

if we could get the men to help our twelve thousand."

The French press has been bitter in its expressions of displeasure at Mr. Lloyd George's attitude. A date for a conference between Lloyd George and M. Briand for a discussion of their conflicting aims has been frequently set and as frequently postponed. It is probable that the conference will be held before this issue of *The Outlook* reaches our readers. This conference will do much towards determining whether the commercial interests of Great Britain and Germany will weigh more heavily in the balance than the human rights of Poles and the protection of the national life of France.

That the French policy is in the ascendant may be indicated by the announcement of May 24, which states that Germany (under threat—as always—of penalties) has agreed to withdraw her forces from the disputed territory.

WORTH TRYING

AMERICANS are not pacifists. A few Americans are; but they are not representative of our people as a whole. Whatever movement there is for peace finds its support in the United States chiefly from people who have proved that when the time for fighting comes they can fight with all their hearts.

This must be remembered in considering the present movement in behalf of the limitation of armaments. Mr. Borah's amendment to the Naval Bill calling upon the President to engage with other nations in a conference with the object of limiting armament has received its support from the same kind of people who have hardly finished their experience of making America a formidable belligerent in the biggest war of history.

The reasons which have led to the support of the Borah Amendment are, we think, twofold.

In the first place, the American people, although they can be warlike, are unmilitary. The overwhelming majority of them dislike military trappings and military traditions. They believe so thoroughly in the supremacy of the civil authority that they are jealous of anything that seems to encroach upon it. Americans, therefore, have to reason themselves into whatever preparedness they provide for their country, and then usually do it only under the compulsion of an imminent peril. As a consequence they have sacrificed in their wars hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars in tardy preparation because they preferred such sacrifice to the chance of giving too much

power or prominence to the military arm of the Government. In the second place, the American people are restive under the expenditure of money for military and naval provisions for which there seems to be no immediate need. They do not relish the thought of having the cost of a military and naval establishment both a heavy and a continuous burden. They may overlook the fact that the cost of a war for which no preparation has been made may ultimately entail greater expenditure than the cost of a war which has been well prepared for. They see clearly the necessity of paying past debts for war, but do not relish spending money for wars which have not yet appeared. Neither of these reasons is a pacifist reason; and they are both consistent with the conviction in favor of national defense.

The primary and essential function of a national government is self-preservation. It does not matter how many other functions the national government may assume under our present complicated civilization, all of these other functions rest upon the foundation of self-preservation.

Though this principle remains unchanged, the application of it alters from time to time. The military and naval preparedness required in 1914 may be a very different thing from that required in 1921. We do not want to pay a dollar less for preparedness to-day than the total of the sum which is required. We cannot afford to pay a dollar more.

Seven years ago the Navy of the United States was surpassed by both that of Germany and Great Britain and was closely pressed by that of Japan. To-day the German navy is no longer in existence, the British navy has been reduced to a level with our own, and the Japanese navy is markedly inferior in size. If our present programme of naval construction is carried to completion, our Navy will exceed that of Great Britain in power by from thirty to fifty per cent.

These facts we take from a recent editorial in the "Scientific American," a journal which has long been a well-informed advocate of naval preparedness, and a journal, it may be added, which is willing to recognize the fact that circumstances have changed and that the measure of our preparedness requirement has been altered by the World War.

In two articles in this issue there is reported a movement in Japan away from the militarist party. Public opinion may not be as controlling in Japan as it is in America, but its influence is distinctly away from militarism. It has been recently reported by Madame Ozaki, whose husband has been urging

in the Japanese Diet a resolution favoring the reduction of armament, that a postal-card canvass in Japan has recorded a great majority in favor of Mr. Ozaki's proposal. Great Britain has also been moving in the direction of limiting armaments for the past two years.

The time seems ripe for following out Senator Borah's suggestion that a conference be called to consider the question of a holiday in naval construction or a mutual reduction of naval forces. Perhaps a formal conference of ambassadors or prime ministers or delegates may not be the best way to reach a common agreement among nations in favor of a common limiting of armaments. The informal and quiet, less disputatious, but generally more frank interchange of ideas and plans through the usual diplomatic channels is very likely to prove more effective.

If we could procure a mutual readjustment of naval strength among the nations, we would confer a boon upon the tax-laden peoples of the world, the value of which it would be hard to estimate. There does not appear to be anything in the proposal for a discussion of this question which would jeopardize our National safety in the slightest degree.

CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE

EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, died in Washington at the age of seventy-five, on May 19. He had been in the full exercise of his remarkable powers as jurist and judge until a short time before his death, which followed an operation.

In the judgment of the legal profession and of all who have watched the findings and decisions of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice White is worthy of being classed with the most famous of his predecessors. John Marshall, to be sure, looms head and shoulders above all the Chief Justices, and, indeed, as a great publicist, a great lawyer, and a great expounder of the Constitution has no American counterpart, but among the other able judges who have held office none, unless it be John Jay, has stood higher than Chief Justice White.

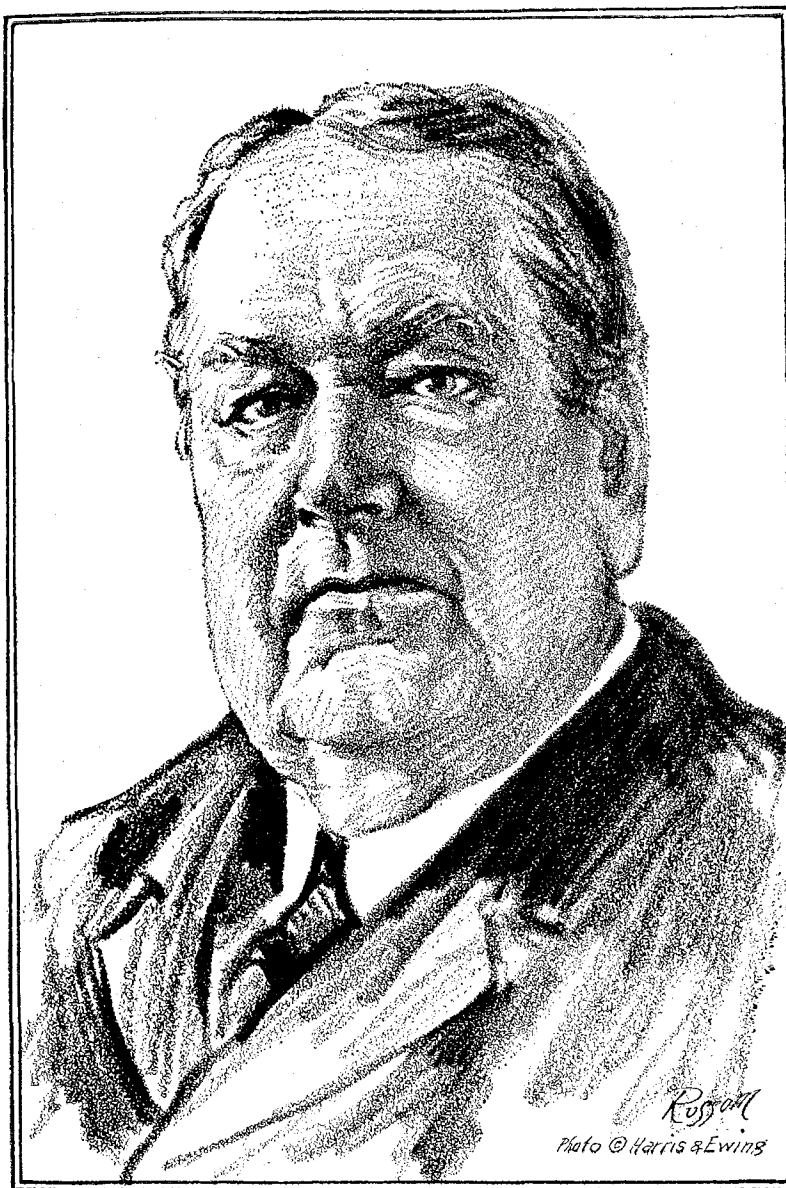
It is interesting and rather remarkable to note that from 1789, when President Washington appointed John Jay as the first Chief Justice, down to Chief Justice White's death the other day—that is, for one hundred and thirty-two years—there have been only eight Chief Justices of the United States Supreme Court. When we remember that the average age of these eight men at the time of taking office was almost fifty, and that two of the terms served, those of Jay and Ellsworth, were very short,

one is inclined to draw the inference that intellectual exertion of the highest kind is conducive to the continuance of mental vigor and power of close application to work. Marshall served as Chief Justice for thirty-four years, Taney for twenty-eight years, and Melville Fuller twenty-two years. Until Chief Justice White's death four Supreme Court Justices over seventy years of age were serving on the bench.

Another interesting point connected with Chief Justice White's service is that he was the first to be appointed Chief Justice from the bench of the Supreme Court. The custom of appointing some great lawyer or judge outside the bench had grown up, so that the course of President Taft in promoting Judge White was unusual, and the more so that Judge White was in his political affiliation a member of the party opposed to President Taft. Justice White was appointed to the Supreme Court bench by President Cleveland, and it was generally supposed that the President's choice of a man from Louisiana was partly based on the impossibility of appointing one from New York State owing to opposition within the State Democratic party led by Governor Hill. There never was any question, however, as to Judge White's ability as a lawyer and a publicist. He was a Confederate soldier; after the war he was admitted to the Louisiana bar, became a State Senator, then an Associate Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, and finally United States Senator. He was a Roman Catholic.

Among the most important decisions of the Supreme Court during the period in which Chief Justice White presided over it were those of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases, in which his emphasis on "the rule of reason" was notable; that in which the status of the United States Steel Corporation was held to be legal under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act; that of the Danbury hatters, in which he joined in the dictum that under the Sherman Act members of labor unions were not immune from prosecution and that the secondary boycott was illegal; and (quite recently) that in which the profiteering sections of the Lever Act were held invalid.

The breadth of Chief Justice White's view of the relations of the Supreme Court to life, as well as to law, is shown by his statement that it is "not an institution separate from the country, restraining and controlling all other institutions, but a court in direct contact with the best and most enlightened American minds, unfolding these minds for the lasting benefit of our people and our institutions."



Courtesy of the New York "Times"

EDWARD DOUGLASS WHITE

SYSTEM AT LAST

ON May 24, before the Academy of Political Science in New York City, President Harding made this cheering statement:

We shall, I trust, have a budget system in operation under the law before the opening of the new fiscal year [July 1]. This is a long step toward introducing into Government the sound methods that great private business establishments have adopted. . . . The establishment of a budget system is the foundation on which reorganization must be based. . . .

A budget is a statement of estimated receipts and estimated expenditures. At least once a year, we believe, every one ought to make a budget.

Some people mistakenly think that our Government already does so. Once a year the chiefs of the bureaus of the executive departments estimate their expenditures during the ensuing year. Now these estimates as a rule, we suppose, do not represent actual needs.

The average Senator or Representative, none too familiar with inside departmental workings, tries to atone for his lack of information by a brave show of enforcing economy. Hence bureau chiefs are likely to ask for more than they need on the theory that only so will they get what they must have.

The heads of the executive departments transmit the estimates of all their bureau chiefs to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he transmits them to Congress. Thereupon, in the budget's history, the administrative side ends and the legislative side begins.

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Under the present administrative system we have endured extravagance and waste. Because we have not had a proper administrative budget, citizens have been heavily and outrageously taxed. It has long been evident that reform is necessary. Finally a budget bill passed the Sixty-sixth Congress a year ago. President Wilson vetoed this bill