

The Indianapolis Times

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Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way
TUESDAY, NOV. 28, 1933.

THE SAN JOSE LYNCHING

THE San Jose double lynching is widely condoned. Governor Rolph, the chief law officer of California, announces that he will pardon the lynchers if any attempt is made to punish them. Governor Rolph speaks, of course, not as a responsible public official, but as a particularly low order of politician. He senses that his appeal to the mob spirit is popular.

There is no denying that Governor Rolph's attitude is representative of a rather large block of public opinion not only in San Jose, but elsewhere in the nation. Even many persons who usually abhor the crime of lynching are saying now, "They had it coming to them."

Obviously kidnapping provokes a blind public rage greater than almost any other crime. And when the kidnapping turns into fiendish murder, the brutality of the criminal fires the mob brutality. In this case also there doubtless was something of the spirit of the old California vigilantes. Though there was no reason to fear that these criminals would escape legal punishment, the kidnapping terror throughout the country has inspired a terrorist mood on the part of the public which demands vengeance.

Until very recently the law was not catching and punishing kidnapers. Our legal system was too inefficient or corrupt, or both. That now is being remedied, especially by the federal government. But we still are paying in mob spirit for the old breakdown of justice.

So it is easy enough to explain, in one way and another, the tendency of many persons to condone the San Jose lynching. But this newspaper can not condone it.

The reasons against lynching go much deeper than the conventional arguments against barbarity.

This is a time of vast unrest. Otherwise law-abiding citizens are taking law into their own hands. Farmers are using violence against officers and judges. Strikers are being shot down. The country is on edge. For many months whole communities and classes have been under nervous tension almost to the point of breaking. And now we enter another winter of mass suffering.

In such an explosive situation for Governor Rolph or any other sworn officer of the law to feed the mob spirit is worse than criminal. The mob is madness. The mob is no respecter of persons or institutions. Those who raise up the mob must be prepared for the destruction of the nation.

Fortunately the federal government and most state governments today are more intelligent than Governor Rolph.

PAYING FOR A 'CRIME'

A MAN walked into a hardware store in Sunbury, Pa., recently and told the storekeeper that he would like to settle up for a very old debt.

Thirty-one years ago, when the man was a small boy, he wanted a sled. Lacking the money to buy it, he calmly had taken one from the store; a sled valued at 75 cents.

Ever since then, this had preyed on his mind, so finally he went in to settle up—and, after some discussion, relieved his conscience by paying the storekeeper \$225.

It is hard to read this story without wishing for more facts about it. Did the youngster who took the sled thirty-one years ago get as much fun out of it as he had hoped? Did the pangs of conscience that afflicted him afterward counterbalance the ache of unsatisfied desire he would have felt if he had not taken it?

A youngster who wants a sled and can't get one is a pathetic spectacle. This long-forgotten "crime" somehow is one that is very easy to understand.

OUR PLACE IN THE WORLD

THERE'S some plain talking going on about our commercial relations with the rest of the world, about our tariff, our place in the family of nations henceforth.

There's a new and important tariff and trade plan evidently in the making; and no more important problem confronts the Roosevelt administration.

Fortright nationalism doesn't seem so popular now as it once was. Take the words of Commerce Secretary Roper, for instance:

"We have learned in these times that we can not plan from a national viewpoint solely. Any well-balanced program for our ultimate future must comprehend a national and international study. We must sooner or later learn, both nationally and internationally, that agencies and conditions which disrupt or embarrass the flow of trade and commerce must be better controlled and regulated in the interest of all concerned, both at home and abroad."

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace spoke in more detail. "Before we go all the way toward nationalism," he said, "it might be wise to consider the extent to which we can restore foreign purchasing power by systematic efforts to lower our tariffs and negotiate reciprocal trade agreements."

And then, swinging at the tariff log-rollers, Mr. Wallace added:

"A truly scientific readjustment of our tariff policy would involve the careful examination of every product produced in the United States or imported, and the determination of just which of our monopolistic or inefficient industries we are willing to expose to real foreign competition. This problem should be approached not from the standpoint of Democrats or Republicans but from the point of view of a long-time national plan which we are willing to follow for at least twenty or thirty years. Obviously, the doctrine of differences in cost of production at home and

abroad has little to do with working out this program in a sound way.

"The problem, in case we do not care to keep fifty million acres of crop land out of use either by processing tax or by government purchase, is to increase foreign purchasing power by vastly greater imports of foreign goods. In determining which goods to accept, we must be willing to sacrifice a great many inefficient industries even though they are run by our friends, unless, of course, they are gravely needed in time of war."

"The great question," the secretary said, "is where we shall find the courage and the tenacity that will be required to take, and to stick to, either the international path, the national path, or to a planned path between the two, for long and perhaps trying years of readjustment."

Mr. Roper and Mr. Wallace are talking sound sense on this subject, not merely from the standpoint of the government but from the standpoint of business and agriculture, whose interests they represent in the government.

SIX DOLLARS A WEEK

"NO business which depends for existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country," said Franklin D. Roosevelt the day he signed the industrial recovery act. He added: "By 'business' I mean the whole of commerce as well as the whole of industry; by workers I mean all workers—the white collar class as well as the men in overalls; and by living wages I mean more than a bare subsistence level—I mean the wages of decent living."

That was a credo which put a glow of gratitude and hope into men's hearts.

But today the recovery administration has before it a code for the laundry industry which provides a minimum wage of 14 cents an hour for workers in the south. A woman working the full forty-five hours permitted her by the code would earn just \$6.30 a week at this rate. If she did not miss an hour's work all year she would receive \$327 for that year, a record impossible to achieve.

Most of those who will receive this wage are Negro women, but there is nothing in President Roosevelt's pledge of decent living to indicate that he intended it for white workers only.

Six dollars and thirty cents a week is not a decent living wage in the south or any other part of the country. Those who are opposing it argue logically that higher wages, even if they mean slightly higher charges, will not ruin the laundry business.

And if it did, the women thrown out of jobs probably could earn more taking in washing in their homes.

Indorsement of a \$6.30 minimum wage by NRA would shake the country's belief in the recovery program.

HISTORY REVIVED

WHILE verbal warfare continues to rage about the moot points of the recovery program, it is refreshing to look the other direction for a moment and notice that 3,500 members of the civilian conservation corps are going to be at work this winter restoring some of the nation's most famous battlefields.

Four groups of men will work at Yorktown, where Continental and French troops squeezed independence out of Cornwallis' helpless army. Two more groups will work at Morristown, N. J., another historic spot in the Revolutionary struggle.

Six hundred will work at Chickamauga, scene of some of the Civil war's bloodiest fighting; others will be assigned to Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Shiloh, Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania and Chancellorsville.

In each case the workers will start by clearing away underbrush, vegetation, and so on, that hide the outlines of trenches, gun emplacements, and the like. Old fortifications will be cleaned up, trails will be laid to make access to all parts of the field easy, roadsides will be cleared away and landscaped.

Just enough actual restoration will be done to enable each battlefield to tell its own story to the visitor.

When the work is finished, a small staff of experts will be installed at each battlefield. Little effort will be made to give visitors guides; instead, maps and leaflets will be prepared so that the visitor can find his own way about and piece the historic story together for himself.

The whole project seems to be one of the most intelligent moves that could be made.

These battlefields of ours, made sacred by the blood that has been shed on them and by the high principles that were at stake there, are national shrines of the greatest value. There is no better way to get the "feel" of national history than to visit one or another of these places.

A few hours at Gettysburg, for instance, are worth whole volumes on the Civil war; a visit to Lexington and Concord, or to Ticonderoga, makes the Revolution seem real as nothing else can.

From such visits comes understanding; and from understanding grows a hardy and unshakable patriotism.

By restoring the battlefields and enabling us as visitors to reconstruct in our imaginations the tragic and heroic moments of our history, the government is offering us something of the very highest value.

AN NRA TESTIMONIAL

THE American Iron and Steel Institute's report on conditions in the steel industry in the last few months constitutes one of the most striking testimonials imaginable to the value of the NRA.

This testimonial gets its force not merely from the fact that both the number of men employed and the amount paid out in wages have risen, but from the fact that these increases have taken place during a period in which the actual volume of business handled by the industry was shrinking.

On Oct. 14 the number of men employed was 28 per cent above the number employed on June 17, while the pay roll had risen by 32 per cent. But the industry as a whole was operating at 44 per cent of capacity in October, whereas it was operating at 47 per cent of capacity in June.

Here is a most graphic example of the good the NRA program can do under adverse circumstances. It is a bright omen for the future.

Debating contest judge says small schools produce the best orators. The larger schools are too busy perfecting the football players.

INFLATION CLOUDS

STATEMENTS and arguments about the government's monetary policy are arising to heaven these days like a drifting fog about a mountain peak; and the peak which they veil—if you care to continue this metaphor—is that enormous mass of debts which we ran up back in the boom days.

That pile of debts, in other words, is, after all, the central fact in the whole matter. The long series of claims and counter-claims about the ins and outs of inflation, managed currencies and the like simply hangs over it, sometimes revealing it and sometimes obscuring it.

Up to a certain point, the thing is fairly simple.

Back in the boom times, when something that looked very much like money grew on every bush, we went deeply into debt. Farmers went into debt, business houses went into debt, industrial concerns went into debt. A flood of paper covered the land, like a lava flow from a volcano.

This flood eventually congealed to form the mountain mentioned above. Meanwhile, money became scarcer. It ceased to grow on bushes; for a lot of people it ceased to grow at all. We found it necessary to conduct our business and personal affairs with fewer dollars than we had had before.

But the mountain of debt remained unchanged. It stands today, its crags gloomy and bleak, with chill blizzards swirling about them. And in one way or another we must whittle that mountain down to its size before we can stand up on our hind legs again.

What is being attempted at Washington today may look altogether too much like an effort to move mountains by faith alone to suit practical men. But the job has to be done, and if we disapprove of the way that is being tried, it is up to us to suggest another way.

Suppose we do not like the idea of reducing the mass of debt by monkeying with the currency. What do we want? A general scaling down of all fixed charges, from freight rates to utilities rates, coupled with a straight horizontal slash in all mortgages, all bonds, and all commercial loans? Now is the time for us to speak up.

For the load of debts is simply too great to be borne. It is easy to find good reasons for disapproving the way in which Washington is trying to reduce it; but in listing those reasons we are bound to suggest some other way of accomplishing the same end. And it seems reasonable to insist that the "other way" has to be one that the people would tolerate.

PUBLIC TORTURE

ONE of the most heart-breaking things about life is the thoughtless cruelty that human beings can show to one another.

A 17-year-old farm boy landed in jail in an Ohio town the other day. He had shot his brother-in-law to death "because he had brought disgrace to our family," and back of his explanation there is a tragic example of the way in which this thoughtless cruelty can operate.

The brother-in-law had been convicted of assaulting a 14-year-old girl and had served time for it. And the young chap who finally killed him says that neighbors taunted him wherever he went because his sister's husband had turned out to be a scoundrel.

"They all threw it up to me," he explained. "I made up my mind that I never would let him live with my sister again."

Why, in a world which has tragedies enough anyway, must people exercise that thoughtless and vicious form of cruelty?

M. E. Tracy Says:

WHEN it comes to loose thinking, the anti-inflationists, as they call themselves, have gone the limit. We mustn't think of devaluing the dollar, they argue, because of the injustice it would do creditors. Then they proceed to prove that creditors out-number debtors by three to one. Count up the life insurance policy holders, they say, or savings bank depositors, and see for yourself.

It sounds very plausible, until one begins to peek behind the figures and approach the question from its dynamic side. Most people are on both sides of the fence at one time or another, borrowing today, lending tomorrow and vice versa. You don't make debtors without credit, nor creditors without debt.

Take the average life insurance policy, for instance, and you find that when a premium has been paid it's a debt, but when a premium falls due, it's a credit.

And the savings bank structure—what does it rest on if not a foundation of debt? Where would the depositors get their 3 or 4 per cent if a multitude of debtors were not paying interest on bonds and mortgages?

ALL of us who have anything, or who are trying to get anything, are entangled hopelessly in the debt structure. Indeed, debt is the whole basis of credit as far as money is concerned. But money forms only a part of our capital structure—the moving, dynamic part. The rest of our capital consists of land, buildings, equipment and, above all else, man power.

Money has become too obstreperous during the depression to serve its legitimate purpose; has ranged out of line with other values, destroying equities, stagnating industry and throwing people out of work. Those who happened to be caught on the debtor side have been subjected to merciless treatment in the rush to grab, or keep money because of its rise. Their homes, workshops and jobs have been taken from them in order to feed the sacred cow.

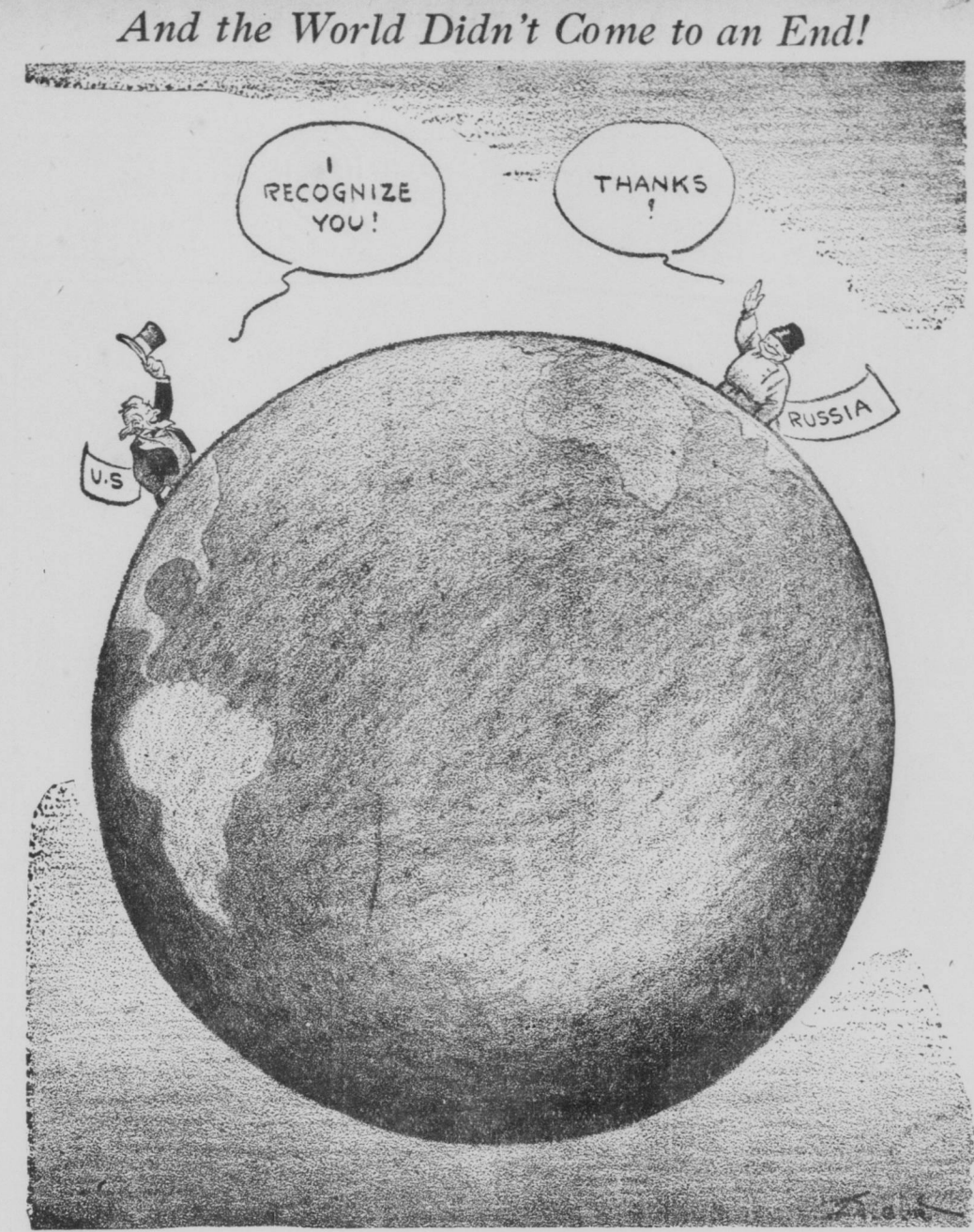
Walter B. Piskin puts his finger on the danger spot when he says that about half the people in this country have been reduced to a subsistence viewpoint, have been taught by grueling hardships how to get along with the bare necessities of life, have lost their appetite for luxuries and their ambition to strive for them.

How are you going to correct such a situation as that, except through increased consumption as made possible by restored buying power, and how are you going to restore buying power without bringing money back into line with commodity values?

THOSE advocating a lower dollar are not seeking to change a normal setup, but to correct a change that already has been brought about by an abnormal setup.

The debt burden of this country virtually was doubled between the fall of 1929 and the spring of 1933. That worked a grave and, in some cases, an irreparable injustice not only on people who couldn't pay, but on people who couldn't collect. In other words, it stopped the natural movement of exchange, until we found ourselves with a surplus on hand, while millions went cold and hungry.

Things are so arranged that if we fail to reproduce the wealth of this country once every five years, or turn over the volume of money in circulation ten, or a dozen times each year, we can't make both ends meet. Well, try to do it with the dollar at its last March level, or with the debt load unrelieved.



The Message Center

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

(Times readers are invited to express their views in these columns. Make your letters short, so all can have a chance. Limit them to 250 words or less.)

By H. L. Seeger.
The meeting of the New York Chamber of Commerce demanding return to the gold standard, had some star chamber aspects, as the promoters were Wall Street members.

Questionnaires sent out by them over the country had the purpose of getting an "Amen chorus" with which to bluff the President on his monetary policy. The smoke screen did not completely hide the gentlemen who opened the barrage, or their purpose.

In every panic, money is high in purchase power value, which forces labor and goods down in price.

Scarcity of credit and money, which is a commodity, wrecks other commodity prices. Sliding the purchase power value of money is like changing the standards of measure. When credit and money are sufficient, prices do not fall abruptly.

Business operates with confidence, labor finds employment, investment capital seeks opportunity.

Our currency should expand in the same ratio as the wealth of the nation expands. Bank credit currency has proven a grand flop, because autocratic control of credit makes possible autocratic control of industry. The business game breaks down, if the "poker chips" have all gone to the "house."

The measly five billion of currency is far from sufficient to operate our giant industrial system. Every federal bond should be matched with a currency dollar in circulation. If we did not depend on bank credit for 90 per cent of our business exchange medium, we would have real currency to take its place, which would be a motive power for industry.

Contraction of bank credit currency forces business from the Pennsylvania railroad, B. & O., American Railway Express Company, or Indianapolis Street Railway Company. I also would make some one a trusty night man. Any favor shown me will be appreciated.

By a Taxpayer.
While the NRA is brewing and the employers of our city have been so loyal, wouldn't it be opportune

Protection Against Chilblains Urged

BY DR. MORRIS FISHBEN

Editor Journal of the American Medical Association and of Hygiene, the Health Magazine.

Hand or foot into a bath of melted paraffin wax with a high temperature—about 120 degrees.

As long as the limb remains in this bath, the pain is absent and the circulation in the tissues is improved greatly, because the heat is retained.

It is an interesting fact that your body can not stand a temperature much over 110 degrees applied to your skin in the form of hot water, whereas it can stand a temperature of 120 degrees for from ten to twenty minutes in the form of heated paraffin.

While these measures for the care of chilblains are of benefit, they do not get at the basic condition—the difficulty in the circulation of the blood in the part of the body concerned.

A Woman's Viewpoint

BY MRS. WALTER FERGUSON

COMMUNITY Fund campaigns are under way again. But I wish we might make our appeals for them in some new language. The word "charity" is beginning to sound hateful in too many ears.

I. A. R. Wylie, discussing "Our Pernicious Virtues" in Harper's magazine, says "It is perhaps the greatest tragedy of western civilization that the Christian religion as interpreted by Christians based itself not on the ideal of pure justice, but on suffering, mercy, charity and redemptive atonement."

That, I think, expresses very well what is moving within the minds of people all over the earth. The poor are tired of our doles. Just as weary, perhaps, of accepting as we are of proffering them.

It is, alas, still necessary to raise money in order to feed the starving and to clothe the naked. But let us, for heaven's sake, not make the mistake of thinking that by doing so we are showing any very great high-mindedness, or even ordinary common sense. For charity has also a bad moral effect upon the donor.

THE very first time that we found ourselves faced with the necessity of raising public funds for the distressed should have warned us of the dangers ahead. Being in the heyday of what we thought was prosperity, however, we gathered up vast sums with comparative ease, handed them over to certain bodies of men and they doled them out to our unfortunates.

The horrible fact remains that we did nothing at all about remedying an economic situation that was obviously perilous—not, at least, until too many of us were pushed into the bread lines. Instead, we flattered ourselves that we were admirable and generous citizens.

While we had plenty we rather enjoyed giving money to the poor. It added to our feeling of virtue. God, we thought, must love us for which is ever the manner in which alms react upon the person who bestows them.

The ballyhoo for charity must be made again, but because of that let us not cease our efforts to secure social justice for all. A job instead of a dole is what men desire. Can we not give it to them? Our future will depend upon how we answer the question.

It Seems to Me

BY HEYWOOD BROWN

NEW YORK, Nov. 28.—In my opinion there is no doubt that the new deal honeymoon has ended.

In the early days of March there was a disposition to say, "Stand by the President," and some interpreted that to mean that no official act should be subjected to the slightest form of criticism. Even congress sheathed its stilettoes and went to the White House bearing blanket approvals.

I do not regret the passing of the honeymoon. Vital issues must be decided, and it is well that there should be full and free debate. And it ought to be frank debate, so that every man and woman in the land will be able to decide on which side he or she wants to serve.

Even now that the olive leaves have begun to fall there is still a lack of complete candor. My quarrel with the critics of the President is not that they have said too much but that they have been evasive and indirect. Mots of the sniping still is being done from behind screens of smoke.

For instance, some of the people who are going up and down the country making speeches about the freedom of the press actually are motivated by a desire to avoid increased costs of production. And, again, the hue and cry about the gold-purchase plan cuts into ground much deeper than the roots of this somewhat tepid, tentative and familiar device. Experts who seek to suggest that nothing of the sort was ever seen in the world before simply are not telling the truth. I do not see how any economist of repute can actually believe that the device is either a cure-all or a ruin-all.

Less Than the Truth

AND I think it is fair to say that most of the excesses of expression have come from those who viewed with alarm rather than from the camp of pride pointers. In most of the alarm, excursions and lamentations some single sentence is more revealing than the ostensible purpose of the entire document. The part is greater than the whole.

For instance, James P. Warburg, in a "surprise" speech against the gold-purchase plan, declared that it is "up to the latent majority to let the President know that the American people are ready to face whatever suffering there may be in a slow, orderly process of recovery."

And Oliver Mitchell Wentworth Sprague, in shaking the dust from his feet, declared that the concern of the government should be "to extricate ourselves from the depression rather than deal with the course of prices after that happy event." Mr. Hearst and Mr. Lippmann have written in similar vein, emphasizing recovery rather than readjustment.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was far to the left of his opponent in the last campaign. In practically every controversy which has arisen since his inauguration he has chosen the left turn. I believe that the logic of the situation should be to let the President know that the American people are ready to face whatever suffering there may be in a slow, orderly process of recovery."

"None of Your Business"

THIS means that very vital changes are taking place in our economic structure and in the traditional philosophy concerning the proper attitude of the government toward business. But people who cry out "Bolshevism" or "Socializing America" have very little conception of what a Communist revolution means.

People who believe in no change at all have a logical right to oppose the Roosevelt policies. It may be that those who think he doesn't go half far enough also are right in making violent attacks upon his administration. Personally, I doubt this. At the moment the radicals are much too weak to have any important direct influence, and the only immediate effect of their protests is to strengthen the hands of the reactionaries.

For instance, if NRA is defeated the Communists will find themselves dancing a victory dance hand in hand with the Chamber of Commerce.

Do Not Feel the Hook

WHEN Mr. Warburg says that the American people should be ready "to face whatever suffering there may be in a slow, orderly process of recovery" he means that the financial and industrial leaders who dumped us into the ravine should be trusted to lift us out again. He means that the evil effects of overproduction can be scotched only by drawing in the belt and letting shoes and overcoats go through the full process of disintegration. He means that the shorn lamb must not only face the untimely wind but like it and measure. Varicose veins may be controlled not only by the application of elastic bandages, but by the injection treatment and use of surgical measures.

Other conditions affecting veins and arteries represent constitutional disturbances demanding medical supervision. Finally, the prescription of the right kind of exercise and the right kind of diet and rest will do much to prevent and cure chilblains.

General Johnson said in a speech not so long ago that very soon it would be raining dead cats. I think it would have been more precise to say that presently we are going to have a downpour of red herrings.

Some people seem to feel that they can't tell what all the shooting is for. These are the unfortunates who have been lured up the side alleys. The major issue is simple enough. It boils down to the problem of just how many people believe in Mr. Hoover's world of rugged individualism and how many in the Roosevelt philosophy of the participation of labor and the public in the management of industry.

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Renouncement

BY FRANCESCA

Faint heart take courage, and be brave, For life is just a little space Between oblivion and rebirth—A momentary resting place.

What matters it if we have lost The fight for love and all its bliss? Remember, heart, and still rejoice—No other one may know his kiss.

His vows are made for just his life—We are renounced for but a while! For we have found eternity, And God is kind—so let us smile!