

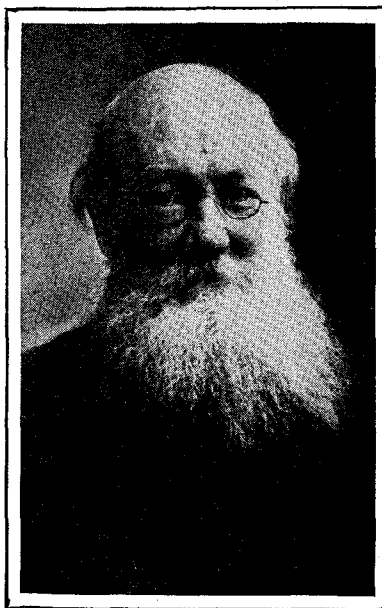
he was neither a lover nor an advocate of violence. Although an intellectual, he was very far from being a "parlor Socialist" or Bolshevik; for he put his beliefs into practice by living a life of self-abnegation, poverty, and privation with a patience and sweetness of spirit that reformers do not always display.

When Kropotkin visited this country twenty years ago, I learned from George Kennan, the Russian explorer, that he was very anxious to meet and talk with Booker Washington. We were publishing serially in *The Outlook* Washington's extraordinary autobiography, "Up From Slavery," and I was able to arrange a meeting—one of the most dramatic, although it was perfectly simple, natural, and spontaneous, in which I have ever had the good fortune to take part.

Booker Washington was staying at the old Grand Union Hotel, at Forty-second Street and Fourth Avenue, now torn down—and the only respectable New York hotel that in those days would receive Booker Washington, a Negro, as a guest. Kennan brought Kropotkin to the hotel, where I waited with Washington, and we all went up to the latter's room. It was a diminutive bedroom, such as in those happy times could be had for a dollar or a dollar and a half per day. The furniture consisted of a single bed, a chair, a washstand, and a trunk. Kropotkin sat on the chair, Washington on the bed, and Kennan and I on the trunk. There, in these simple surroundings, these two great men—for they were great men—talked for an hour of their hopes and aspirations for humanity. One born a Negro slave, the other an hereditary prince; one painfully and laboriously self-educated, the other with all the background of an aristocratic European culture; and each a champion and leader of a down-trodden and servile race—the American Negro and the Russian *muzhik*. It was this common interest in oppressed humanity, I suppose, that led the ex-prince to seek out the ex-slave. It was all informal, undemonstrative, almost matter-

of-fact; and yet it made a profound impression upon me.

It certainly is not inappropriate and it may be interesting to readers of *The Outlook* to add a quotation from a letter which I have just received from George



PRINCE KROPOTKIN

Kennan, to whom I submitted the foregoing account of the Kropotkin-Washington incident.

"Your little account," writes Kennan, "is excellent and I have only two suggestions to make.

"I think I would mention one more of his books [I mentioned only the two books which I had read myself.—L. F. A.], the mere title of which shows the trend of his later thinking, and that is 'Mutual Aid as a Factor of Evolution.' It was not published in this country, but my recollection is that it ran as a serial either in the 'Fortnightly Review' or the 'Nineteenth Century,' where I read it. It was published in book form in 1902, and impressed me as an admirable piece of work, of a really constructive rather than anarchistic character.

"Second, I would make it unmis-

takably clear that Kropotkin was not a Bolshevik or a sympathizer with Bolshevism. He opposed that tendency when it first showed itself in the Workmen's Council, and always, after the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, he was an anti-Bolshevist. He soon saw that it was impracticable for him to fight Lenine and Trotsky, and, as he felt himself to be an old man and wanted to die in his own country, he entered into a sort of *modus vivendi* or agreement with the Bolsheviks, based on an understanding that he would not interfere with them if they would let him alone. After that he took no part in public affairs, but lived, practically isolated, in the little village near Moscow, where, I presume, he died.

"People might think that because he was called—and indeed called himself—an 'Anarchist' he must have been a Bolshevik, but he never was. Reports that have come to me indicate that after the suppression of the Constituent Assembly he was nearer to the Constitutional Democrats than to the Bolsheviks."

Few, if any, Americans have been more intimate with what may be called the Constitutional Revolutionists in Russia than George Kennan, or have understood more clearly their purposes and aspirations. His early Siberian explorations and his two distinguished books, "Tent Life in Siberia" and "Siberia and the Exile System," brought him into close contact with Russian revolutionary patriots. He was himself expelled from Russia by the Romanoff autocracy while visiting that country twenty years ago in pursuit of his investigations of Russian despotism.

That the Revolution could have produced such fine spirits as those of Nicolas Tchaikovsky, Kropotkin, and Catherine Breshkovsky, all of whom bitterly opposed Bolshevism, is perhaps the best ground of hope that Bolshevik despotism will finally fall, and the Romanoff despotism has fallen, and that human justice and social order based on representative constitutional government will finally prevail in that unhappy country.

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT.

## "UNCLE SAM'S TIN HALO"

THE House of Representatives has wisely accepted Mr. Morgan's offer of the Morgan residence in London for use as permanent American Embassy, and it has appropriated \$150,000 for the purchase of a Paris residence. In *The Outlook* on December 22 there appeared an article by Andrew Ten Eyck entitled "Uncle Sam's Tin Halo" dealing with the question of proper provision for the housing and support of Amer-

ican diplomatic representatives. It has called forth expressions of approval from men of experience in our diplomatic life. We print excerpts from some of their letters to us and trust that the Senate, when it comes to consider the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill, will be moved to retain the excellent clause regarding permanent residences inserted therein by the House.—THE EDITORS.

*From a Former Secretary of State*

I have been advocating American-owned legations and embassies for fifteen years; first, in order that diplomatic posts should be open to worthy men without regard to wealth, and, second, in order that we may control the standard of living of our diplomats and make them represent American life.

W. J. BRYAN.

*From a Former Assistant Secretary of State*

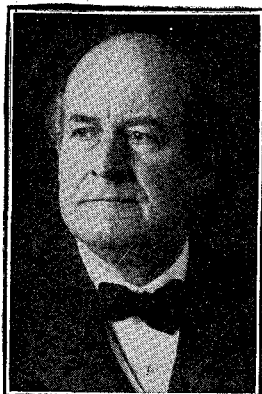
Mr. Ten Eyck's article about diplomatic service brings out some striking contrasts and needs that ought to be widely known. I was very interested in reading it. HUNTINGTON WILSON.

*From Our Ambassador to Great Britain*

I have read with great interest the

article by Mr. Ten Eyck on "Uncle Sam's Tin Halo."

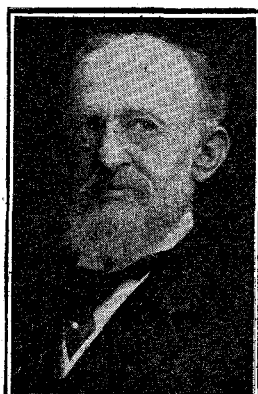
Needless to say, it strikes a responsive chord in my heart, and, while the time is approaching when I shall have no personal concern in such reforms, I earnestly hope that the American people can be brought to a realization of the need for an adequate support to all grades of the diplomatic service.



(C) Paul Thompson  
W. J. BRYAN



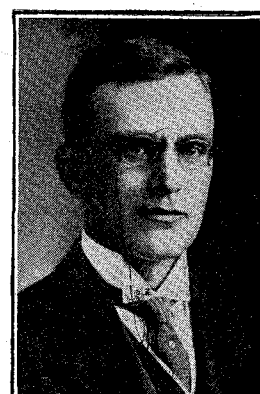
(C) Harris & Ewing  
HENRY P. FLETCHER



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OSCAR S. STRAUS



Bain  
GARRETT DROPPERS



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HUNTINGTON WILSON

I am gratified to see such a publication as *The Outlook* taking up the cudgels.

JOHN W. DAVIS.

*From a Former Ambassador to France*

I was tremendously amused and pleased with Andrew Ten Eyck's article. It is a splendid article—an exposé of a shameful condition which has too long existed. At present, in London, with all the diplomatic and business relations which we have with Great Britain, there are three or four separate representations there—the Shipping Board, the Treasury Department, the Consulate-General, the Ambassador—really with no co-ordination. The wonder is that we get on as well as we do. I hope, in the next Administration, that a good cleaning up of the diplomatic situation may take place. MYRON T. HERRICK.

*From a Former Ambassador to France and Italy*

Mr. Ten Eyck's interesting article on the American diplomatists is an admirable exposition of the absurdities of our present system, and if only the billions in hard cash which it has cost this country—especially in South America, but at one time or other in every foreign country—could be computed I think the total might make our people "sit up," indisposed as they usually are to adopt that course in respect to their own interests. Great Britain is a marvelous example of the reverse, as this war has so clearly demonstrated, though of course any one in diplomacy as long as I was could not but be well aware thereof. The comparative table in the article, of service by our Ambassadors and those with whom they had to compete, is a valuable addition to its arguments. I hope it may have some effect.

HENRY WHITE.

*From a Former Ambassador to Germany*

Mr. Ten Eyck's excellent article on the diplomatic service is a very useful contribution to an extremely important subject, and never more so than at this moment. It is likely that there never will be in the future so good an opportunity for the United States to acquire appropriate embassy buildings in the European capitals as is now afforded by the unusual rates of foreign exchange. A good house, well equipped and fur-

nished with a suitable staff of caretakers, would go far toward providing the means of proper representation of our Government. I have never believed in paying large salaries to our ambassadors and ministers. There is every reason against it. It is not proper that, as officers of Government, ambassadors should receive for their services a greater remuneration than the members of the Cabinet, the stipend of whom is fixed at \$12,000. The important point is that the ambassador or minister is obliged to live in a foreign country where he does not own his own home and where it takes much time to find suitable installation, and because he represents his Government to another government he requires an establishment appropriate for this purpose and equal to other establishments in the same place. Now all that pertains to the matter of representation is a proper charge upon the Government, as it is for the Government, in the interest of the Government, and designed to sustain the dignity and prestige of the Government. It is absurd that a public officer should be permitted to exploit his wealth in an official position of this kind; or, as the price of the honor of holding the office, that he should maintain it at his own expense. The Government has no right to ask it, and should not permit it, for its own sake, for the government to which the ambassador is accredited will know very well whether the establishment is really the representation of the Government or the ambassador's own exploitation of his private wealth.

The true solution of the problem is the purchase of a suitable house, to be properly cared for at the Government's expense, with a reasonable fund for social entertainment of an official character and a moderate salary for the services of the ambassador or minister.

Both from the point of view of Congress, the American public, and the foreign public, this would show that "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" upon which, in the Declaration of Independence, our democracy is founded. It is time that we justified our professions.

DAVID J. HILL.

*From Our Ambassador to Italy*

The interesting and useful article of Mr. Ten Eyck's ought to do a great deal

of good in stirring up members of Congress to their duty in remedying the humiliating situation in all the countries where we have no official embassy or legation, and I believe that *The Outlook* would find its account in making a little four-page pamphlet from the plates of the article and sending it to every member of Congress. [We have sent every Senator and Representative a copy of *The Outlook* containing the article.—THE EDITORS.] I am trying very hard to get attention for this Embassy at a time when the exchange is so largely in our favor and when bargains can be had.

May I call your attention to one incorrect reference to me, which was probably intended to be complimentary but is really not so. This is a statement that at the San Remo Conference I so literally construed my powers as to refuse to explain my status or to answer Lloyd George's inquiry as to my view on a certain question. As it was absolutely necessary when I entered the Conference that my status should be specifically set forth—as it was—there could be no doubt in the mind of the British Premier as to what that status was. In diplomacy, by the way, the proper thing is literally to construe one's powers. One does not take liberties with official instructions. I certainly did not feel that there was any predicament as far as I was concerned. As is already publicly known, my business was not merely to listen, but to report to the Government the proceedings from time to time, and to forward any communication from the Conference. To these functions I strictly adhered.

R. U. JOHNSON.

*From a Former Ambassador to Turkey*

I have read the article by Mr. Ten Eyck with great interest and approval. The facts are convincing and the argument is sound.

OSCAR S. STRAUS.

*From a Former Ambassador to Mexico*

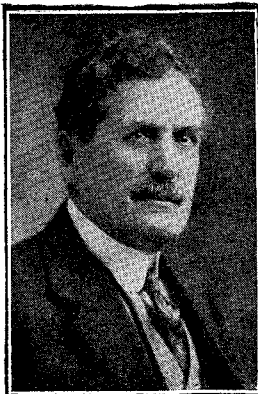
Mr. Ten Eyck's article on Lo, the Poor Diplomat, strikes a very responsive chord in my undecorated chest. Like Cæsar, I refused these baubles thrice—in Portugal, China, and Chile—and somehow I have never regretted this noble sacrifice in the name of republican simplicity and clean-breasted diplomacy????





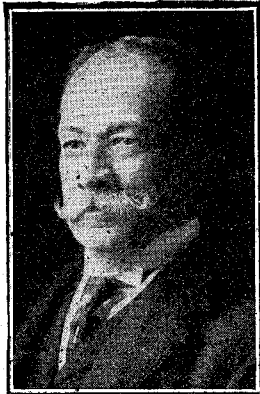
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JOHN W. DAVIS



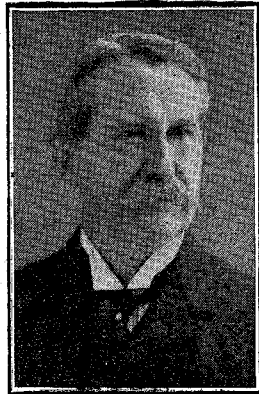
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MYRON T. HERRICK



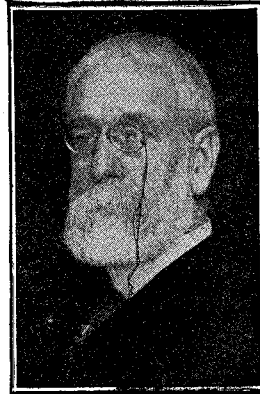
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DAVID J. HILL



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HENRY WHITE



Bain

R. U. JOHNSON

You would be surprised, however, to see what advantage some foreign governments derive from these things—it's always easier to bribe a man's vanity than himself.

HENRY P. FLETCHER.

#### *From Our Minister to Holland*

Every word of Mr. Ten Eyck's article is true and to the point, and I wish there were more people who could present the situation to the American public as concretely and vividly as has Mr. Ten Eyck. Of course I myself am very full of the whole subject and am eager to see Washington adopt a policy of strengthening the Foreign Service, not only through the purchase of Government residences but through the selection of a personnel truly representative of our great country.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

#### *From Our Former Minister to Greece*

The article on "The Poor American Diplomat" goes to my heart. Without too much investigation I accepted the post of Minister to Greece. At the end of six years of work, the hardest years of my life, I come back to Williams just \$20,000 out of pocket, and the other American diplomats whom I have met say I am lucky. Twenty thousand dollars may not be much in these days of new millionaires, but they were accumulated in a professor's salary, which is something. Incidentally I saved American interests twenty million drachmas [a drachma is equivalent to a franc] in one instance when I put in a remonstrance to the Greek Foreign Office. I had an opportunity to purchase a legation property in Athens, the chance of a lifetime, but there was no money, or, rather, no appropriation. The fault lies, as you know, with Congress, not with the Administration. That same property has increased from \$150,000 to over \$1,000,000 to-day.

GARRETT DROPPERS.

#### *From Our Consul-General at Rome*

Our alleged diplomatic service has often been—but it would be undiplomatic for me to express opinions. We underrate the value of continuity of experience. For instance, I see that my friend Peter Augustus Jay has been made Minister to Rumania. He did exceedingly well

during his long period here as Chargé d'Affaires after the departure of Thomas Nelson Page, the Ambassador, under very difficult conditions. It was a great tribute to Jay's ability that this Administration named him as Minister to Salvador, for he had not been affiliated with the party. With nineteen years of experience in the field, with many accomplishments, with a wife who is altogether fine, and having in his veins the blood of John Jay who negotiated in 1789 the first treaty under our Constitution, Peter has claims to advancement. We shelved almost all of our "service Ministers" in 1913. I am sorry to see that one of them, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, recently died in Switzerland. The last time I saw him was when I played golf with him one day in the spring of 1917 in Zurich. King Constantine was soon to arrive in a villa close to the links. Mr. Jackson said he and his wife were to move on to Geneva in a few days. When I asked him why, reminding him that there was no golf down there where Caesar once knocked the first syllable out of the *Helvetians*, he said: "During my time in Athens, when I was Uncle Jack to my niece who was living with us, the whole diplomatic group, including the heir to the throne, Prince Constantine, called me Uncle Jack. Now that we are in the war, it would not be just the thing for me to be Uncle Jack to his exiled Majesty. So we are disappearing before he comes." I remember that I beat him that day, and now death has putted the winning hole.

FRANCIS B. KEENE.

#### *From Two High Officials*

I have read with great interest the article by Ten Eyck in regard to the miserable pay of our ambassadors and ministers, and hope that, owing to The Outlook's wide circulation among our more educated, and therefore more thoughtful, people, it may have a tangible effect. I have always felt convinced that if the facts could be made known in an intelligent but popular way much good would result. . . . For instance, I have seen it nowhere mentioned that most of the European governments have recently raised very considerably the pay and allowances of all grades in their foreign service—though these were

already very generally higher than in ours. In certain cases—presumably to avoid criticism—they have greatly increased the allowances while the salary remains practically the same; in others they have exempted the pay from taxation; and almost universally have met the adverse exchange by paying in gold. The fact that the country may be very hard up seems to make little difference—rather the reverse. The British Ambassador at Washington, instead of receiving, as formerly, £10,000 (\$50,000) with normal exchange, gets a salary of £2,500 and £17,500 for entertainment. He pays an income tax on the £2,500, but the rest is exempt. Otherwise, he would have to pay out in income tax nearly half of the £20,000 he receives. Under this new system the British Ambassador in Rome saved over a third of his pay, which in his case amounts to £10,000. Also in Japan an Ambassador's salary, as presented to the Diet, is about 5,000 yen (\$2,500), but he receives \$20,000 upwards in allowances.

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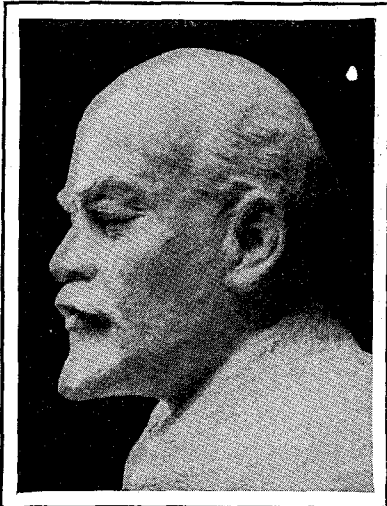
I was very glad to see that The Outlook has espoused the cause of "The Poor American Diplomat;" he needs aid and sympathy from all classes, whom he serves indiscriminately. The article by Andrew Ten Eyck is pertinent, and I hope may have some influence, although he is only presenting old material in a new form. However, it should be helpful.

The American in general is very reluctant to change his customs as long as they do not advance his business interests, and for some time past I have been convinced that, without considerable pressure being brought on members of Congress by their constituents in favor of a more definitely established diplomatic service and the purchase of embassy quarters abroad, advancement to that end will only go by very short and infrequent steps. Looking back over a period of ten or fifteen years, one sees that a marked improvement has been made, but if at the beginning of those years a definite policy had been adopted our present situation would be far better and more efficient services be rendered our commercial and political interests abroad.

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# CURRENT EVENTS ILLUSTRATED

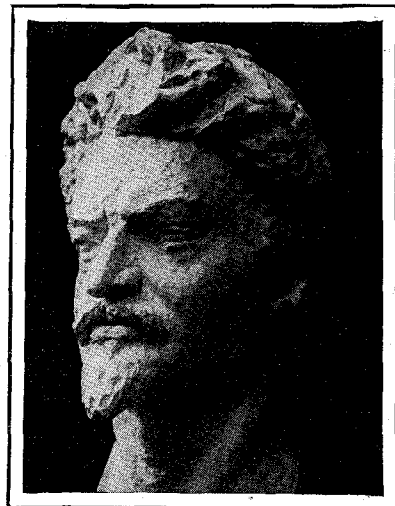


Central News

LENINE



Photo by Bertram Park, from International  
MRS. SHERIDAN



Central News

TROTSKY

## MRS. CLARE SHERIDAN, ENGLISH SCULPTRESS, AND HER BUSTS OF RUSSIAN SOVIET LEADERS

Mrs. Sheridan recently visited Moscow and had personal sittings for these busts

### THE LESS THEY "HOOVERIZED" THE MORE THEY HELPED

John D. Rockefeller (left), William Fellowes Morgan (center), and Herbert Hoover are getting their lunch at a Y. W. C. A. cafeteria; the gross receipts for one day in these cafeterias throughout the country were devoted to the fund for European relief. Mr. Morgan's lunch, said to have been "delightful," consisted, it is reported, of vegetable soup, egg salad, chocolate cake, and one canned peach, at a cost of fifty cents. Judging from the appearance of Mr. Hoover's and Mr. Rockefeller's trays, they apparently did still better for the fund



(C) Keystone



Wide World

### THE PRESIDENT-ELECT VISITS THE PERPETUAL CANDIDATE

Mr. Harding, on his trip to Florida, accepted an invitation from Mr. Byran to visit the latter's home at Miami. The Hardings smile, it will be noticed, seems somewhat more spontaneous than that of the man who has been thrice defeated for the office to which Mr. Harding has just been triumphantly elected. Senator Frelinghuysen is at the left of the picture, Mr. Byran at the right, Mr. Harding in the left center, and the Bryan grandchildren are in the foreground