by 250,000 words. All records were surpassed in 1927 with 3,250,000

words. By now the accumulated total must make Dr. Eliot's Five-Foot Book Shelf look like a leaflet.

Two million of the 1927 words, many of them adjectives, were devoted to advance notices of the Paris Convention. "The Legion in its France Convention task," noted the publicity director, "assumed more nearly a commercial attitude than in any other project. It had something to sell to the Legion, namely, trips to France. . . . The News Service became the medium through which the trip was 'sold.'" The press agents rose to the occasion by sensing the inadequacy of their Indianapolis environment in furnishing inspiration. The news from there "was of a routine nature, and did not supply the 'color' and emotional qualities needed to arouse in a man a desire to revisit France with the American Legion." The emotion was injected by sending a publicity expert over to the battle fields, who wrote home "as much of this material as he found himself physically able." Among his outpourings was a series of articles entitled "Back-Tracking the A.E.F." The problem of distributing the literature then presented itself. "If the Legion had handled this, the postage bill alone would have been \$2,700," the News Service reflected. "The matrix bill would have been at least \$4,500." So the Newspaper Enterprise Association, a syndicate, with 450 client papers, was persuaded to send the series out to all its editors at no expense to the Legion as a news feature. "In the judgment of publicity experts," said the Legion's press agents, "this is the greatest newspaper publicity coup since the War."

Not content with that achievement, a story a week was given to each of the wire bureaus. And to make sure that no one remained in ignorance, the 600 banks in which the Legion deposited money throughout the country each received one news story a week with the urgent request that they use their influence to get it in local papers. "This at

once developed into a big avenue, since practically all newspapers gratified their local banker by printing the item."

Another of the multifarious duties of the News Service is to supply material to the Legion's own papers and magazines, of which there are no less than three hundred. To the editor of these organs, the Publicity Division, in its secondary capacity as the moving spirit of the American Legion Press Association, furnishes reams of inspired matter about the political and patriotic objectives and organization activities. Weekly mimeographed news material sent exclusively to such publications totals some 70,000 words, not to mention a cartoon every Saturday illustrating the membership standing of each Department. Twice a week goes out from Headquarters "Slams and Salutes," a feature which is "straight-from-the-shoulder talk in which words are not minced."

The press bureau, like a motherly hen, sits over each of the 11,000 Posts throughout the nation, hoping to hatch out other little publicity divisions. By dint of constant exhortation, it succeeded in persuading most of the forty-eight Departments and many individual Posts to establish miniature press bureaus. Then the central bureau, nursing its chicks, tells each one how to run on thirteen dollars a year expenses and keep the local editor's desk piled high with Legion news.

They know the tricks of the trade, do the Legion press agents; theirs not only to chronicle news—a tyro can do that—but theirs to manufacture news where there was none before. If one sees a picture in his newspaper of National Commander Blank gingerly stepping up to a monument to deposit a wreath; if he reads of Legionnaire Roe unveiling a statue; if he hears that Legionnaire Doe flies from Post to Post in a plane—one can feel sure that the Publicity Division has devised and inspired the stunt, and notified in

advance the newspaper reporters, the press photographers, the talking picture men and the radio broadcasters. It is all grist to the Legion publicity mill; it helps the public to be "Legion-conscious"—to think the Legion way.

No pause is so slight, no blank space so trivial that the press bureau has not something handy to fill it. It keeps on tap a stock of sentiments for office calendars and railway menu cards.

In more ways than one the press agents are the brains behind the words. They not only disseminate the Legion gospel but frequently ghost-write it. In their own modest phrasing, they describe themselves as the "literary department" of the Legion. When propaganda needs to be spread abroad which is so obvious that the newspapers refuse to publish it, then the press bureau staff turn pamphleteers, and brochures are scattered about by the thousands driving home the Legion's philosophy. Under the irreproachable title of "The Unknown Soldier," a pamphlet was widely circulated to boost Legion membership. "Fight Now for Permanent Peace" was sent to all newspapers for publication on April 6, the anniversary of our entrance into the War, urging the enactment of compulsory conscription through the Legion's Universal Draft plan. Sixty-one thousand of these pamphlets were distributed. Other treatises in "educational campaigns" of that year, notably "Save Our Navy" and "An Airport for Every Town," brought the pamphlet total to 91,000.

Legion speakers are continually appearing before women's clubs, Rotary luncheons, high school children's assemblies and miscellaneous patriotic gatherings. These men do not need to rely upon their own thoughts, for the press bureau has prepared canned speeches, thoroughly tested and regarded as effective. In the repertoire are such attractive titles as "The American Legion Program for 19—," "Save

Our Navy," "Memorial Day 19—," Independence Day," and "Armistice Day"—all very patriotic. In addition to the ready-to-speak speeches, the press bureau will furnish written-to-order messages. Some 200 addresses are furnished to perhaps a thousand speakers a year.

By comparison, such speeches reach only a few hearers. To overcome that limitation, the Publicity Division has seized upon the radio as an instrument of reaching the mass ear, so that not even the air is free from Legion propaganda. As early as 1924 the Legion acquired an official broadcasting station, WTAS in Elgin, Illinois, over which was sent a series of talks on national policies and a programme of entertainment, with the aid of the Publicity Division which prepared a dozen speeches 5,000 words long. Within a few years more than half of the Departments had their own radio facilities to broadcast Legion programmes.

The next step was to supply a service to all radio broadcasting stations of importance, in which was furnished one bit of Legion news or propaganda a week, timed to take just one minute to announce. By 1928 the press bureau could point to the fact that "there have been few evenings throughout the year that an efficient receiving set has not been able to get some American Legion programs with some Legion message for the American public."

The National Radio Committee assumed the stature of a separate institution when its six members were guided by S. L. Rothafel, so widely known as Roxy. He was able to arrange nation-wide hook-ups. On Flag Day, 1929, a super-Americanization programme produced by Mr. Rothafel, Mr. Erno Rapee, and Miss M. L. Wilchinski, was bawled through a national network centring in Roxy's own cathedral of the cinema. In addition to a speech by the Legion National Commander, it included a dramatized "story of the flag throughout the various wars" of our country. The

next national broadcast was a "mobilization call for the American Legion," designed to be picked up by members of the 11,000 Posts. Its purpose was to test "whether the Legion Posts throughout the nation are ready at a moment's notice to serve as emergency relief units in their local communities or in a state-wide or nation-wide emergency."

Surely the Legion is justified in feeling that everybody who can read or listen must be subjected, sooner or later, to its missionary endeavours. But even that amazing accomplishment does not satisfy the zeal to proselyte for nationalism. There remains the powerful eye appeal of the motion picture, so the Legion has gone into the film business. From a one-man organization at its inception in 1921, the movie service developed into a separate and profitable division with its own offices and paid staff in Indianapolis within three years. At first the Legion made bargains with established film companies to take a hand in reproducing and later in distributing movies on a profit-sharing basis. Now the Legion boasts its own photographic equipment, including lights, camera, and all the necessary paraphernalia for building full length feature pictures. They are sent out to as many as 5,000 Posts a year, and so exhibited in as many cities and towns.

No aimless pictures are these, for mere entertainment; they carry a moral, as indicated by their martial titles. "Sky Raider," "Old Glory," and "World War," in the order named are the most popular. "The Man Without a Country," "Flashes of Action," and "Shoulder Arms," are also well received. "You Can't Stand There," which was officially described in Ziegfeldian terminology as "glorifying the American doughboy," had a gratifying vogue for a time but has not lasted. "His Buddy's Wife" is for some reason the weak sister of the lot. In addition, motion picture his-

tories of each of the Conventions are available to perpetuate those annual occurrences in the nation's memory.

The purpose of the motion pictures has been described officially as follows: "Aside from the monetary profit, Legion films have proved to be an invaluable means of spreading the Legion gospel and keeping the Legion name in the foreground. . . . The film subjects themselves are of a character that subtly but effectually visualize the Legion's purposes for existing."

"The film," says a testimonial from Post 79, Riverside, California, "will do more for the American Legion Americanization program than tons of printed matter." And the Hennepin County Legionnaires contributed the observation that the picture they used was "good, sound Legion propaganda . . . it had a great influence here in moulding favorable public opinion. . . ."

By newspaper, by magazine, over the radio and in the movies, the Legion day by day, year by year, is drumming its message into the public head. The Legion's channels of publicity, as its committee boasts, "criss-cross to an extent that if the numbers of persons reached by each channel were added together the total would be greater than the population of the United States."

Subtle insinuation, persistent hammering reiteration may yet make Legionnaires of us all.

CONCLUSION

THE point at which the Legion is most obviously affecting the country is the national pocketbook. War veterans are at present costing the Government \$900,000,000 a year. Efforts of the Legion have been a large factor in bringing the expenditure to such a high point. The end is not yet. The figure does not include the \$3,500,000,000 lump sum which the bonus is likely to pile on. Even then the total may not have been reached.

A Republican Senator, wise from years of experience, sat down with an official of the Administration in the spring of 1931 and together they calculated what they thought the Government would be spending annually on ex-soldiers by 1945. They assumed that the veterans would use their political strength to obtain further bounties after the bonus certificates were cashed; so they counted in pensions for all ex-soldiers of the World War and their widows, as well as expenditures for disability pay, hospitalization and old soldiers' homes. They arrived at the almost fantastic forecast that within the next decade or so, the Government would be paying out three billion dollars every year. If they were right, each man, woman and child will be paying thirty dollars a year to former warriors.

Huge as was their prophesied total, it was within the bounds of probability. Veterans never have been content with lower grants than those obtained by their predecessors in the previous war. The Spanish War veterans were, at the time this was written, agitating to have their pensions raised to put them on a footing with the Civil War veterans. They wanted \$40 a month for widows and \$50 a month for veterans with graduated increases up to \$100 a month for the disabled. If the World War veterans get paid on the same basis—figuring an average of \$60 a veteran a month—the total will come to more than two and a half billion dollars a year, not counting hospitalization.

Walter Davenport, an editor of *Collier's*, phrased a prophecy in that magazine in slightly different terms. If money grants to veterans grow in the next ten years at the same rate as they have in the last decade, he pointed out, Congress will be setting aside about forty-five per cent of the cost of the Government for the ex-soldiers. In short, it may yet cost the nation, in the course of twenty years, as much to pay off the veterans as it did to fight the War in the first place.

The money, of course, will have to come from the general public, and the result necessarily will be increased taxes. The Government may find itself benefiting the veterans at the expense of national prosperity and contentment. The prospect, unwelcome in boom times, is especially dismal in the present lean years. The increased burden of taxation has become a critical issue, for taxpayers grow restive upon being too heavily laden. The patience of Britons in giving over from a quarter to a half of their earnings contrasts with the drastic measures in South American countries where revolutions brought about new deals in governments. While the United States has not yet felt the pinch so severely, there have been murmurs and grumblings aplenty. If the

soldier bloc continues to superimpose a tremendous financial load, it will be hastening the time when the problem of taxation will become acute in this country.

To the future historian looking back upon this period, the effect on governmental finances, important though it is, may be overshadowed by considerations of deeper significance. In its rôle as a patriotic society, the Legion is influencing American habits of thought, seeking to determine the country's mental approach to present-day problems. The problems are bewildering ones, growing indirectly out of the War and more immediately out of the business depression that began in 1929. Since the vision of indefinite automatic prosperity has faded, the whole structure of capitalism and nationalism has been called into question. Doubts have been expressed as to whether society can continue placidly with the present arrangements intact.

Some leaders of contemporary thought maintain that changes in the current system are inevitable, and that if they are to be brought about peacefully, there must be receptiveness to new ideas. Effort must be directed toward learning the causes of social malady rather than toward stamping out manifestations of it. Freedom of speech must be scrupulously preserved that grievances may be unburdened. Reason, not emotion, must be applied.

The Legion takes a different view. Aware of contemporary discontent, the veterans are inclined to picture the situation melodramatically after the fashion of a nightmare. They envision a Bolshevik menace which can be fought off like a fire-breathing dragon. They would use force to halt change. Expression of unorthodox ideas is not entirely welcome, and the American tradition of free speech is looked upon as a somewhat doubtful blessing. The Americanism Commission has deplored "the use of the right of free speech as a screen to pollute the minds of our young, incite

to crime, corrupt public morals and overthrow our Government." "The American Legion," it added, "can never watch unconcerned the abuse of freedom of speech."

The tendency to bring emotion rather than reflective reason to bear on modern problems has been noticeable in many Legion actions and pronouncements. It was exemplified in a speech delivered at the 1928 Convention by Legionnaire Frank Miles, whose task it was to interpret anew the preamble purpose, "To safeguard principles of justice, freedom and democracy." His peroration was:

We should turn deaf ears and blazing eyes toward spoilers of our traditions, defilers of the constitution, violators of the law, boring bigots, pan-pounding politicians, bellowing Bolsheviks, howling hyphenates, peace-at-any-price pacifists, and insidious internationalists.

A Post Commander in 1931 gave expression to the Legion belief in violent suppression of symptoms as a method of curing a malady. Eight men had been given exceptionally heavy prison sentences for trying to organize a strike of melon-pickers in Imperial Valley, California. There was no evidence that they had advocated violence. Said the Legion Commander, commenting upon the sentences:

The way to kill the Red plague is to dynamite it out. That's what we did in Imperial County. The judge who tried the Communists was a Legionnaire; fifty per cent of the jurors were war veterans. What chance did the Communists have? That's the way we stamped it out in our county.

If the Legion is wise in espousing the dynamite-it-out method of approach to the problems of discontent and readjustment, then it is doing the nation a service in seeking to cultivate that philosophy. If, on the other hand, such a

policy will hinder calm evolution, the Legion may be helping to bring about the very turbulence which it is trying to prevent.

Back of the current economic troubles lies the problem of war. Nations are squandering their incomes on machinery designed to destroy each other. The United States, champion spendthrift in armaments, leads the way by devoting nearly three-quarters of its governmental income to past and future fighting. The cutting down of such expenditures obviously would be of the greatest assistance in relieving financial burdens on citizens and industry. The Legion, however, is urging that more and more money be spent on Army and Navy.

More important than the direct drain on the treasury is the indirect effect of the constant threat of war upon world morale. So long as nations regard each other as armed monsters ready to spring, the citizenry inevitably are uneasy and uncertain, and the normal development of the world's economic intercourse is hampered by lack of confidence. Progress lies in the direction of stopping the rivalry between nations. Yet the Legion, by discounting international agreements and clamouring for greater armaments, appears to be acting unwittingly for the preservation, rather than the elimination, of the suspicion that breeds war.

It is not beyond possibility that the Legion, allowing its thought to be guided by the professional soldiers, may fasten the militarist viewpoint upon America. The farther a war recedes in the past, the more heroic it looks to the ex-soldiers, so the tendency is for veterans to become more and more martial. Ultimately, war begins to seem (to some of them, at least) not only unavoidable, but actually desirable. "In truth, there is in war itself something beyond mere logic and above cold reason," said Major General James G. Harbord, addressing Legionnaires convening in Syracuse, New

York, in 1931. "There is still something in war which in the last analysis man values above social comforts, above ease and even above religion. It is the mysterious power that war gives to life, of rising above mere life."

The neutral attitude that war is a necessary evil neither encourages nor discourages its continuance as a human institution. Advancement toward peace is possible with the attitude that war is an unnecessary evil. But to hold that war is a necessary boon is to invite conflict. In so far as the Legion adopts that view it will become a mental tinderbox. If it converts the nation to such a theory America will be dooming her own sons.

Under the auspices of the Legion, patriotism is growing to be a fearful and wonderful thing. Once it was a natural feeling, spontaneous in all of us—simple love of homeland. Now it has to be promoted, drilled into us as is a taste for spinach. For the Legion has wrapped its ideas of reactionism and nationalism in star-spangled bunting and labelled them patriotism.

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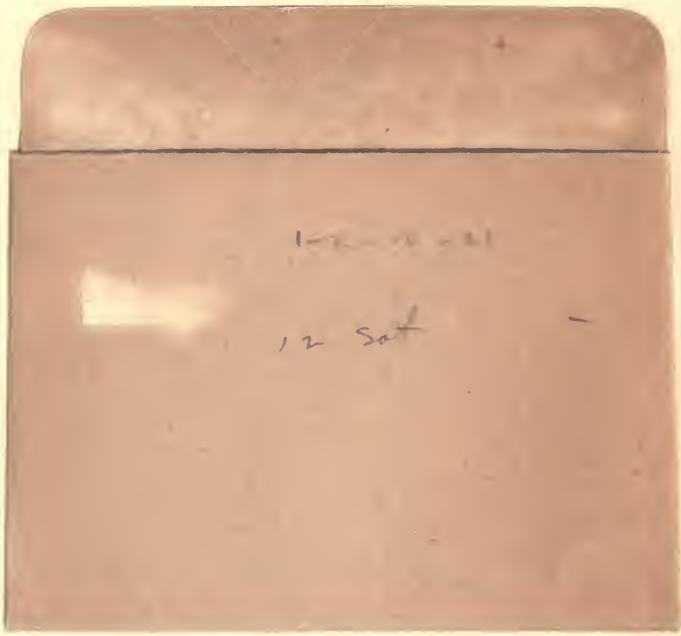
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