

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND IN THE MAKING

Facts Show We Are Deeply Interested in Foreign Affairs

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IN THE formative days of a nation its foreign relations play a prominent part in the thought of its people. Witness the United States in the days following the Revolution, when we sent our best and our bravest—our Franklins, our Adamses, our Monroes, and our Jays—to establish our standing as a nation among the nations of the earth. Witness the new Russia devoting her best thought to diplomacy and when occasion demands reforming her internal economy to meet the exigencies of her foreign policy. Witness the Succession States of Eastern Europe bending their energies to secure their international positions.

Once assured of our place in the world, we in this country turned our interest and our attention to internal matters. No powerful neighbor threatened our security. The development of the great West, the establishment of manufactures and industry, the solution of tremendous moral problems like slavery, absorbed our thought and our energy. We were far from Europe, and after the period which called forth President Monroe's famous pronouncement and the brief trouble with Mexico, we concerned ourselves less and less with what went on in the rest of the world. We allowed our

diplomatic service to become a political plum-tree, and we looked upon diplomacy itself as a vague and monstrous evil.

The war with Spain distracted us for a time, but when it was over we promptly returned to our international lethargy in spite of the various national appendices such as the Philippines, Hawaii, and Porto Rico that we had acquired. The thunderous reverberations of 1914 startled us from a summer reverie of peace on earth and good-will among men. It took us several years to realize that Europe had been expecting this storm and preparing for it for decades, and then we felt a little ruffled that we had not been told about it.

During the war and the ensuing peace negotiations we fairly lived and moved and had our being in an international atmosphere. For us this atmosphere was surcharged with the noblest possibilities. In it was to be formed a new and better world, a world in which war and hatred and diplomacy and other evils were to have no place. When we began to reduce our aspirations to realities, however, we awoke with a start to the fact that we were in the same old world with its same old selfishness, its same old jealousies, its same old

hatreds, intensified rather than mollified by the heat of the struggle it had been through.

We withdrew in self-righteous disgust. If the world was not of a mind to mend its ways, we should have no more to do with it. Some of us even considered never speaking to it again. And it is only more recently that we are beginning to understand that, for better or for worse, we are an integral part of the international family and that what we do or refuse to do is a vital factor in determining how good or how bad it shall be. So we are again turning our minds to other countries, their problems, and their relations to each other and to us. It is coming home to us that in its maturity as in its infancy a nation's foreign relations are of the first importance. We begin to see the reason Great Britain, with her far-flung interests and her world-wide influence, lives in an international atmosphere, and we sense a similar destiny for ourselves.

There are those among us—some of them reside temporarily at the national capital—who would pile both Pelion and Ossa in the way of such a development. For them the United States was not only born isolated, it has achieved isolation, and in addition must have isolation thrust upon it. It is fairly to be presumed that this attitude is a reflection of what the gentlemen concerned believe to be the temper of the constituencies from which they hail. And their presence in Washington attests the excellence of their judgment. Yet nothing can be more convincing than the increasing violence of their own efforts that the tide is setting ever stronger against them.

Whatever may be the temper of individual constituencies, there is a growing body of evidence which indicates that the American people are rapidly emerging from that state of mind in which, through ignorance and lack of incentive, they have feared to trust themselves to play an active part in the affairs of the world.

This is due in part to the very real material interest they have recently acquired in the welfare of the rest of the world. The world owes the United States government approximately \$12,000,000,000, of the present value of which the contradictory official explanations from both sides of the water leave us in some doubt. In addition to this the people of the United States, through their bankers, have lent to foreign countries, their governments, their municipalities, and their industries, another \$10,000,000,000. This total of \$22,000,000,000 means \$200 for every man, woman, and child in this country—or about \$1000 for every family. Few of us are above being interested in the doings of a debtor who owes us \$1000. Then again, we conduct a business with our international neighbors of \$10,000,000,000 a year, and we could do vastly more if their political, economic, and financial positions were improved.

The interest of Americans is greatly enhanced by the growing numbers of us who get abroad. It was formerly a mark of some distinction to have been to Europe. The armed host that visited the Continent during the war took the distinction out of such a trip, but it added enormously to the number who have seen Europe with their own eyes.

Every year since then has added its thousands to this company. The fall of the European exchanges has kept traveling expenses down, and the curtailing of the immigration traffic has placed additional steamship accommodations at the service of the traveling public at comparatively low cost. This service, with its round-trip rate of \$175 or thereabouts, appeals especially to students, teachers, writers, and others whose incomes prohibited all thought of European travel under former conditions. Such travelers not only themselves bring back a new enthusiasm over things foreign, but they spread this among a wide circle. The extent of this influence is indicated by the fact that the State Department's output of passports for last year is estimated to be more than 250,000. For this year travel agencies predict an exodus from these shores of close to 500,000. The National Travel Club reports the receipt of more than 1000 inquiries a month from its 30,000 members; and the circulation of its magazine, "Travel," has jumped from 22,000 a year ago to more than 40,000 at the present time. The "New York Herald-Tribune" has issued a "Guide to Europe" in the form of a forty-eight-page supplement to one of its Sunday issues, for the benefit of this increasing host of travelers.

But debts and travel are by no means the whole of the matter. Our increased interest is also due to the fact that as a nation we are coming to maturity. We have passed the adolescent stage when our own doings enthralled us and we cared nothing for the welfare, the thoughts,

or the accomplishments of others. We are taking on the more serious responsibilities of adult years. We are beginning to sense our place in the community, to accept the duties and obligations of world citizenship.

Of this there is abundant evidence. There is no more immediate reflection of the currents of popular thought in American life than the daily newspaper. Here is the barometer of America's interest in any subject under heaven. In 1913 that barometer was very low on the matter of foreign affairs. A few anonymous Associated Press paragraphs from London, Paris, Berlin, was the usual reading. To-day no paper pretends to greatness that has not trained special correspondents in all the world's capitals. Even that great champion of isolation, the "Chicago Tribune," which modestly admits from the housetops that it is "the world's greatest newspaper," boasts of the size and excellence of its foreign service. These foreign correspondents of the great dailies keep the closest watch on events and trends in their respective fields and daily flash across the cables columns upon columns of report and interpretation to be spread before the American public the following morning. No gathering of international importance in any part of the world but draws together a score or more of these men to transmit every detail to the waiting readers at home. The change since 1913 is apparent not only in the great metropolitan papers. In the hundreds of lesser journals throughout the land, journals in which a foreign item was a rarity a decade and a half ago, one can now find sufficient material on

the front page to follow intelligently the main trends of international developments. It was no easy matter to break the back of the lifelong tradition among editors that "the American people are not interested in foreign affairs," but it seems to be broken.

An interesting feature of this development in the newspaper world is the growth of the "Christian Science Monitor." Not because of its religious aspect, which does not concern us here, but because of the fact that it aspires to be and is "an international newspaper," and that two thirds of its reading-matter deals with other countries. Its circulation has increased from some 78,000 daily in 1922 to nearly 105,000 at the present time.

The "no interest in foreign affairs" tradition seems also to have gone a-glimmering among the magazine editors. In 1913 one could read for hours in our best and most serious reviews without being transported beyond the confines of our own land. Only an occasional article of the outer world disturbed the even tenor of our way. Now it would be something of a task to find even a single number of any of the influential magazines which does not contain from two to half a dozen such articles. And those which have editorial reviews are constrained to devote an increasing proportion of such matter to consideration of our neighbors and their affairs.

Even more significant of the change in point of view is the appearance of magazines devoted wholly or almost wholly to the subject of international relations. A number of these have appeared. Some abode their des-

tined hour and went their way. Their failure may have been due to various causes which operate in all sections of the magazine field. That it was not due to lack of public interest is attested by the increasing success of those which have survived.

One of the best known of these is "Current History." Started by the "New York Times" at the beginning of the World War to keep a running record of those momentous events, it has not only continued to flourish but has been increasingly prosperous since. At present it prints some 93,000 copies a month, a figure which compares favorably with those of many of our old-established general magazines of world-wide fame. Generally speaking, three quarters of the space of this publication is given to foreign topics. Nor does it in any sense cater to the superficial reader. It is essentially the tool of the professor, the publicist, the editor, and the student. Its usefulness must extend far beyond the circle of its actual readers.

Of somewhat more popular type, and yet entirely given to the discussion of foreign life and interests, is "Asia." Founded in 1917 by Willard Straight to arouse an interest in the lands of the East, it has admirably fulfilled its purpose. More than 65,000 copies a month now carry their vivid descriptions of the life of the Orient and their penetrating discussions of Eastern problems to the people of this country.

An older institution, long listed among our weekly publications, has received new life from the awakened interest in affairs abroad. "Littell's Living Age" brought transla-

tions of important foreign articles to our ancestors in the forties of the last century. As the "Living Age" it now fulfils the same function in increasing measure for the present generation. Its contents are wholly from abroad, from all parts of the world, yet America buys 19,000 copies twice a month.

A more weighty undertaking, one which indicates the depth of penetration of this new interest, is the recently founded quarterly, "Foreign Affairs." Here is technical material for the expert, the university specialist, the publicist, the diplomat, the statesman, articles written by recognized authorities who in many cases have played an important part in the events they describe and interpret. Sold at \$1.25 a number, a price which excludes all except those really interested, "Foreign Affairs" has in its fourth year acquired a distribution of 12,000.

Book publishers have been no slower than other agencies supplying the public with what it wants to respond to the increased interest in affairs outside our own country. The taste for foreign literature is becoming a recognized factor in the literary life of America, but there is more significance in the increase of non-fiction works dealing with foreign countries or our relations with them. Of the non-fiction titles announced from week to week approximately one third are of such a character. This is not because publishers like these works and foist them on an unwilling public; it is because the public absorbs them, and the publishers, good merchants that they are, hasten to give it what it wants.

The universities too have been prompt to recognize this new tendency. Where there was formerly a lone course on "modern European history," there are now imposing lists of subjects ranging from the history of individual nations to exhaustive studies of all of the political, economic, and social factors which enter into the subject of international relations. Yale, for example, offers twenty-two courses of this description, while the University of Chicago offers no less than fifty-six. Neither of these institutions specializes in foreign affairs. They are taken at random to illustrate the general trend.

In addition to their regular courses offered by members of their own faculties, several of the colleges and universities have secured special endowments for series of lectures by acknowledged authorities on various phases of international relations. Many of these are inspired by the desire to promote peace among the nations, but in practice they have of necessity become expositions of the character, the needs, and the psychology of other peoples.

An expansion of this idea appears in the Harris Foundation at the University of Chicago. It owes its existence to the conviction of the donors that "it is apparent that a knowledge of world affairs was never of more importance to Americans than to-day." It enables the university to call to Chicago for three weeks each summer a number of foreign and American authorities who, by lectures and round-table discussions, examine in some detail and from different points of view a given

region of the world. During the first two years Europe and the Far East were thus placed under the microscope, and last summer Mexico's problems were diagnosed.

The Institute of Politics at Williamstown, now in its sixth year, has an even wider scope and a more ambitious program. Each year it calls a number of experts from abroad to meet those of this country in a detailed examination of outstanding world problems. The members of the Institute are selected with special reference to their qualifications to contribute to the scheduled discussions, so that the conferences are made up largely of special students of the subjects under consideration. The Institute thus becomes a clearing-house of knowledge and points of view on current world problems. It is an important factor in establishing a broader and firmer basis for international thinking in this country.

Obviously inspired by these examples and striving to meet the needs of special regions are the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu and the Institute of Inter-American Relations at San Juan. The Institute of Pacific Relations held its first session at Honolulu in 1925 and brought together representatives of all the peoples living on the shores of the Pacific to exchange views on the problems which affect their vital interests. It is proposed to hold such sessions biennially. The Porto Rican project is new-born. Its first meeting is to be held in September at the University of Porto Rico. The Spanish island under American rule has recognized its unique opportunity to serve as the lens through which

Latin America and Teutonic America may the more clearly see each other, and the meetings of this Institute should afford a long-needed opportunity for a better understanding among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

A project which will make a genuine contribution to American thought on international affairs is the newly founded Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University. In the atmosphere of scholarly research for which Johns Hopkins is noted among American universities, a small group of professors and fellows will devote their time and abilities to research into "the underlying facts and conditions of international life—including international law, international trade, economic relations, racial psychology, all the technique of international intercourse and diplomatic customs." A promising thing, this, to begin the study of the science of amicable international intercourse in the same manner and on the same scientific basis as we and others have long studied the science of war. The material accumulated through the years by the workers at this school should give to the world a new appreciation of the facts and forces underlying the life of the nations and make as distinctive an American contribution to international life as the constitution of the federal government has already made to national life. It should do much to strengthen the arms of our diplomats in their efforts to substitute reason and justice for passion and might as the arbiters of world affairs.

There is yet another striking piece of evidence that America's interna-

tional mind is experiencing a rapid development. There are many who are neither expert in foreign affairs nor able to attend institutes which discuss them or schools which probe them. Thousands of these have found an opportunity to keep abreast of international issues through such bodies as the Foreign Policy Association. Originating in New York, this body has now established branches in half a dozen of our larger cities, and others are in process of formation. Its best known activity is a semimonthly luncheon at which a particular international problem is examined. Each side is presented by a qualified speaker, and plenty of time is allowed for questions and contributions from the floor. Any one who has seen the great ball-room of the Hotel Astor crowded to capacity, or the standing-room-only sign hung out at the branch meetings, must needs revise any preconceived opinion that "Americans are not interested in foreign affairs." The membership of this association has grown from less than 1000 in 1921 to more than 6000 at the present time. It publishes a weekly bulletin of events of international interest and conducts research service which impartially gathers the essential facts lying behind current world problems. The reports of this service are widely subscribed for by editors, publicists, universities and colleges, and are furnishing a background of actuality to take the place of the legendary ideas which so long distorted popular conceptions of foreign nations.

The gradual elimination of these legendary ideas, inevitable result of increased knowledge, has wrought

a vast change in our estimate of our neighbors. Englishmen are no longer counterparts of the drawling and monocled "Lord Helpus" of our comic stage; Frenchmen have ceased to be dancing gesticulators with waxed mustaches and baggy trousers; Italians walk no more on tiptoe with stiletto poised for action; the Chinese have acquired more substantial ingredients than opium, boiled shirts, and chop-suey. We are rapidly substituting portraits of our contemporaries for the caricatures that have so long served us. The process is far from complete, but the point is that progress is being made.



The growth of interest and appreciation of the place of the United States in world affairs has not been wholly lost upon its representatives in Washington. A complete reorganization of the foreign service was effected by the Rogers Act in 1923. This measure combined the diplomatic and consular services, theretofore separated, into a unified "foreign service," adding greatly to the strength and effectiveness of both. Salaries were placed upon a living basis, and the way was opened for men of ability to start at the bottom and go clear to the top. Ministers and ambassadors, however, are yet to be provided with sufficient funds so that the acceptance of the leadership of a diplomatic mission would not require a private fortune. Conditions have been much improved by the Rogers Act, and President Coolidge has frequently taken advantage of the resulting opportunity to promote to the headship of our missions in foreign countries men who have spent years in the diplomatic service and have dem-

onstrated their ability adequately to represent this country in its dealings with other governments. Never again should a great world catastrophe such as that of 1914 find us with the senior among our ambassadors in the ten greatest capitals of the world having to base his judgments and acts upon a diplomatic experience of one year and four months. It is even possible that the presence of experienced men representing the United States in the centers where intrigue is prone to breed may do much to avert another such catastrophe.

Even more significant of the change in public temper is the passage by the House of Representatives of the Porter Bill authorizing the expenditure of \$10,000,000 over a period of five years to provide adequate housing and office facilities for our envoys abroad. No nation has been more chary of its money in this respect. Many a time the American abroad has had to swallow his shame at the disgracefully shabby quarters in which he has found his country's representative. Ten million dollars is but a beginning. More will be appropriated when some States are no longer content to be so provincially minded that their representatives must assert, as did Mr. Lozier of Missouri, that "no one repre-

senting an agricultural district can vote for the Porter Bill and be returned." Some day these agricultural districts, which now and again rise and demand some legislation which will improve their foreign markets, will realize that they too are interested in our embassies and legations.

They will be the last to give hearty support to such a project. Your farmer was ever a conservative. And the agricultural districts will be the last corners of the American cerebrum to function internationally. But they will so function in the end, and meanwhile the rest of the country will have to carry the burden. National maturity, in a world of states which think internationally, demands that we also develop an international mind. If we can have with it an international heart—long miscalled "an international mind" by our pacifists—so much the better. But the mind we must have. It must be furnished with the accurate knowledge necessary to the formation of effective judgments, and it must have the ability to think clearly through the issues which come before it. Such a mind is a prime requisite if we would capably fill our new position in the world. And such a mind is in the making.

THE SUPERIOR WOMAN

KARL W. DETZER

ABRAHAM LARKIN died by storm in his seventy-second year. He died boisterously, as he had lived, cursing the lake as he always had cursed it. He died wet, as he always had hoped he could die.

Down to the cold and secretive bottoms of Lake Michigan he carried with him that howling November day a bitter biting hatred of all womankind. He had conceived that hatred, not entirely without reason, four years after his third son was born. He humored it, nursed it, fed it on regretful memories until it overwhelmed him, and even the fresh clean waters of the lake that took him in could not wash its rancor from his soul.

Ashore he left a heritage which had been dear to him, which he had loved with all the fervor of a disillusioned man who holds desperately to the few bent illusions that remain.

First, there was his reputation, solid as an oaken timber, a reputation built up through many years, by an unswerving devotion to a simple stout-hearted code. Abraham Larkin was known the rocky length of the fishing coast as a hard just man. He lived respected and died unloved.

Second, there was his boat. The perversities of wind and water had saved the craft, had flung him clear of it that blasty day, had drowned him and sunk him deep, but had

carried the square-faced fishing-boat safely across Red Shoal, past the gnawing reefs of Martingale Head, into the quiet water of Penney's Harbor, where it bobbed ashore gently on a sandy beach.

Third, there were Abraham Larkin's sons, Levi, Noah, and Ben.

Levi was forty-nine, a stiff-lipped inarticulate man, who went about his tasks with stolid indifference. He looked like his father, except for his eyes, which were melancholy. He was uncannily weatherwise, a reliable sailor, and lived alone in a shack at the rear of the Larkin fish-shanty. Noah, the second son, was known as a man of education by his fellows in Martingale, and indulged in a mysterious liking for the printed page. He, too, lived alone, in an unneighborly house set off by itself atop the bluffs, without tree or shrub or fence, or so much as a beaten path past his door. Ben — his father always called him Benjamin, for he was no believer in short cuts — remained at home in the old house and did the simple chores and simpler cooking. Ben was thirty-four. The three sons fished with their father, accepted his abuse dutifully, and absorbed without question his vehement mistrust of women.

The minister at the mission church, after waiting without the proper patience for seven days while the