



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

isolation. A special commission also has been sent to Europe to study methods of judicial procedure in armies abroad. There cannot be too much publicity on this phase of military activity; and the American system must conform to the highest code of ethics it is possible to enforce. It must be a system humanistic and not legalistic or militaristic, and it must carry out ideals of democracy and not autocracy.

---

## PUBLIC OPINION AND THE LEAGUE

**T**HE *Literary Digest*, in its issue of April 5, published a symposium to which 1,377 editors of daily newspapers in all parts of the United States contributed. The journalist does not always either reflect public opinion as accurately or shape it as potently in his community as he thinks he does. Nevertheless he is a fair barometer of civic atmospheric conditions, and his opinion expressed in a poll of the nation's mind and will is not to be discounted unduly.

To the *Literary Digest's* question, "Do you favor the Proposed League of Nations?" 718 men answered "Yes," and only 181 "No." To those who answered "Yes" without any qualifications there must be added 478 editors, who replied affirmatively, but with conditions such as they deemed necessary to protect either the interests of the United States or nations that might otherwise be restricted by the binding clauses of the original draft put forth tentatively by the Peace Conference. In some cases the replies were strictly personal. In others the answer was admittedly based on evidence of popular opinion registered by action of legislatures, mass meetings of citizens and civic organizations. In most cases there was apparent intention of accurate statement of fact and elimination of partisan, class, or personal feeling. On the whole the result indicated the accuracy of President Wilson's contention in his address in New York City just before sailing the second time for France, that he had the country with him in support of the formation of the League.

So much for the editors of newspapers. What about readers of journals? In response to the question, carefully drafted by ex-President Taft. "Do you wish the United States to enter a League of Nations to preserve peace?" readers of sixteen daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 2,000,000 buyers each day and representing urban communities of the Atlantic coast, the mid-West, the South, and the Pacific coast, responded by ballots during March and early April. The total vote for the League was 107,744 and 33,427 against. In Houston, Texas, 96 out of every hundred persons responding voted for the League; in Chicago 39 out of

every hundred were opposed. Washington, the national capital, cast 78 per cent of its votes favorable to the League, a city where personal hostility to the President and to anything he does, is alleged to be strong, and where the attack upon the League has been most open and virulent by national lawmakers. When to statistics of this sort are added the formal favoring votes of practically all of the religious, labor, agricultural, and women's organizations of the country and many if not most of the commercial bodies, including the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and its affiliated local bodies, as well as some of the State legislatures, it is difficult to see where the Senate's critics of the League are to get moral support for successful opposition to the hoped-for product of the Paris Conference. This is especially true in the light of the mounting evidence that visits to their constituents since Congress dissolved have taught some of the lawmakers that the rank and file of the people are in no mood for a legalistic policy by the Senate in meeting a supreme human need.

---

## THE RIGHTS OF AFRICANS AND OF PEOPLES OF AFRICAN ORIGIN

Strangely enough, the papers seem to give little publicity to a recent gathering at the French Capital, in the interest of colored peoples. The Pan-African Congress, held February 19 and 20, at the Grand Hotel, Paris, relates materially to the future peace of the world. It consisted of representatives from the United States of America, the French West Indies, Haiti, France, Liberia, the Spanish, and Portuguese Colonies, San Domingo, England, Algeria, Egypt, the Belgian Congo, Abyssinia, and from Colonial Powers, such as France, Belgium, and the United States. Among the speakers at the Congress were Mr. Blaise Diagne, deputy from Sénégal to the French Chamber and Commissioner General in charge of French Colonial effectives; C. D. B. King, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Liberia; Franklin-Bouillon, chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the French Chamber; Gratien Candace, French deputy from Guadeloupe; William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell, of the United States.

It is surprising that more interest has not been taken in this gathering, speaking as it did, for approximately 200,000,000 Negroes and Negroids.

The reasons for believing that this meeting was significant at this time of reorganization transcend the numbers represented. They relate to all the principles now seen to be vital. These millions are becoming self-conscious. What is more, they are bitter. One repre-

sentative to the Congress when asked for his solution of the problem of the punishment of the German Kaiser remarked in the presence of the writer: "Have him classified as a Negro and then oblige him to live in the United States." The wife of a former consul from the United States to Liberia believes that the white men should keep out of Liberia and send to that country only educated negroes to help in its reorganization. This same person is quite convinced that the American Negro soldiers in France have been treated shamefully by white American officers. She, having lived many years in France, is profoundly disturbed to find the French people catching the American spirit of intolerance toward the black men, a spirit which has never been present in France heretofore. An intelligent American negro, professor in one of our American universities, said to the writer: "There must be a change soon in the attitude of the white men toward the black, else there will be a revolution." It is pointed out that France has had representatives of the Negro race in her Parliament since before the Revolution, and that the attitude of France toward her Colonies is and always has been irreproachable. The President of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the French Chamber of Deputies remarked at the Conference: "France judges men by their brains and hearts, not by their color." He does not see how France could feel otherwise in the light of the fact that 400,000 colored men have been in France helping effectively to win the war against barbarism. Mr. Walling argued from the method adopted by France, that there should be forty Negroes in the United States Congress. He looks upon the Negro question not as a "race problem" but "a white problem," a world question. He went so far as to say that: "America will go down if she persists in her opposition to the colored peoples of the world;" but he hastened to add that "the American people will not continue." He believes that the race question, so-called, has been placed upon a new basis by the war, and that there will yet be full equality, as a result of the revolutions which are on the way. As he listened to the criticisms of his America by the black men he confessed that he could but "blush." Mr. Russell argued that races are not inferior or superior, that the Africans should "press their claims" and "insist upon their rights." The Secretary of the Conference was Dr. W. E. Burghardt Dubois, Director of Research, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, U. S. A.

It is evident that the Negroes of the world are interested in matters of justice and humanity. They demand that the Allied and Associated Powers shall establish a code of laws for the international protection of the natives of Africa similar to the proposed international

code for labor. They demand that the League of Nations, which they assume to be an accomplished fact, shall establish a permanent Bureau to oversee the application of these laws to the welfare of the natives. They believe that the land and its natural resources throughout Africa should be held in trust for the natives, and that at all times they should have effective ownership of such lands as they may prove they can profitably develop them. They believe that matters of capital and concessions must be regulated to prevent the exploitation of natives and the unreasonable exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. They argue that slavery, forced labor, and corporal punishment, except for crime, shall be abolished; and that the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State. Other matters with which they are concerned are indicated by the resolutions unanimously adopted, some of which read:

"It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

"It shall be recognized that human existence in the tropics calls for special safeguards and a scientific system of public hygiene. The State shall be responsible for medical care and sanitary conditions without discouraging collective and individual initiative. A service created by the State shall provide physicians and hospitals, and shall spread the rules. The State shall establish a native medical staff.

"The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives and not the natives for the Government. The natives shall have a voice in the Government to the extent that their development permits, beginning at once with local and tribal Government according to ancient usage, and extending gradually, as education and experience proceeds, to the higher offices of State, to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans.

"No particular religion shall be imposed and no particular form of human culture. There shall be liberty of conscience. The uplift of the natives shall take into consideration their present condition and shall allow the utmost scope to racial genius, social inheritance and individual bent so long as these are not contrary to the best established principles of civilization.

"Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own Government, justice before the courts, or economic or social equality according to ability and desert.

"Greater security of life and property shall be

guaranteed the natives; international labor legislation shall cover native workers as well as whites; they shall have equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations, and the participation of the blacks themselves in every domain of endeavor shall be encouraged in accordance with the declared object of Article 19 of the League of Nations, to wit: "The well being and the development of these people constitute a sacred mission of civilization, and it is proper in establishing the League of Nations to incorporate therein pledges for the accomplishment of this mission.

"Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized world."

Certainly in all this there rings the voice of right reason. If not this, then some other International Conference to Negotiate Peace will have to listen to it. Of course, the voices of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Dodocanesus, are real voices and entitled to be heard; but they come from relatively small if important numbers. The millions of blacks cry aloud. They cannot be left out of the new comradeship. The "new standards of right" have been followed to the cannon's mouth by these black men, and they have died there for the new foundations of justice. As those standards are advanced along the new margins of the new peace these black men may be ignored again. If so, the right for liberty has to that extent been lost. We cannot look with compassion upon the white man's "tears of ardent hope," overlook the tears of the suppressed black, and keep the look compassionate. The loss of liberty to one race is a loss of total human liberty. Justice can draw no color line. President Wilson prides himself upon having uttered as the objects of the war, "ideals and nothing but ideals," and he adds: "The war has been won by that inspiration." Is the black man to be excluded from this free air of fine ideals? Armenia, Syria, Belgium, France, Serbia, and Poland are synonyms for suffering; the Negro also. Negroes are suffering now with that bitterest of all thirsts, the thirst for freedom. When Mr. Wilson refers us to the "voiceless homes" and of their sacrifices he does not say voiceless white homes, voiceless homes of white men only. When he speaks of "the peoples who constitute the nations of the world" and ascribes power over their Governments to them, when he says that these people "are in the saddle and they are going to see to it that if their Governments do not do their will some other Governments shall," he does not say even by the faintest implication that it is the white people who are in the saddle

and that the black men not being "people" must continue to walk forever beside the road of liberty.

Our own view is that we cannot ignore or misuse the black man with safety to ourselves. If he suffer commercially, so do we. If he remain ignorant, our own intelligence is so much the less. If he be diseased, we cannot escape. If he lack in culture, religion, liberty, the lack effects us inevitably. No League of Nations can do or permit injustice to the black man, for no successful effort can remain half just and half unjust.

It is well to note that there is to be another *Congrès Pan-Africain Pour la Protection des Indigènes d'Afrique et des Peuples d'origine Africaine* at Paris in 1921.

---

Is it to be "the Great Charter of the Ignored Peoples" or the latest bargain of the ancient régime?

---

Senator Johnson of California thinks that the trouble with the United States latterly has been too much "mental far-sightedness." Oh, if it only were true!

---

The inevitable physical conditions of life on a vessel with 5,000 passengers on board are not such as to make for a maximum of the higher life of courtesy, good will and unselfishness. But the commander of a British craft recently docking at New York with these happy, brave American soldiers on board, said "I have had the pleasure of bringing over 5,000 perfect gentlemen."

---

As "internationalism" of the "white" sort is being brought into disrepute in the popular mind by internationalism of the "red" order, possibly a way out for thinking folk may be found in adoption of the term "pan-nationalism" about which Harvard's professor of international law, Professor Wilson, writes in the last number of the *American Journal of International Law*. See page 111.

---

Mr. Lodge, who is to be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in the next Congress, announces that the Peace Treaty, when reported to the Senate for ratification or rejection, will be debated openly and that the public also will be informed from day to day of the proceedings of the committee. Which fact, if fact it proves to be, will be the homage of conservatives to the demands of modernists that "secret diplomacy" be abolished.

---

The "Victory Loan" in which the Government is asking persons to invest, whether or not they are Americans, rich or poor, white or black, well might have been named a "Thanksgiving Loan" or an "Honor Loan." Secretary of the Treasury Glass has pleased the business world by the provisions of the loan, which, viewed as an investment, make it attractive and a factor in creating optimism in the trading and manufacturing worlds. He has been equally fortunate in his appeals to other

sections of the population, making them see that the task of raising \$4,500,000,000 just now is something fine in itself because for a worthy end. Pledges long since given must be kept. Thus speaks Honor. Delight in cessation of war must find expression in deeds, and what can be better suited to the hour than so lubricating the vast governmental machine that it will pass from high to low speed with a minimum of friction? Thus speaks Gratitude.

## PARIS NOTES

By the Editor

PARIS, Feb. 15th.

### "COVENANT"

AT THIS writing a document with the simple title of "Covenant" has been drafted and laid before the world by the representatives of approximately a billion people for discussion. The document is in the pocket of the President of the United States, who sails today from Brest for home. It was read by Mr. Wilson at the third plenary session of the members of the Conference in the Salle de l'Horloge, which "gives upon" the Quai d'Orsay, yesterday afternoon, beginning at 3:30 o'clock. No one can doubt the significance of the occasion or of the document. It has no official standing, no binding powers. It has neither been adopted nor accepted by the Conference. But there it is, an honest and withal an unprecedented attempt to crystallize the international aspirations of modern civilization.

The plan is of American parentage. It was born in an American home. For without President Wilson it would never have seen the light, and the nineteen men who assisted in its production met ten times in Room 351, of the Hôtel de Crillon, headquarters of the American Commission, facing the Place de la Concorde, a room forming one of the suite occupied by Colonel E. M. House. Across the Place de la Concorde and over the Seine, but in plain sight, stands the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, the quiet, yet beautiful edifice, constructed by Lacornée in 1845, facing the Quai d'Orsay, almost joining the Chamber of Deputies, and looking out over the winding river. It is a circumstance worth mentioning, perhaps, that the Hôtel de Crillon, headquarters of the American Delegation, and thus in a sense the ark of this "Covenant," is face to face with the building where already three full sessions of the Peace Conference have been held, there in the "Hall of the Clock," and where the ultimate terms of the treaty of peace will be determined.

Neither is it wholly without interest that between them lies this Place de la Concorde, "most beautiful square in the world," a place which has been in the past, it must be confessed, the scene of no little discord. As is familiar to all, it was the site of the guillotine, for example, in the bloody times of Louis XVI, Charlotte Corday, Marie Antoinette, Desmoulins, Robespierre, and the sad tumbrel loads of the many, many more. Indeed, for a while it was known as the Place de la Révolution. It was with reference to his fate in this place that La-source, the Girondin, uttered to those who judged him,

the well-known words: "*Je meurs dans un moment où le peuple a perdu sa raison; vous, vous mourrez le jour où il la retrouvera.*" (I die at a moment when the people have lost their reason; you will die the day when they find it again.) Here stands in silent contemplation of the scene the Obelisk from Thèbes, with its narrative of events and times fourteen centuries before Christ. Here is Pradier's Strasburg no longer draped in mourning, but wreathed with flowers. Near are the spots where the National Convention of 1789-1793 held sway, and where the French Republic was proclaimed, September 21, 1792. The Gardens of the Tuileries, the Champs Elysées, the Madeleine, the dome over the tomb of Napoleon, the Eiffel Tower, the Petit Palais, the river that bore the ashes and the heart of Joan of Arc out to sea, are also a part of the picture. The setting for great events is here complete.

The nineteen men meeting in Colonel House's Reception Room at the American Headquarters, were in session for approximately thirty hours. President Wilson presided over each of the sessions except the last. The United States was represented also by the President's intimate friend, Col. E. M. House. The other members of the Committee were: Lord Robert Cecil, Lieutenant-General J. C. Smuts, of Great Britain; Monsieur Léon Bourgeois, French Delegate to the Hague Conference of 1899, and again in 1907, and Monsieur Larnaude, Dean of the Faculty of Law of the Paris School of Law, both of France; His Excellency Monsieur Orlando and Senator Scialoja, of Italy; Baron Makino, Japanese Foreign Minister, and Viscount Chinda, Japanese Ambassador at London; Monsieur Hymans, the Belgian Foreign Minister; Senator Pessoa, of Brazil; V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister at Washington; Kramarcz, Prime Minister of the Czecho-Slovak Republic; Venizelos, Prime Minister of Greece; Dmowski, President of the National Polish Committee; Jame Batalha Reis, Portuguese Minister at Petrograd; Diamandy, Minister Plenipotentiary of Roumania; and Vesnitch, Serbian Minister at Paris.

These were the nineteen men who, sitting for thirty hours through ten different days, produced the "Covenant" now before the world for discussion, modification, acceptance or rejection. The meetings of this committee began February 3d. It immediately took up a draft plan submitted by the President of the United States, and on the evening of Lincoln's birthday, at the end of the eighth session, the document having undergone many changes, went to the "first reading." The drafting committee which gave final form to the instrument was composed of Messrs. Larnaude, Lord Robert Cecil, Venizelos, and Vesnitch. Thursday, February 13th, at 10 o'clock a. m., occurred the "second reading." By the middle of the afternoon of that day, the 26th and last article of the Covenant was read and adopted by the Committee. Lord Robert Cecil presided at the last meeting, President Wilson being in attendance upon a meeting of the Supreme War Council. Reading Article 26, England's representative said: "Is there any objection to this Article?" After a pause: "If not, it is adopted. Gentlemen, our work is done. The President of the United States will report our