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FIXING a definite time for withdrawal from the Philippines, with no special regard to the question whether the islands are ready to maintain so stable a government as to give no occasion for foreign intervention, is a policy that would hardly indicate a deep sense of international obligation on the part of the United States. If the Philippines were given their independence and then presented a spectacle of anarchy and disorder, they would immediately become the object of competing imperialistic ambitions. Japan would lay claim to the right to establish order, and some other nation, England, Germany or France, would present a competing claim. Whether the dispute would be settled by diplomacy or force would depend upon an international situation that no one can now foresee. So much, however, is certain: weak and disorderly states have for generations been the most serious menace to the world's peace, and are likely to exert a similar pernicious function for a long time to come. If the House had adopted the Clarke amendment, providing for abandonment

of the Philippines within four years, the chances are that we should have created another such weak state, another international menace. We might thereby have reduced our own risk of war, but of this we are by no means certain. Anything that works for a reopening of imperialistic competition in the Pacific is a matter of very intimate concern to us.

THE fate of Alice Masaryk is unknown. By some accounts she has already been executed; by other accounts she is still to be tried for her life on the charge of treason. There are flimsy charges against her that may carry weight with a military tribunal but that can carry none with the public opinion of the world. The real crime of Miss Masaryk is that she is the daughter of Professor Masaryk, the distinguished leader of Bohemian nationalism, now in exile. Whatever Professor Masaryk's activities may have been, it is certain that his daughter had no complicity in them. We have the most direct evidence that for his daughter's safety, Professor Masaryk refrained from even communicating information to her concerning his designs. This is therefore not another Cavell case. In that case political acts legally punishable by death were admitted; in the case of Miss Masaryk no unlawful acts have been committed. It can scarcely be believed, therefore, that the Austrian government has exacted the death penalty or will exact it. Nothing, however, is impossible in a time like the present, and it is the duty of all friends of justice and humanity to petition the Austrian government in Miss Masaryk's behalf. She has lived in America and is widely known and loved here. She is not a citizen of America or of any other country whose citizens' fortunes are in our charge. Therefore the State Department is in no position to make official representations in her behalf. But it can and should exert all the informal pressure possible through the Austrian chargé at Washington and the American Ambassador at Vienna.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S Chicago speech leaves nobody in doubt about the size of the army he thinks immediately necessary. He puts the figure at a quarter of a million, so that we shall always have "within our own limits a mobile body of 125,000 men so constantly trained and manoeuvred that inside of a week they could be concentrated in the highest degree of fighting efficiency at any point of our border or coast line." He believes also with all his heart "in universal training and universal service on some modification of the Swiss and Australian systems adapted to the needs of American life." The boys ought to be trained "in the schools and then by four to six months in the field when they leave the schools." These statements are as explicit as any reasonable man can expect Colonel Roosevelt to be at this time. If all candidates were as definite on all important points nobody could justly accuse any of them of failing to speak his mind.

IT would be pleasant to add that Colonel Roosevelt is everywhere as clear as he is about the army, but it would not be true. Nowhere in his Chicago speech does he say how large a navy he thinks the United States ought to have. He does say, "The Monroe Doctrine will never be one particle stronger than the navy," but this is as near as he comes to telling us what relative position he would have our navy take among the navies of the world. This vagueness is of course due to the fact that the size of our navy cannot be discussed intelligently by anybody who is not willing to discuss our foreign relations. Colonel Roosevelt takes keen interest in these relations. When he was President his handling of foreign affairs was prompt and wise. It is a pity that he is not at present willing to talk about them frankly, to discuss the choices before us. We can try, if we are foolish enough, to build a navy large enough to put all possible enemies out of business. We can aim at a navy large enough to put all probable enemies out of business. We can assume that we shall have active friends and can behave ourselves so as to get them, or we can assume that we are from now on going to play a lone hand. When Colonel Roosevelt says that our foreign policy should be characterized by "strength, courage and the courteous doing of justice," he is not helping his fellow-countrymen to think.

NOTHING seems more irrational, at this distance, than the wild and futile revolt of the Dublin Irish. It is not reasonable, however, to judge the affair entirely from censored British news. Many facts that throw light on the tragic situation have not been reaching the American public during the past few months. Early in April *New*

Ireland, the Home Rule weekly, warned the government that its policy was provocative. It declared that the legacy of hatred against Britain was a *damnosa hereditas*, but not to be confused with an outraged sense of justice, and it catalogued the recent events that were making Irishmen bitter. These included the suppression of papers, arbitrary imprisonments, the offensive language of recruiters, "the wholesale neglect to repress the hooligan attack upon quiet people in Tullamore, followed by the stupid conduct of the police," the deportation of two Irish Volunteer organizers, and the attempts to seize Nationalist arms without any similar effort being made against the Ulster Volunteers. Throughout Ireland, it is clear, the Sinn Feiners were looked at askance. "Their stake in the country," one angry United Irish Leaguer protested before the outbreak, "did not amount to as much land as would sod a lark." But the Irish Volunteers, organized with Ulster in mind and with no such revolutionary spirit as the Sinn Feiners, asserted officially in March that government raids were creating bad blood, and the government had the tact to answer by appointing a violent Orangeman attorney general.

IN proceeding against the Irish Volunteers, while indulging the Ulster Volunteers, the British government very probably had proof of sedition. It was a kind of sedition that from the British standpoint was too inimical to be treated with punctilious regard for civil rights. The majority of the Irish Nationalists accept this view, as John Redmond testifies. They realize the ugly complexion of sedition at this juncture, and they have left no doubt as to their disapproval of the revolt. The nub of the Irish situation, however, is still Ulster. From the Irish standpoint the fact that the Ulster Volunteers are still under arms is a paradox that makes for endless uneasiness. It is a reminder that Home Rule is still vitally contested and may be checkmated in the end. It takes extreme patience on the part of the Nationalists to endure this situation, and it is no great wonder that, considering the details of British policy in recent weeks, the less balanced Nationalists and the Sinn Feiners reached the limits of their endurance, and turned in impotent fury on a government that so long has furtively temporized over conceded constitutional demands.

CHRISTENDOM as a whole suffered a reverse along with the British Empire in the surrender at Kut-el-Amara. Mohammedanism is still an active force in the world, and the roll of its deeds of fanaticism and cruelty is far from closed. The news of Kut, growing ever more portentous as

it passes from mouth to ear among the unlettered Mohammedan masses, will inspire many thousands with the hope of advancing once more the realms of the True Prophet. Kut will produce outrages against isolated Europeans, massacres of local Christians, holy wars. The Central Powers may rejoice in the event now, but the time will come, if they realize their Levantine hopes, when German and Austrian blood will help to fertilize the memory of Kut-el-Amara. It was an Italian faction that ferried the Turks over the Bosphorous in the fifteenth century and thus made possible the taking of Constantinople. The other Italian faction was greatly discomfited at the time. In subsequent ages all Italy and all Christendom had to pay the penalty for that unholy alliance.

ON the last day of April, at eleven in the evening, all efficient clocks in Germany and Austria-Hungary skipped an hour and struck midnight. Henceforth every clock in both countries will be an hour ahead of the old time. It is still too early to say with confidence how the plan will work. Certain disadvantages will occur at once to every thoughtful meditator. Those obstinate persons whose happiness depends upon dining late may break into revolt. A new argument against getting up when he is called is put within reach of every slug-abled in the empire and the dual monarchy. Yet something may be urged in behalf of the change. A man in Buda-Pesth says that for Germany alone "it is estimated that the saving in lighting and power will amount to £88,000,000" a year. This is a large sum. Translated into American it comes to about \$440,000,000. If the meaning of these figures is not plain it can be made plainer. Perhaps the most extravagant baby in the United States is John Jacob Astor, aged not quite four. He is spending every day \$75 and some pennies. So Germany is expected to save in a year, by the simple expedient of setting the clocks forward, enough to keep the Astor baby in funds for about 5,866,666 days.

THE Brandeis case has reached a new stage of systematic misrepresentation. Having submitted the nomination to the Senate, the administration has made no attempt to influence public opinion in the matter, but has left it to the Senate Judiciary Committee to pass upon the charges against Mr. Brandeis according to the orderly procedure of a judicial controversy. Mr. Brandeis himself by the proprieties of the occasion has been compelled to observe silence. For refutation of cruel charges he has had to trust to the impersonal sifting of the facts. No similar scruples seem to affect Mr. Austen Fox and Mr. Clarence Barron. Mr. Fox, the

Wall Street Journal, and the Boston News Bureau, have flooded the country with copies of Mr. Fox's brief in support of the opposition. This brief is a medley of misrepresentation and suppression, which was outrageous enough when originally filed as a partisan document, but which, now that the majority of the Senate sub-committee in the very detailed report of Chairman Chilton has refuted it, becomes a sin against the light. This brief is circularized particularly among the bar, with a view to bringing adverse pressure upon the Senate. Surely the procedure is one which the legal profession should resent. It is a monstrous travesty that the self-styled protagonists of legal ethics should endeavor to poison the judgment of lawyers by a mutilated partisan presentation of the facts of a case which had a public trial lasting two months, involving the testimony of over forty witnesses, resulting in a printed record of over thirteen hundred pages, and to do this while the case is under advisement by the tribunal entrusted with its decision. For nearly ten years there has been a systematic effort to undermine the reputation of Mr. Brandeis as an indispensable prerequisite to destroying his effectiveness against the forces of evil and ignorance which he has been combating.

THE Pittsburgh School Board had simply to beg erectors to undertake the building of the new Westinghouse school. Besides going down on their knees, they had to agree to a price of \$84.50 a ton. Eighteen months earlier the erectors would eagerly have accepted the contract at \$50 a ton. The puzzling question is why did not the Pittsburgh School Board let the contract while prices were low? The need for the building is of long standing, and the ability of the city to raise funds was as great eighteen months ago as now. Private enterprise may properly select for its undertakings a time when materials are scarce and dear and labor over-employed. Public enterprise ought to be more far-sighted. It does not need the buoyancy of prosperity to sanction its operations. Launching them in time of depression would contribute materially to the relief of unemployment. A sane policy of distributing public undertakings would reduce both the severity of depression and the strain of the period of expansion.

THE Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Association deserve all the sympathy they will get in their resistance to the mediation proposals of Mayor Mitchel and the peace tentatives of Jacob Schiff. The Association thinks it deplorable that such social radicals "without any intimate knowledge of this situation, should inject their activities at such a crucial moment." The Association believes it

can win this fight and dictate terms that will insure a lasting peace in the industry. Perhaps this is cold sense; perhaps it is a heated Junker illusion. If the Association wants to put the matter to a test, whose business is it? There is a theory, repudiated by the Association as it was by many better organizations now extinct, that industrial strife is everybody's business. Its evil consequences fall upon everybody. And if everybody, imperfectly represented by the public authorities, has now no standing in a case like this, a change is due. It will not be long in coming if many employers follow the example of the Association in asserting their right to rule or ruin.

RESTORATION of peace will put our industries to a severe test. Therefore, argues Mr. Emery, spokesman for the Manufacturers' Association, we ought to curb the tendency toward higher wages and shorter hours. But labor is not the element in cost that has risen most conspicuously. While wages in the steel industry have advanced 21 per cent, the prices of the major products of the industry have advanced 150 to 300 per cent. The steel industry is basal, and advance in its prices affects the cost of production in every other industry. Why should not Mr. Emery extend his counsels of moderation to his own clients, the steel makers? If they are justified in treating the present as a time of harvest, why should not the laborers do likewise? It may be argued that when the time of depression supervenes, steel prices will fall more promptly than wages. Possibly this is true, but one reason why it may be true is that high wages tend to create a corresponding efficiency, while high prices of steel are a net burden on steel-using industries.

BAD economics is naturally characteristic of the thinking of statesmen over-occupied with war. This may explain the popularity of the proposed commercial war on Germany to be inaugurated upon the conclusion of peace. The commercial injury one state or group of states may inflict upon others without suffering injury itself is narrowly limited. The Entente Allies can live without trading with the Central Powers. They cannot live so well. And the close of the war will present each belligerent group with domestic problems sufficiently pressing to divert governmental energies from the futile and expensive work of commercial revenge. The bills of the war will have to be paid; the injured will have to be pensioned; steady employment will have to be found for the disbanded soldiers. The working population has become accustomed to more steady employment and higher pay than prevailed

before the war, and it will be extremely difficult and dangerous to attempt to force them back to a lower standard. The industrial statesman has a great work to do, and he will surely fail in it if he places too great reliance upon the methods of foreign trade regulation. He can succeed only through increasing the effectiveness of production. The traditional industrial system is full of waste and inefficiency. There is lost motion in the selection of men, in their training, in their organization, in the material equipment, in the financial system. The detection and elimination of lost motion offer the only practical means of meeting the imperative requirements of the reconstruction era.

Mr. Wilson's Critics

SUPPOSE Mr. Wilson were reading all that the Republicans have to say about him, how much good would it do him in his present difficulties? From which Republican editor, from which Republican statesman could he draw a helpful suggestion? From whom could he secure even the outlines of a policy? Suppose he felt that this was the gravest moment in generations, that this was a time to forget the trivialities of party politics and personal antagonism in order to settle upon a foreign policy which represented the essence of patriotic opinion. To which of his critics could he turn?

Naturally he would turn to Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root, Senator Lodge—the men about whom there is a legend that they are wise in international affairs. Having turned to them he would find criticism in plenty of what he has failed to do in the past, but of what he should do tomorrow and next week not a word. With all that talent available for offering advice, he would get no advice. When, for example, he delivered his address to Congress, and the country was at the breaking point with Germany, it was the privilege of the country to hear from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Root and the Republican editors a few concrete suggestions as to the next steps with Germany. If ever there was a time when the experts should have told us what they knew, that was the time. Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement offering five members of his family, and possibly a sixth, for military service and deploring the shameful neglect of military preparation during the last year and a half. Of advice as to what to do now, with the facts as they happened to be, not a word. Mr. Root is supposed to be a great diplomat and international lawyer. The submarine question is an exceedingly complicated matter of law and policy, but the country has still to hear from Mr. Root what