

Royal Artillery Memorial, Hyde Park Corner, London

rigid and silent. The Two Minutes' Silence on Armistice Day is the most wonderful event that I have ever experienced.

And yet? The chief guest at a luncheon party which I had the honor to attend on the following day was a Maharajah of India. The conversation

flagged. My hostess whispered to me, "Do say something to his Highness."

I cleared my throat and said, "What did your Highness think of our Two Minutes' Silence?"

He raised his jeweled hands and murmured, with surprise, "Why only two minutes?"

So the East rebuked the West."

THE Cenotaph in Whitehall is idealism—spiritual.

The Royal Artillery Memorial, at Hyde Park Corner, by Jagger, another work of genius, is realism—material. A howitzer in stone dominates the bronze figures. It is a warning against war. Art can be a warning as well as a remembrance.

We raise our hats when we pass the Cenotaph.

We clench our fists before the howitzer.

We close our eyes and lift our hearts during the Two Minutes' Silence.

A Hand Across the Sea¹

Staff Correspondence from Washington by DIXON MERRITT

From time to time during the next few months Mr. Merritt will devote his correspondence to the Biggest Business in the country—that collection of departments and bureaus and commissions that we call the Government at Washington

WHEN hell breaks loose—which is the Shermanic way of saying when war threatens—anywhere in the world, the American Department of State has business on its hands in greater volume than usual, which is saying much. Even when the back bay of Purgatory boils—and one or another of its estuaries usually is simmering, to say the least—something as a rule has to be done in the State Department at Washington. "The Secretary of State acted promptly," the press despatches say the next morning. And all of us wonder how one man, even one superman, can act so promptly so often and in such a diversity of ways to avert dangers so dissimilar.

Well, if the Secretary of State happened to be playing golf on the afternoon when the boiling began to stew an American interest, he probably went right on playing golf to the eighteenth

¹Some aspects of the work of the Department of State not mentioned in this piece of correspondence will be considered by Mr. Merritt when he comes to treat of similar duties of other departments.

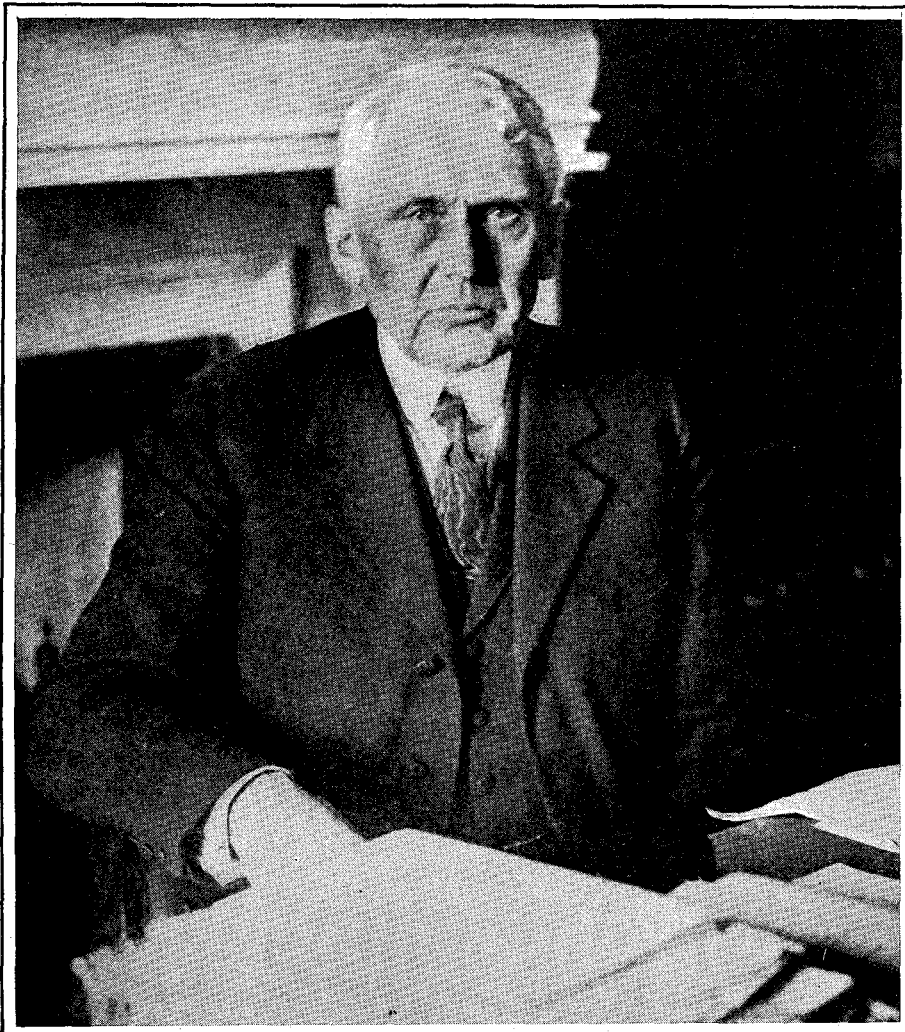
hole. When he got back to his desk, everything was ready to his hand for prompt action. For it is hardly a matter of five minutes between the click of a telegraph key in the most distant consulate and the whir of the wheels in the Department of State. And there are men at hand who know every detail of the territory where the trouble is. It may be one of those remote corners of the earth that God forgot and of which well-informed Americans never heard. But seated at a desk in some office of the Department of State is a man who knows that corner as the white-bearded farmer knows his field, as the wrinkled patrolman knows his beat.

TAKE a supposititious case—slightly so, at least. The Druses have invaded the Lebanon. And either they, or the French, or the Moslems, or the native Christians, have in their zeal or their fanaticism stepped on an American toe. How does that fact reach the desk of the Secretary of State for him to act promptly upon?

One man who wrote an article on the Department of State made a very fine phrase—so fine that he both began and ended his article with it: "The long arm of the Government reaches across the seas." That, of course. It is less a matter of course though equally a matter of fact that the fingers at the end of that long arm, sensitive as those of a surgeon, touch the oases of the deserts and the coves of mountains most remote.

American foreign service men are on duty at Aleppo, at Beirut, and at Damascus. Mostly, they have trekked about the Near East, from Cairo to Teheran, for years on end. They know that scramble of dissimilar and antagonistic peoples, customs, religions. They report by telegraph and cable to Washington on what has happened in the Lebanon.

The reports come in to the Division of Indexes and Archives, are decoded and sent, not to the Secretary of State or to any Assistant Secretary of State, but to the Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs. His name is Allen W.



Wide World Photos

Secretary Kellogg at his desk

Dulles. He is a foreign service officer, has been on diplomatic duty in the Near East, and will be again when his three or four years of service in the home office is ended. But he does not rely on his own knowledge of the region, which may be somewhat general. He punches the buzzer for George Wadsworth, one of the half-dozen foreign service men in the Division of Far Eastern Affairs. Wadsworth used to be, for a number of years, a teacher in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. Later, he was Consul-General there. He knows those Druses, and the Christians, and the Moslems of the Lebanon better than you know the Syrian rug merchant around the corner.

Dulles and Wadsworth, with whatever assistance they need from others of their kind, work out the problem and present it to the Secretary—solved. Probably they secured assistance from men not of their kind exactly. There may have been involved a question of commercial policy on which they needed the advice of Assistant Secretary Harrison, or possibly a question of ceremonial on which they needed the counsel of Assistant Secretary Wright. But these men, too, are foreign service officers. They have

known the far corners of the earth, and will know them again after a few years of administrative work in the Department.

These are the two legs on which the Department of State stands—the Geographical Divisions, of which there are six, and the offices of Assistant Secretaries, of which there are five, counting the office of Under-Secretary as one, though it outranks the other four. In the Geographical Divisions are the specialists on all the countries of the globe. In the offices of the Assistant Secretaries are the expert advisers on the important phases of foreign relations. When the two have done their work, with some technical aid from other divisions, it is not difficult for the Secretary of State to act promptly. What remains for him is the final decision on the big question of policy.

THIS is a picture which will hardly be recognized by those who know only the old familiar photograph of the Department of State as a political agency for sending loyal party men to good diplomatic posts abroad or giving them comfortable jobs in the Department at home. The Department of State has

been made over on a service basis—on a career basis, if that is clearer. Almost without public knowledge of the fact, there actually has been constructed a foreign office manned, both in the offices in Washington and in the missions and consulates abroad, by persons trained in the foreign service.

The Rogers Act. That is the law by which authority for the make-over is conferred. But the plain fact is that the work of making over was largely done before ever the Rogers Act was passed. Cleveland began it a full generation ago. Roosevelt and Taft and Wilson contributed largely to it, all without authority of law. And it was brought fairly near to completion, still without authority of law, by Charles Evans Hughes when, as Secretary of State under Harding, he had a free hand to work out the foreign policies of the Nation. When the Rogers Act became law, a great many of the adjustments to its provisions had already been made. Of course, some important ones were made after the passage of the act. Equally of course, there are others still to make. There is still overmuch political influence in the Department of State, but the work of putting it on a solid career basis has gone a great deal further than the public has realized.

HERE are a few indications of how it has progressed.

Joseph C. Grew, Under-Secretary of State, next in rank to Secretary Kellogg, is a service man. He began his career twenty-one years ago as a clerk in the American Consulate-General in Cairo, Egypt. Two of the four Assistant Secretaries are service men—three of the four were until recently, when John Van A. McMurray returned to foreign service as Minister to China. Of the two remaining service men who are Assistant Secretaries, Leland Harrison started in the service nearly twenty years ago as private secretary to the Ambassador to Japan, and J. Butler Wright started sixteen years ago in the legation at Tegucigalpa.

There are nearly fifty service men occupying positions only slightly less important in the offices in Washington. Some of these are constantly filtering back into foreign service; constantly others are coming in from foreign posts to places in Washington. They may remain four years, but most of them do not remain more than three years.

In our missions abroad the political appointees still outnumber the career men. Perhaps they always will. Possibly they always should. Certainly it will ordinarily be advisable to take men

from private life for posts such as London and Paris. But the proportion of missions headed by career men is increasing, and will continue to increase.

The Minister to China, as previously said, is a career man—a former Assistant Secretary of State. The Ambassador to Argentina is a career man. So is the Minister to Belgium, the Ambassador to Brazil, the Minister to Bulgaria, the Minister to Czechoslovakia, the Minister to Greece, the Ambassador to Italy, the Minister to Persia, the Minister to Portugal, the Minister to Switzerland, and a number of others. In short, four of the fifteen ambassadorial and fifteen of the thirty-five ministerial positions are filled by career men.

This may not sound—and may not be of itself—so tremendously important. Very likely political appointees would have done as well as career appointees in some of these posts. But it is a tremendously important thing, none the less. Because career men hold these important diplomatic posts we have a better Vice-Consul at Monrovia, in Liberia, and a better Second Secretary of Legation at Helsingfors, in Finland. The young man who goes out to swelter in the quags of a little banana republic or freeze on the tundras by the Arctic Circle goes with hope in his heart. A private of the lowest rank, he knows that he carries "the baton of a field marshal in his knapsack." He knows that, if he serves well enough where service means privation and isolation, he will be brought back

some time to Washington for a year or two or three or four, and that he may conceivably be placed at the head of any mission, even that at the Court of St. James's.

The Rogers Act, coming as the culmination and confirmation of a movement a generation long, made of the American foreign service a thing really worthy of the attention of America's most promising young men. It gives assurance of reward through promotion. It provides decent compensation—not large, not comparable with what might be earned by equal effort in some other professions, but enough to live on and to rear a family on. It assures tenure of office and a pension when a man is worn out or broken in health. There will abide in the foreign service these three things, but the greatest of these is certainty of reward for honest and efficient effort.

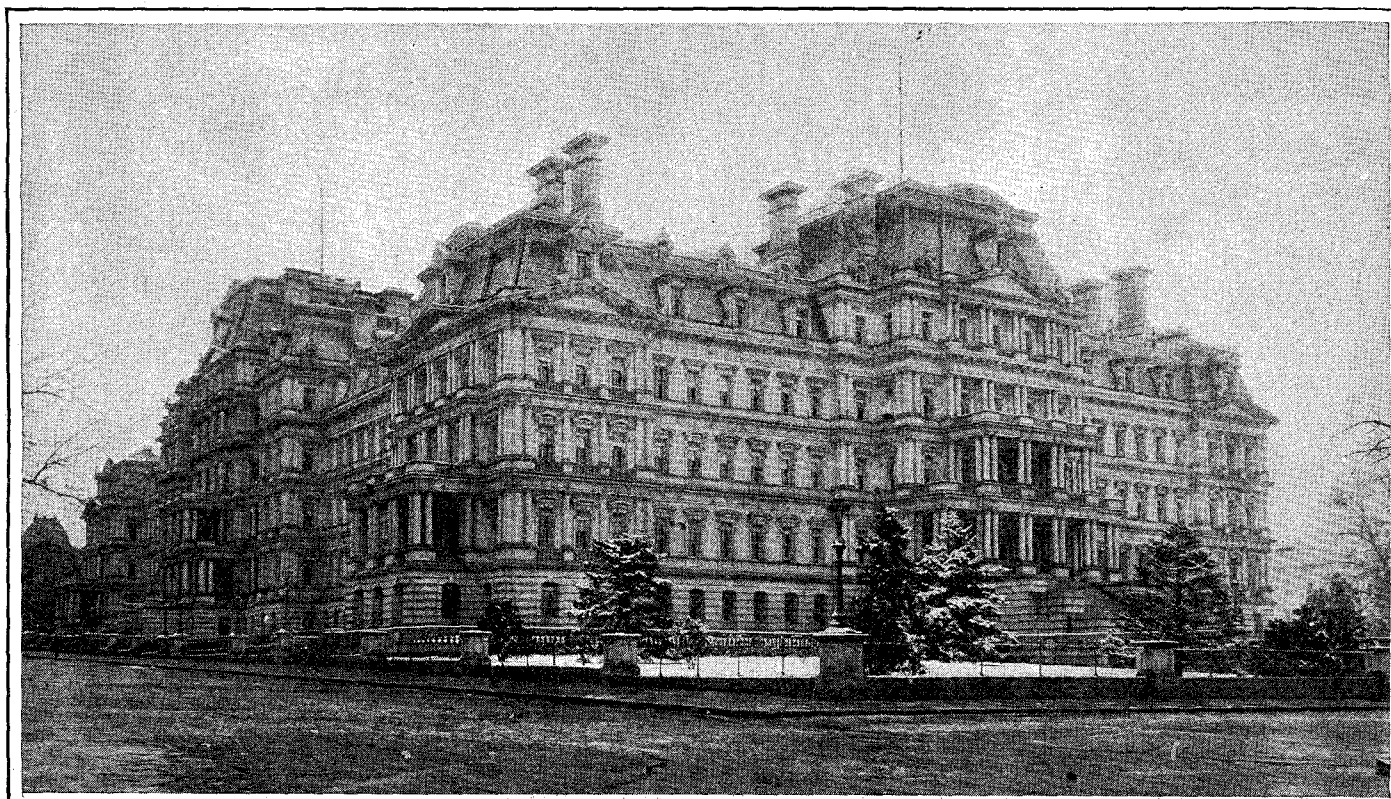
IN the old days the young man who entered the consular service could have no hope of the diplomatic service. His work and his reward were as inexorably limited as if he had belonged to a Hindu caste. To-day there is no consular service and no diplomatic service. The two are welded into one, the foreign service, and any man may aspire to any position.

True, there is still consular work and there is still diplomatic work, and men are assigned to the one kind of work and to the other, but there is no barrier between them. It is even contemplated

that certain men will spend the greater part of their lives in consular work and certain other men in diplomatic work, as their fitnesses may determine; but the young man has his chance at both before he settles down to his specialty, and at any time of his life he may be shifted naturally from the one to the other, as his talents and the exigencies of the time require.

Covetousness is a cardinal sin. Yet perhaps it might be held as only a venial sin against a man now in middle age who covets the opportunity of the young men entering the foreign service under the new conditions. They have, first of all, educational opportunities perhaps superior to those of any other group of young men in America.

Civil Service examinations—competitive, written—are held at various places over the country. Those who succeed are asked to come to Washington for oral examination. Scholarship weighs heavier in the first, personality and adaptability in the second. Those who pass the oral examination in Washington are enrolled as Foreign Service Officers, and become students in the Foreign Service School, with a faculty which is undoubtedly the most exceptional in America. It is made up as occasion requires of all those men and women in the Department of State who have expert knowledge of the world and of the relationship of nations, of those more than fifty geographical specialists who hold the secrets of the mysterious places, of



(C) Harris & Ewing

The State, War, and Navy Building, Washington, D. C.

any number of other men and women who know as specialists the institutions and the laws of the United States, of those who through a lifetime have delved into the intricacies of diplomatic usage. They have the equivalent of a college year in this essentially post-graduate school, using, meanwhile, the offices of the Department of State as working laboratories. It is not too much to say that they learn in one year several times over more of their own and of other governments than most students learn in four years. When they pass the examination to get out of the school, they are commissioned as vice-consuls and sent out into the far places of the earth, but with the door of opportunity wide open to them.

They go knowing that, when they have qualified, they will be recommended for appointment as chief of mission by a Personnel Classification Board, composed predominantly of career men, who will see to it that politics does not get the upper hand of service. To-day all the members of that Board with a single exception are career men. True, they are on duty in the Department, but, even so, the field holds a check on the office. Once a year a Board of Review is called in from the missions over the world—five service officers of high rank not connected with the Personnel Classification Board. This Board of Review checks, and changes if necessary, the classifications made by the Personnel Board, and promotions are made on the basis of the findings of the Board of Review.

No young man sent out as a vice-consul goes quite into isolation either, no matter how remote or inaccessible his post may be. A staff of inspectors constantly travels, not alone the broad highways, but the hidden by-paths of the world, carrying the spirit of the Department to the missions and consulates and bringing their spirit back to the Department.

THE time has come now to make restitution for an injustice done in this article. It began with talk of war. That was for the sake of the spectacular, not because these service men dispersed over the face of the globe are thinking of war, not because the Department in Washington is giving attention to war except occasionally and incidentally. Predominantly, the Department of State both at home and in the field is thinking of peace. The most significant fact about the new diplomacy, if a threadbare phrase may be used to describe something really not very old, is that it is organized for the purpose of devising means of settling international disputes

and preventing war. Courts of international justice, tribunals of arbitration, and commissions of inquiry have the center of the stage. Many of these efforts are large scale and find their prominent place in the press. By far the greater part of them are quietly carried on in the missions and consulates and never meet printer's ink. That, together with the promotion of our legitimate commercial interests, is the work into which our foreign service young men are sent, the work that heads up on the desk of the Secretary of State for "prompt action."

Thus far the Prince of Denmark has not properly made his entrance in this "Hamlet." The play does not depend upon him wholly, but he has his large importance. While the work of the supporting cast cannot be quite destroyed, it may be greatly marred if Hamlet be not a master actor. The usual order of stages is quite reversed. Those in the minor rôles stay pretty steadily on, but a new star has to be found once, and sometimes twice, in a while. There have been two under the Coolidge management. There were three under Wilson and three under Roosevelt, besides in each case an understudy who played the star rôle for a little while. His is the one place that will usually be filled by political appointment. It is hardly conceivable that career men will often be Secretaries of State—for the immediate future, at any rate. The Secretary of State has a large, not to say overwhelming, importance.

BE made acquainted, then, with Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State. Small, quick of action, nervous, he presents the most striking contrast possible to the calm, compelling personality of the man who played the part before him. Yet Kellogg and Hughes learned their art in the same school. Both are thoroughly the lawyer. For neither of them has there been any approach to the work of the office except the legalistic approach. That much is resemblance. All the rest is contrast.

Hughes was, perhaps, the most formal man that the office of Secretary of State has known. Kellogg is, without exception, the most informal. After he reached his desk in the morning, Hughes was never seen outside of his own office. Kellogg is likely to turn up at any minute at the desk of any man or woman whose help he happens to need. Hughes addressed his associates by their full titles. Kellogg calls many of them bluntly by their first names. Hughes secured the facts necessary for a decision and, after the fashion of the judge,

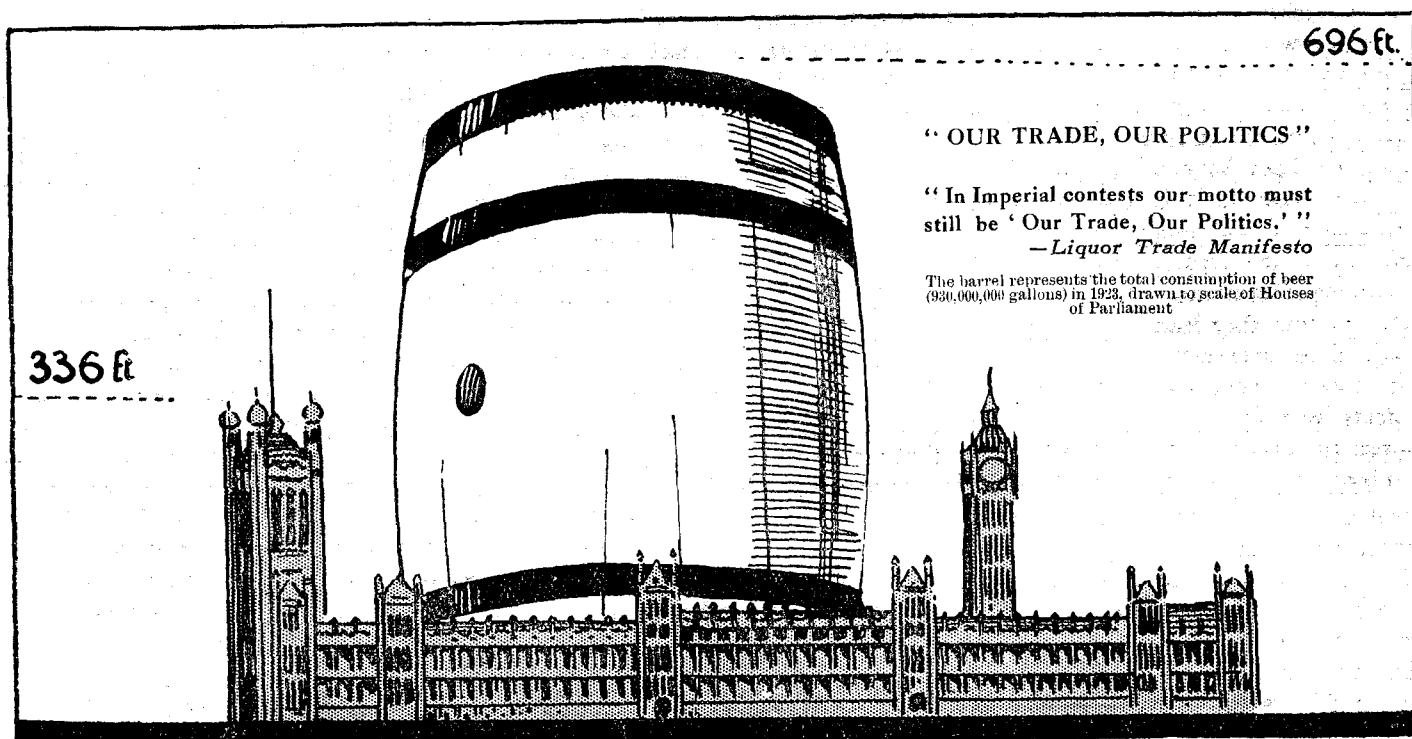
"took the case under advisement." Kellogg collects his facts just as carefully. He hears the last word from every specialist. Having heard it, he makes his decision instantly. There is no putting off till to-morrow when the facts are in. Hughes, "taking the case under advisement," would probably never have issued the statement that Kellogg issued with regard to Mexican relations. He would probably not have taken the action that Kellogg took with regard to Tacna-Arica. Kellogg, with his tolerance for the testimony of every witness, would not have drawn the line so sharply between reason and sentiment had he presided at the Arms Conference, and the French view—which proved, after all, to be a view worth considering—would have had fuller presentation.

In their relations with the public and the press the two men are wholly unlike. Hughes rarely made a statement to the press if a valid reason could be found for withholding it. Kellogg rarely withholds a statement from the press if a valid reason can be found for giving it. Hughes was extremely intolerant of "leaks." Kellogg regards a "leak" as in the nature of the inevitable if the knowledge is shared by any considerable number of persons. If in press conference a correspondent tried to secure material for an antagonistic article, Hughes went coldly about the job of annihilating him. Kellogg is likely either to grow angry with him or to laugh at him.

These are comparisons that, perhaps, should not be made. But what other way is there of arriving at an approximation of the kind of service that Kellogg is likely to render as Secretary of State? The ability of Hughes as a negotiator is known. That of Kellogg is unknown. He is not to be credited with the success of the Italian debt negotiation nor blamed for the failure of the French debt negotiation. His record is still to make. But there are many indications that it will be a good record.

When the work of the foreign service and of the home offices came to Hughes for action, he acted with the utmost precision. There was never any hair's-breadth of deviation from the predetermined course. Kellogg does not act precisely that way.

A man who has had probably better opportunity than any other in Washington for observing Kellogg in action as Secretary of State was asked for an estimate of his work. "Let me tell you," he said, "how Kellogg plays golf. His hands refuse to stay still. He is fidgety. His stick wabbles around. But just before he hits the ball he steadies down and makes a perfectly marvelous shot."



“The Trade” in England

By ERNEST W. MANDEVILLE

IN comparing the liquor situation of America and England we must remember that in the United States the liquor institution was never considered as very reputable, while in England it is one of the most respectable trades of the country.

In England the most popular drink is beer. It has held its place in Great Britain since its introduction by the Roman conquerors. Many English people quite generally and honestly believe that the British Empire has been brought up on beef and beer.

For so many centuries alcoholic drinking has been bound up with the social habits of the people that it now seems to have assumed a hopeless inveteracy.

The names of some of the pubs and old inns reflect the close connection of the liquor traffic with the civic and religious history of England. There are “The Lamb and Flag,” an allusion to the symbolic Agnus Dei; “Peter’s Finger,” which pictures the Papal hand raised in blessing; “The Cross Keys,” emblems of the power of the keys. Also “The Baptist’s Head,” “The Three Nuns,” “The Flaming Sword” (with which St. Michael defended the gate of paradise), “Noah’s Ark,” and “The Bleeding Heart.” The emblems of St. George, St. Crispin, St. Hugh, and St. Blaise adorn many a bar.

In some cases the village pubs have grown out of the local churches. In the

THE social and political influence of the liquor trade of Great Britain is greater than even our old-time brewers and distillers ever dreamed of possessing. America’s saloon problem was child’s play to that which faces Great Britain

Middle Ages ale was dispensed in the church house, a building adjoining the church. Gradually these church houses were leased out to innkeeper tenants, and then, in some cases, came the metamorphosis—church house to ale-house. And again, several of the pubs of to-day were founded by the monks of the Middle Ages, in order to provide entertainment and hospitality in their monasteries.

At the present time the brewery companies own ninety per cent of the public-houses, and the nobility, clergy, and church and school endowments own the majority of shares in the brewery companies.

Viscountess Astor recently referred to the phrase “drunk as a lord,” saying that it is now out of date. “You can’t say that any longer,” she said, “because lords don’t get drunk; but a great many men become lords because they sell drink.”

An examination of the personnel of

the brewing companies revealed to me among the directors and trustees for debenture holders the names of 31 peers, 19 sons of peers, 66 baronets or knights, 102 justices of the peace, and 28 members of Parliament. You can readily see that the social influence of the liquor trade is considerable.

Spiritual peers, as well as temporal peers, are financially interested in the distilling and brewery businesses.

The most recent Brewer’s Almanac that I could find in the public library gave its opening pages to the Church of England Calendar, with memorandum space provided after each saint’s and feast day.

The great endowment funds of colleges and church parishes as well as the private funds of many schoolmasters and clergy are invested in the shares of the great liquor firms.

Temperance speakers at Hyde Park meet the continual effective thrust of the hecklers, “If drink is the cause of all the misery you say it is, why do so many church people and clergymen invest their money in breweries?” The reason, I suppose, is that these shares pay from ten to twenty per cent income annually and are free from tax. But for the monetary gain they are sacrificing all hope of any effective propaganda against the drink evil.

However, it is only fair to say that many ministers and bishops of the va-