

in Russia and England as being a great force of civilization and humanity."

Mr. Kennan's services as special correspondent to *The Outlook* several times took him to distant countries and to thrilling and even dangerous adventures. As correspondent in the Spanish War he had the singular experience of having been marooned on shore by the then head of the Red Cross, of which he was himself First Vice-President. We doubt if the incident has ever been told in type, but Mr. Kennan was wont to relate it in a humorous manner. Mr. Kennan went to Cuba, at the special request of *The Outlook*, in the first vessel sent to Santiago by the American Red Cross. His chief was Miss Clara Barton. Some cases of yellow fever occurred on shore, and Miss Barton ordered the vessel quarantined, and, as Mr. Kennan happened to be on shore when the order was issued, he was refused entry to the ship and dwelt for a while in a tent on the sand within sight of his ship. The letters he sent to *The Outlook* were illuminating and helpful as to the relations of this country with Cuba. In its book form "Campaigning in Cuba" was officially recommended by General Wilson to the War Department as a text-book for officers.

In the Russo-Japanese War, when the Japanese Government found it necessary to send the newspaper correspondents away from the scene of hostilities at Port Arthur, they made an exception in the case of Mr. Kennan, whom they knew they could thoroughly trust. Incidentally he was able to describe most minutely what he saw and heard in the advanced mining operations of the Japanese against the fortifications at Port Arthur.

We are informed that on the very day of his death, and just before he was stricken down, he was at work on a paper about "The Educational Methods of the Japanese" which he hoped would at this moment be helpful to the Japanese people he so well understood and loved.

When the great disaster of Mont Pelée occurred in 1902, Mr. Kennan, as special representative of *The Outlook*, reached the scene of the terrific volcanic explosions at an early date and, with Mr. Heilprin, the geologist, was almost the first to reach the summit of the volcano.

The accuracy of George Kennan as an observer and as a narrator of what he saw was amazing. Rarely, if ever, has he been obliged to retract any details of

his accounts. He not only gathered his material in a painstaking way, but he collated it with infinite care. We may note two instances of this. When Mr. Kennan went to Delaware at the time of the Addicks scandal, the Editor-in-Chief of this paper pointed out that, as there was possibility of libel suits growing out of statements made, there should be evidence behind all statements; thereupon Mr. Kennan produced a case containing a most elaborate system of reference cards giving the date and hour and details as to every interview he had had and every document he had examined. The other instance is the fact that Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, in acknowledging in his annual report in 1920 the gift to the Congressional Library by Mr. Kennan of his Russian and Siberian index, pointed out that it included ten thousand cards, about the same number of indexed interviews, and a vast mass of newspaper and magazine clippings. Mr. Putnam characterized this as the life-work of Mr. Kennan and Mr. Kennan as the foremost living American authority on the Russia of pre-war times, and added: "The wealth of information it contains, especially of a bibliographical character, and the fine classification arrangement made by the author himself, assisted by his wife, Mrs. Kennan, makes the index highly useful for research workers on Russia." Unlike some writers, however, Mr. Kennan never let his abundance of details, carefully gathered, clog in the least his remarkable descriptive narrative.

George Kennan was a lover of truth and a hater of falsehood and oppression. He sympathized with his friend Madame Breshkovsky, and even with the more violent preacher of revolution, Nicolas Tchaykovsky, in their attempts to liberate Russia. But because he was a friend of freedom, George Kennan was also an enemy of Bolshevik autocracy. Those who heard him after the Bolshevik rule was established, when he took the floor in an open debate at Cooper Union in which friends and admirers of the Reds were in a great majority, and denounced with scathing eloquence and a background of perfect knowledge the tyranny of this new form of oppression, will not readily forget the strength and sanity of his address.

Mr. Kennan in a sense was a self-educated man; but, if so, he certainly was splendidly self-educated. As a writer he had style and form as well as correctness and precision; it is a saying

in this office that no one ever sent in such "good copy" as George Kennan; it was written in a perfectly plain handwriting, it was accurate to the last comma; neither he nor any one else needed to read his proof; often the editors would entice him to write a letter when he hadn't time to write an article, and then use it (with his consent obtained or assumed) as perfectly good and well-written editorial matter.

In his published work, as well as in his indomitable spirit and his love of justice, George Kennan was a man of whom Americans may well feel proud. Once, when asked "What is your college?" he replied, "Russia." More broadly he might have said, "The world."

## Senator Walsh on the Oil Inquiry

SENATOR THOMAS J. WALSH, of Montana, has been a busy man. Otherwise we should have had from him several weeks ago, while the oil inquiry was still fresh in the minds of the people, the article which we publish in this issue. We requested this statement from him in accordance with our practice of seeking on every important public question the strongest possible presentation of views opposed to our own. We only regret that on account of Senator Walsh's preoccupation with his Senatorial duties the publication of his article at this our earliest opportunity comes so long after the investigation was virtually concluded.

In order that our own position may be made clear, we wish to point out that in the subject as treated by Senator Walsh there are four distinct issues.

There is, first, the moral issue. With Senator Walsh's condemnation of the private transactions of Secretary Fall with Mr. Doheny and Mr. Sinclair we agree. As the Senator says, "even a loan under the circumstances is in the last degree reprehensible on the part of every one concerned in it." In that respect Secretary Fall was not the only offender. Those who exchange their political influence, obtained by holding or having held a public office, either for cash directly or for positions which bring them cash or other personal compensation have a low sense of public duty. These oil investigations have shown that there are such men in both parties.

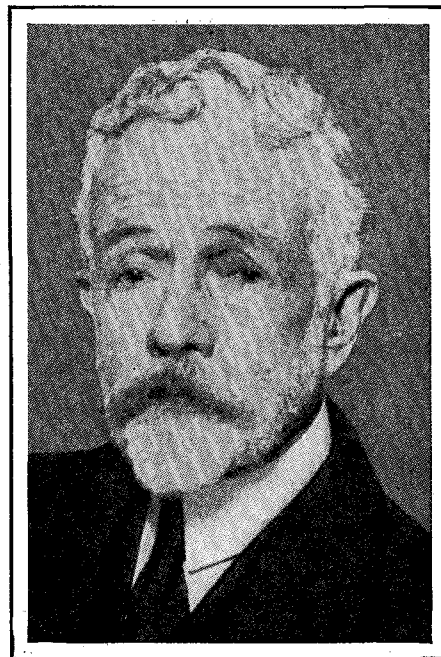
There is, in the second place, the legal question. Were the oil leases themselves

or the transfer of them from one department to another legal or illegal? On that point we shall not express an opinion. Senator Walsh believes that they were illegal. In stating his opinion on this legal question Senator Walsh is rendering a decision which has been left, and ought to be left, to the courts. We do not believe it is the function of an editor or of a Senator to render verdicts on matters which have been referred to the judicial process.

There is, in the third place, the question of responsibility for the failure to conserve the Navy's oil supply. On that point Senator Walsh is very definite. He says the initial step in the process of dissipating that supply was the promulgation of the order which transferred the administration of the Naval oil leases from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior. He therefore places the responsibility solely upon Secretary Denby and the Administration of which he was a part. We do not think the responsibility can be so clearly concentrated. Secretary Denby must bear his share of the responsibility for the transfer of the authority for the reserves. It was a serious mistake, but it would not have been made possible except for what had already happened. Congress itself cannot escape responsibility for this situation, for the law that it passed was ambiguous and inadequate. The Wilson Administration cannot escape responsibility for what happened, for the situation would not have arisen if that Administration had not permitted the driving of wells which drained those oil lands.

There is, in the fourth place, the question of policy. On that there has been, there is, and there will continue to be a difference of opinion even among experts. We have endeavored to report the facts judicially. They are not simple. A reading of Senator Walsh's own statement of the facts will convince any reader that they are complicated and technical. After it was once decided that any part of the Naval Reserves should be leased, and even after it was once evident that the right to drive oil wells within the area of the reserves could not, or would not, be annulled, the question became one simply of judgment as to whether the oil could be preserved in the ground at all or not. There are experts who have testified that the oil could be preserved there in spite of the drainage. There are other experts, more practical probably, who say that the oil could not

be preserved as long as any wells were operating in the area. Our judgment is that the latter experts were right. We have no reason to believe that the contents of a barrel can be kept in the barrel by closing one spigot if another spigot at the same or lower level remains open. In the minds of those who were responsible for the oil reserves the question presented itself whether they would draw off such oil as they could while oil could be drawn off or risk the chance that others outside the reserves would draw off all the oil and leave none for the Navy. They chose not to take the risk. Moreover, they decided that circumstances at the time required an emergency supply for the Navy. Senator Walsh declares



Photograms

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge  
of Massachusetts

that the Navy Department had no right to make a contract by which in return for the lease the Navy got part of the oil and had it stored. Naturally, Congress is jealous of all its prerogatives and does not like to see the Navy getting anything for which there has not been direct Congressional appropriation. On the other hand, it is natural that the Navy should want this oil and should wish to get it in any practical way that it regarded as legal. In view of the way in which Congress has allowed the Navy to deteriorate, the recent affectation of concern for the Navy's future oil supply on the part of some members of the House and Senate is not very plausible. We fear it is too much to hope that Congress from now on can be relied upon without prodding to see to the adequate maintenance of the Navy, and thus live up to its professions. The Naval Oil

Reserves have already been used too much, not to maintain the fighting quality of the Navy, but to maintain the fighting qualities of political parties.

## Senator Lodge's World Court Plan

**I**S it worth while to consider the substitution of another world court for the World Court now in existence?

If it is not, a study of the plan presented to the Senate by Senator Lodge and a comparison of the articles of that plan with the articles constituting the existing Permanent Court of International Justice would seem to be for all practical purposes a waste of time. If it is, then a careful study of that plan and a comparison of the two courts, or the two forms of the same kind of court, should precede any choice between them. The prime question, therefore, is whether the nations which are jointly supporting the present Court can under any circumstances be induced to accept a substitute.

That is a question which many people in America have already promptly answered. They have said that it is folly to imagine that the nations constituting the League of Nations would do any such thing. They have reached their conclusion, so far as we can judge, without making any inquiry or eliciting any information. If they are right, the discussion of Senator Lodge's plan might as well end now as later; but we have no evidence that they are right.

There is nothing sacrosanct about the existing International Court. That it serves a great purpose and serves it well has, we think, been proved; but it has not been proved that it is incapable of improvement. The Articles of Confederation which sufficed to carry the thirteen American colonies through the war for independence were invaluable, but they proved unequal to the needs of a real union, and finally were replaced by the Constitution of the United States. If the nations of the world can be convinced that the United States has something better to offer them in place of the Court as now constituted, there is no reason why they should not agree to make the change.

Indeed, if the nations of the world desire the United States to adhere to any court of international justice, they will have to make some changes in the pro-