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patches herein are also reserved. Philadelphia, Friday, May 23, 1919.

### GET THE AX OUT. GOVERNOR!

SOFT-PEDALED legislation always lays itself open to suspicion. In the case of the Walker parole bill, which was recently tiptoed through both houses at Harrisburg, the matter as well as the manner is seriously questionable.

The bill provides that any judge may parole a convict sentenced after June 30. 1911, after he shall have served onethird of his sentence. Here is a most dangerous agency for vitiating justice. The present good-conduct regulations

effectively assure prisoners a square deal, The proposed sweeping extension of paroling privileges not only carries mawkish sentimentality to a nauseous extreme, but it actually impugns the validity of court proceedings. Just penalties imposed by the judges will be mere shams if the opportunity of curtailment is afterward to be made so easy.

The Board of Pardons is fully equal to considering the cases of well-behaved convicts. Much of its functioning will be superfluous and, as District Attorney Rotan puts it, the state will be threatened by a general jail delivery if Governor Sproul signs the bill.

The gravest reasons exist for staying his hand. Oblivion should be the sequel of this measure's quiet but insidious life.

### WILSON IN 1913 AND 1919

TT IS less than six years since the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, under threat of prosecution by the government, agreed to sell its entire holdings of stock in the Western Union Telegraph Company, bought with a view to the consolidation of the lines of the two corporations.

Woodrow Wilson on December 19, 1913. in a letter to J. C. McReynolds, then the attorney general, wrote: "It is very gratifying that the company should thus volunteer to adjust its business to the conditions of competition.'

The same Woodrow Wilson, in a message to Congress, read to that body on y 20, 1919, five years, five months and one day after the letter to Mr. McReynolds, said: "In the case of the telegraph and telephone lines it is clearly desirable, in the public interest, that some legislation should be considered which may tend to make of these indispensable instrumentalities of our modern life a uniform and co-ordinated system."

It was to create "a uniform and co-ordinated system" that the American Telephone and Telegraph Company bought a controlling interest in the Western Union Telegraph Company. The desirability of such co-ordination was manifest when the consolidation of the two corporations was planned.

The President might have recommended a modification of the law in 1913 when Congress was in control of his own party. It is charitable to assume that he has learned something in the intervening years and that he is not now recommending to a Republican Congress a course of action which he wished his own party to avoid for fear of being charged with friendliness to big corporations.

## CITIES AS LANDLORDS

DHILADELPHIANS who for one reason or another find it inconvenient to buy homes now and prefer to continue renting will be interested in the bill introduced at Harrisburg by Senator W. W. Mearkle, of Pittsburgh.

Taking cognizance of the fact that because we were too busy doing other things during the war to build and that many cities, as a consequence, are facing serious problems, the bill permits municipalities to build houses and apartments and to become landlords on a large

As an expedient, the measure may be justified. Departure from precedent was frequently necessary while war waged. and such a necessity may exist during the present period of reconstruction.

But it would seem, on the face of it. that if the municipality can make such a venture profitable an individual builder might do the same thing. If the objection is lack of credit there might be virtue in the plan adopted in New York. where corporations have consented to lend builders up to 60 per cent of the amount needed.

## THE MORNING CUP

WAR may have opened our souls to a new idealism, broadened our minds to a new patriotism and sharpened our desires for civic righteousness; but, the ryman declares, it has assuredly unted our taste for good coffee.

It was war's running mate, old H. C. L. that was directly responsible; and at sided and abetted by a queer kink.

the best coffee, "y say,

has increased only about five or five and a half cents a pound, while the cost of inferior coffee has increased thirteen and a half cents, said thirteen and a half cents bringing the price of the inferior grade up to the price of the best coffee in pre-war days.

And the kink referred to is evidenced by the fact that the inferior coffee is being purchased at the prices the purchaser paid for good coffee before the war, while the good coffee, formerly favored, is now permitted to lie on the grocers' shelves.

One looks here for the logical working out of the law of supply and demand, which will call for a reduction in the price of good coffee to a figure at which it can be sold. This, presuming that the purchasers will pay no more than they are already paying for inferior coffee, will straightway causes the inferior coffee to be ignored and-

Oh, well, please hand us another cupwith plenty of sugar and a little cream!

#### BUILDING SEWERS BETTER THAN BUILDING FACTIONS

#### It Would Be a Fatal Mistake to Hold Up the Items of the Proposed Loan for

Permanent Public Improvements

THE fact that certain members of Councils are planning to combine to prevent the necessary two-thirds vote for the loan for city improvements is regrettable. Charles H. Von Tagen, their leader, announces that all but three or four of them have pledged themselves to vote against the loan at this time, and that these three or four will fall in line.

What justification is offered for taking uch a course? Certainly not that there is no pressing need for new main and branch sewers and for new water mains, for which a considerable part of the money to be borrowed is to be used.

Two reasons are set forth by Mr. Von Tagen. One is that the present city administration cannot be trusted to spend the money properly and the other is that if the money is appropriated now none will be left for the use of the Mayor and Council to be elected under the new charter, as "favored contractors" will be engaged in doing work which will absorb all the available resources.

Public improvements should not be held up indefinitely for fear some one may make money dishonestly out of them. If the voters, aroused to a new interest in efficient government by the charter-revision discussion, shall elect the kind of a Mayor and Council which we all hope will be elected then it does not make any difference who has the contracts. The work will not be completed for many months. After the beginning of the year the enforcement of the terms of the contracts will rest with the new administration.

The contracts for permanent improvements ought to be let as soon as possible. Such work has been held up by the war and the city is suffering for lack of the things which it has not been able to do.

The exigencies of the housing situation alone are sufficient to justify the letting of contracts for sewers and water mains at the earliest possible moment. There are hundreds of new houses now awaiting the completion of the sewers in the streets. There are said to be only 3600 vacant lots in sewered streets at the present time, and the city needs 20,000 new houses. Builders will not begin operations unless they have some assurance that the sewers will be laid when they are needed

The sanitary conditions in many little streets are disgraceful because the streets are not sewered. Those conditions cannot be changed until money is available for laving the sewers and paying the streets.

The church women who have been demanding that Director Krusen, of the Health Department, order the connection of these houses with the sewers know that he cannot do so until the money is appropriated and the sewers are laid. This work can begin in the immediate future if the loan ordinance is approved. If action is delayed the situation next summer will be as bad as it will be this summer.

The surest way to hamstring the next administration is to delay public improvements, which have been postponed too long already, and to pile up for it an amount of work which it cannot very well do. And the surest way to help it is to go ahead with the work planned and thereby increase the assessed value of property in all those streets in which new sewers and water mains are laid and create new assets to be used as the basis for new loans for further improvements. Every house built on a vacant lot creates new tax values and new loan values. But this is so evident that it does not need to be argued.

If the minority in Councils wishes to do a real public service it will concentrate its opposition on those sums in the proposed loan that are to be used to pay current expenses which should be met by the annual tax levy.

The practice of borrowing on longterm bonds to meet current deficits is pernicious and cannot be abandoned too soon. The amount which it is proposed to borrow for this purpose should be in cluded in the next tax levy, so that the deficits can be wiped out.

Then when the revised charter, with its budget system, comes into effect the city can start even. And the new system made effective by the new charter will prevent the accumulation of deficits in the future.

Everybody agrees in theory that we ought to pay as we go. No serious objection has been raised to the principle of the budget plan proposed in the charter revision.

But the Legislature has not yet passed the law. The men in Harrisburg ought to be convinced that the sentiment of the city on this matter is virtually unani-mous. It ought to be made evident that there is no factional disagreement affeating the application of sound bu principles to city finance and that is seeking any selfish or private tage because of the adoption or reje

e proposed plan.
is incredible that any one seri-

plans to hold up the entire loan or to delay for a day the resumption of that expansion of the city's public works which was checked to the inconvenience of hundreds of thousands of citizens by the inability to raise money and to hire men because of the concentration of all activities on winning the war.

### SHIPS AND THE MEN

ONCE upon a time the only way a sailor could get a ship was to put himself into the hands of some rascally boardinghouse keeper and permit himself to b sold, preferably while drunk. Life on the ocean wave was a hard life and the man before the mast had no rights that the master or the mate was bound to respect. But in spite of all this the ships of the world never lacked for men.

There is possibility that America may yet build the ships for a great merchant marine. Last week's parade of shipworkers may have the effect desired on Congress. But the building of the ships does not insure the service. We need the men, and it is not yet certain that we ca., get them.

Nelson Collins, author of "The Merchant Marine" and a former instructor at the University of Pennsylvania, points out this danger, gives a reason for it and suggests a remedy. He grieves over the fact that British, French, Italian, Spanish, Swedish and Norwegian civilian crews are employed on ships of their nationality transporting United States troops home, when the troops should properly be making the trips on Amerian ships with American crews

He notes that while Great Britain teadily kept to the fore the importance of a civilian merchant marine, the United States, in effect, depreciated it; and an inept naval training system caused many a good man to be lost to the sea because he feared the navy was going to maintain some kind of a hold on the men of the merchant service. And he suggests, along with the building of the ships, there should be built up a strong pride in them and in the men that will sail in

That last means publicity. It was publicity that made the merchant marine of England, even as it was publicity of the wrong kind that put a damper on American commerce in American bottoms.

It was the stories of Captains Marryat and Mayne Reid that stirred the hearts of English boys and made them scent romance in every wind-jamming limejuicer that lay up against the docks. The scents of spices from the Indies wooed them; and the odors of oakum, tar and bilge-water could not deter them. If they couldn't ship as cabin boys they stowed away. It was the easiest thing in the world. Any sailor on board would help them. And the captain who scolded them when discovered and the cook who made galley slaves of them immediately afterward alike found them not unwelcome.

On the other hand, who can say how much Dana's "Two Years Before the Mast" is responsible for the American boy's lack of interest in the sen?

Today the seaman is a self-respecting man, who receives fair treatment and has ready redress for any wrongs inflicted upon him. He is well fed and well paid. Let our novelists, our poets, our dramatists, our song writers spread the news! They can do much for a successful American merchant marine.

Germany's protest against Teutons Talk the treaty is weakened by the fact that "to document is not incompatible with the fourteen points; and with the further fact (if such were needed) that a chief executive's powers are limited by the constitution and the present peace treaty s at least no harsher than the peace always desired and advocated by the American people as a whole.

The resignation of Difference of Opinion the American ex-Makes Horse Races perts because of opposition to the peace treaty is cause for regret. It indicates differences where unanimity is desirable. But while their right to resign must be conceded.

their action does not necessarily condemn the

written instrument.

be in the same class.

Properly

but goes right on laying.

The fox without a tail in But Other Foxes the fable figured that he Are too Wise would be less conspicuous if all other foxes were similarly denuded. The Russian Bolshevist fox, lacking the tail of Peace and Prosperity, is determined that the rest of the world shall

After the Main Guy has been disposed of by the High Contracting Parties Like Father Like Son Trial Court it is pleasing to realize that the Vigilant Committee fo the Placing of Responsibility will be fixing up a place for little Willie.

And whatever form the The Body and charter takes it will be secondary to the spirit the Soul the people put into it. A charter is only a charter, but a conscience is real reform.

Formal recognition of

the Omsk government by

the allied powers is the help wanted to bring about the political situation wanted. Happily the Great American Hen never worries about what happens to her product.

It must be admitted that President Wilson's position is given added embarrass-ment by the request that he add Irish stew to the peace table menu.

The Y. W. C. A. election gives som slight hint of woman's capacity for and enjoyment of a political fight, but is no great augury that sweetness and light will walk hand in hand with universal suffrage. Among the most ancient of woman's

ights is the right to poke fun at her bus-

hand and to show strenuous resentment when

anybody else does—which, of course, justifies all the speeches at the Philadelphia Mothers' Club. The vote in the House of Represents tives is merely one of many indications that woman suffrage will eventually make its word; but there is still some ucary legging SELF-DETERMINATION

The Great Principle at the Basis of Sovereignty Which the Framers of the American Constitution Discovered

To the Editor of the Evening Public Ledger:

Sir-If we are to accept the league of nations as a provisional government and then take measures to prepare for a real and democratic international government, one may very properly search for the most important problems to be solved. I would like to present what I conceive to be, by all odds, the most important one.

In all of that great movement of the last century and a quarter, in which the world has come more and more to single out the United States as the great exemplar and model of democracy, probably 190 per cent of those who have considered the subject have attributed those demogratic virtues of our gov-

I can conceive of no need so great in American legal education as a course, handled by a political scientist who has studied law, showing the legal and political cleavage in legal classics. For example, while Black-stone is a superb legal classic, it is the most vicious political textbook that has ever won a place in American legal education.

Why, then, is Blackstone a vicious political textbook in the hands of an American lawyer when it is also his best legal classic? was written after the English revolution of 1688, but before the British colonial revo-1776, otherwise known as American Revolution. What was that latter revolution? Separation from the mother country? Why, separation was merely a by-product! No, she had a long political tutelage in living under the specified and implied powers of royal and proprietary charters or constitutions, and in that school of political research she evolved a new political principle, namely, that original sovereignty s undivided and has its seat in the individual In this they passed far beyond the British principle of "consent of the governed." which grew out of a divided sovereignty, a crown on the one hand and a Parliament or 'ommons on the other; and in the vague feeling that the Commons ought to govern had to resort to the subterfuge of holding up the crown by refusal to vote money. America discovered and adopted a fundamental political principle on which to build her political structure, while Great Britain, inheriting a compact like her common law as a product of custom retained the expediency and opportunism that had always characterized her political life. This is what Blackstone voices as a by-product of a noble Brit ish classic, and this is why, in the hands of an American law student, it becomes a vicious political textbook.

The difference between the two peoples po litically, therefore, is not dissimilar to the difference morally between two individuals one of whom has adopted a rigid principle and the other acts upon expediency and cus-

It was a perfectly natural proceeding that "The Fourteen Points" should have been American and of the nature of a creed, with 'self-determination' as their cardinal point. It was the United States, not Mr. Wilson personally, who put forth "The Fourteen Points"; he merely interpreted his country correctly. "Self-determination" is a form of the principle of individual sovereignty, and it is perfectly safe to say that the American people will never take permanent part in any international union not based that principle. It is equally safe to say that international union will live with that principle or die. The American people will never go backward from it, and will stand united with it or stand separately with it. That is why it is absolutely impossible for the American people to accept the league of nations as anything else but a temporary provisional government. They will suddenly become aware of the oligarchical character of the executive council some day after the acute emergency is over and sweep it away in short order, as far as their participation in

it is concerned. This principle of the location of original sovereignty in the individual is vast and farreaching in its operation. First it denies the assumption of sovereignty anywhere else as a natural crime; it is impossible for it to be located elsewhere, and its assumption, except in temporary tutelage or crisis, is itself evidence of political crime. The American who holds the principle may take the league of nations as a provisional government or take the Philippines in minority tutelage, but it must avow the temporary nature of both Then again, this principle makes governmental forms according to natural development, and so fits all possible conditions of

growth. No state or nation, as such, has anything but a secondary sovereignty, granted to it by its individuals, during their pleasure. The people of the world have original soy ereignty to make a world government in the field outside of the national field and wholly different from it, a field in which a nation is competent, but in which a nation is impertinent, just as a state would be in the national field. So this great principle fits the world in all stages of its progress.

Why should not Great Britain adopt this great principle? It is bound to be recognized as the greatest fundamental principle of political science over all the world. There s no possibility of its not being so accepted Under the form of "self-determination" it is sweeping over the world like a prairie fire already. To locate original sovereignty anywhere else is to make a part govern the whole, and then a part may be anythingcrown, upper classes, middle classes, lo classes, wealth, a church, a clique and the like, and all in impudent assumption-all equally tyrauny. The only hope of the world against autocracy, aristocracy, classocracy, mobocracy, plutocracy or any of that brood of political devils is the reorganization of this great political principle. Bolshevism is the child of autocracy. And all of these monstrosities are maggots in a rotten body politic, in which the pure blood of this great natural political principle loes not circulate.

No permanent international government can be created except the peoples composing it adopt this principle. America will help put out the fire and help clean up the debris, with any one on any basis, but she will never countenance union of any permanence on any other principle than that of individual sover-To do so would be voluntary corrup tion of political blood. The English-speaking peoples are America's natural associates in any world movement, and it remains with them to say whether the absence of this great principle is to block the political progress of the world or not. If America has any mission in the world it is to aid in the recognition of this great vital political principle among all mankind. And there will never be any compromise on it. From it came the Monroe Doctrine, both the original and the improved. From it came the Hay doctrine. From it came the doctrine of "entangling alliances." from which America will never deviate one hair's breadth until "alliances" become as extinct as the dodo. "Alliances" are the total reversal of individual severeignty; the two are as unmixable as oil and

water.
Therefore, while we are engaged in putting out the fire and clearing away the debris with a provisional government—"the league of nations"—let us lay this ultimate foun-dation solidly, for a future real international government, BURTON ALVA K

Swarthmore, Pa., May 20.

LINK BY LINK



# **CONFETTI**

Noses WE FIND nothing so entertaining as

Did you ever walk down the street keeping your gaze steadfastly on the noses of the Try it some time, and be vinced that the inscrutable sculptor of hu-manity is a wag at heart. Or study your own neb in the mirror and ask yourself if you ever saw anything more humorous.

There's nothing amusing about the nose of a horse or a dog. These organs are built for use and have the unassuming beauty of all useful things. But when it comes to man, nature seems to have had a wild idea of being ornamental as well as serviceable. Hence our woes.

Beak noses, snub noses, powdered noses, pink noses, purplish noses, shiny noses-it

is a quaint panorama. But we will admit that the noses of children are delightful. Nothing gives us more musement than to watch the nose of the Urchin. When we give him his supper we cannot resist dabbing the spoonful of stewed prunes on his small, daintily bended blob every now and then. We find an exquisite humor in the surprised gesture with which he removes the thin adhesion of prune sirup and smiles as though it were a huge joke. Study the noses along Chestnut street and renew your faith in the complete ab-

## Both Doing Well, We Trust

Recent Yale graduate and Army In structor will serve in loco parentis after May first. Details upon inquiry. New Republic, Box 45.—The New Republic.

## Literary Notes

Clement Shorter, the well-known literary critic of the London Sphere, is in this country now. It is rumored that he has two easons for wanting to visit Philadelphia. These are A. Edward Newton and Joe Herresheimer. The sum total of Philadelphia's literary reputation is the sum total of the reputations of her individual literary artists.

Mr. Shorter, by the way, says that he' Columbus" is the best story about twins ver written.

We have taken counsel with our sagacious friend the Quizeditor on this subject, and have determined to ask Mr. Shorter to read De Morgan's "When Ghost Meets Ghost" and Mark Twain's "Those Extraordinary

Among well-known plays dealing with twins we recall "Twelfth Night," Comedy of Errors" and "Twin Beds." "The

Our good friend the Camden Daily Courier speaks of Walt Whitman's old home on Mickle street as a "manse." In a goodnatured way, we submit that Walt would not have approved of this. A manse, as we understand it, is the abode of a parson, and there was nothing ecclesiastic about friend Walt. Even if our friend meant to say "mansion," we still think the term ill-

According to the Camden Courier, the Whitman Park Improvement Association is agitating the idea of purchasing the old horse-block on the sidewalk in front of the poet's home and installing it on a granite pedestal in front of the handsome clubhouse at 1175 Whitman avenue, with elaborate ceremonies. In the sides of the marble block or granite pedestal it is proposed to chisel the names of the Whitman Park Improvement Association's founders and presidents. past and present. This idea Past President W. F. Bolzau regards as very fitting and also practical."

There are three fitting ways that we can think of to commemorate Walt's sojourn in these parts. One is to name a ferryboat after him. Another is to buy the Mickle street properly, house, horse-block and all, let it stay just where it in and gazoish it with Whitman relies to that it will be a

worthy shrine for Whitman pilgrims. And the third, for which we have a special affec-tion, would be to have a statue of Walt done by Tait McKenzie and placed somewhere down near the ferryhouses that he so loved to frequent. For this last scheme we would gladly start the subscription with a hand-out of five bones whenever any responsible person comes around to collect it.

Doors Club," and kept us up late the other evening when we had ought to of been in bed. We often wonder how Sam finds time to learn all these interesting things about na-But there's another of Sam Scoville's

Sam Scoville has written another of his

books the sale of which we fear will shortly come to an end: "A Digest of the Liquer Laws of Pennsylvania Workers," for Temperance

# Preferential Tariff

delightful books. It is called

My brother is a boy, and he Is worth two little girls like me. He can't do half the things I can. He has to wait to be a man.

When we have candy, cake or pie. He can't eat half so much as I. 'Cause he's a boy, and boys are rare And have to have much better care.

When Mother says, "Not good for Boys," He never screams and makes a noise; He thinks to be a Boy is more Than candy, cakes and pie galore.
BESSIE GRAHAM'S FRIEND.

## Shad Rosa

We had shad roe for supper the other night, Which the urchiness greeted with great delight.

She ate three platefuls-maybe four-Then announced, "I can't eat any more,

It tastes awful good, but mamma, you know. Those little round things make my mouth tickle so, And all the way down I feel so unsteady. And my tummy is having hysterics already.'
SUB ROSA.

## Office Reverles

By a window I never can open. That looks bu a green little square, I dream in the midst of my adding, As I scent a stray whiff of spring air, How I'd like to dive through that closed

window (These thoughts will steal in on the breeze) I'll run the whole length of the office, And sail head first into the trees, As swift and clean as a bullet. I'll cut a neat hole as I pass. When I burst my invisible prison How the cracks will shoot over the glass! I'll somersault, land on the pavement And break through the drab human ring That will gape as they gather in wonder, Lost souls who've forgotten the spring. Yet day after day by the window I add and divide and subtract, Oh how many plod by a window Dreaming parts that they never can act?
PHOEBE HOFFMAN.

## But How About Clemenceau?

Some people are charming so long as they are young, and afterward there is nothing attractive about them; others are vigorous and active in manhood, and then lose all the value they possess as they advance in years; many appear to best advantage in old age, when their character assumes a gentler tone, as becomes men who have seen the world and take life easily. This is often/the case with the French.—Schopenhauer.

Undoubtedly a German would think the French a thoroughly delightful nation if they had all passed the military age.

There is no end to the numane services Philadelphia has rendered to the nation. We learn from our sprightly contemporary, the Retail Public Ledger, that ice-cream sodes were invented in this city in 1874. There is no end to the humane services

NOT I

T AM NOT healed of grief; not I, Nor shall be till spring boughs forget Their poignancies down the young sky. In dusks all violet.

Not I. Not till the year has found Some other fashion for the rain In old thin autumn fields; its sound Against a lonely pane,

Not till the worn, dear, usual things-Street, house, or even a chair, a jar-Rid them of all rememberings, Grow strange, and cold, and far.

Who plucks my cowslips in the sun? Whose step fleets by the withered tree? Whose shadowy, golden laughters run

Betwixt my books and me?

They have been gone a thousand years, I grant it. Are the deeps fallen dry? Wears grief a look not that of tears?-Not I, indeed, not I. -Lizette Woodworth Reese, in Contemporary Verse.

Balkan boundaries continue to be stone walls in the path of permanent peace.

The German cabinet, in opposing the treaty, would apparently rather save its face than its bacon.

President Wilson finds life at a peace

conference just one darned compromise after As a note-writer Brockdorff-Rantzau does not intend to leave Mr. Wilson's

laurels undisturbed. Recent pranks prove that a college boy's sense of humor is as delicate as a Prussian military order and as airy as a

## What Do You Know?

steam shovel.

QUIZ 1. How many American states and what ones ratified the constitution unanimously?

2. At what temperature Fahrenheit does water boil?

3. How much longer is a knot that a mile? 4. On what island of the Azores is Ponta Delgada located?

5. What color is the Mohammedan "flag of the prophet"? 6. Of what city was Dante a nailve?

7. Where is the original manuscript of the Declaration of Independence kept?

8. Who was Hector Berlioz? 9. Through what English town, now virtually part of London, does longitude

10. Who wrote "Rasselas"?

Answers to Yesterday's Quiz 1. Lisbon is the Portuguese spelling for

2. A ditty-box is a sailor's or fisherman's receptacle for odds and ends. 3. The centenary of the birth of Walt Whitman will be celebrated on May 31.

Sepia is a dark, reddish brown color. 5. Ocelot; feline quadruped of South and Central America, tiger-cat, leopard-

6. Chervil is a garden herb, used in soup,

7. Oscar W. Underwood represents Alabama in the Senate. Jason was the mythological here who went in search of the Golden Ficece.

"Tout ensemble"; thing viewed as a whole, general effect. Literally this French phrase means all togethe

William R. Day, of the United State Supreme Court, was secretary state during part of McKinley's a