

some tension in Japanese relations with Russia. Japan's action at Mukden is in line with her intention to carry through her railway program in Manchuria, arranged with the Government of Chang Tso-lin.

The position she has assumed, involving further conflict with national sentiment in China and at the same time complications with Russia, is likely to tend to unify their policy in opposition to Japan.

A Painter of War-Ships

HENRY REUTERDAHL, who died in Washington shortly before Christmas, was buried with military honors in Arlington Cemetery, as was his right, for he had served as a lieutenant-commander in the Naval Reserves.

Reuterdahl's strongest claim to public esteem, however, was through his remarkable paintings of naval vessels at sea. One such picture, that of the Georgia, with her guns in action, long since scrapped, is here reproduced from an article written by Mr. Reuterdahl for

The Outlook years ago. In his own chosen sphere of marine painting he had no equal. Many of his works are at the Naval Academy, and mural decorations from his brush were placed in several war-ships.

There was a patriotic and heroic spirit in his work which pervaded also his special correspondence in the Spanish War and which prompted him to write special articles on the duty of providing naval defense and for the better understanding by the people of navy men and naval affairs. Several of these articles appeared in The Outlook.

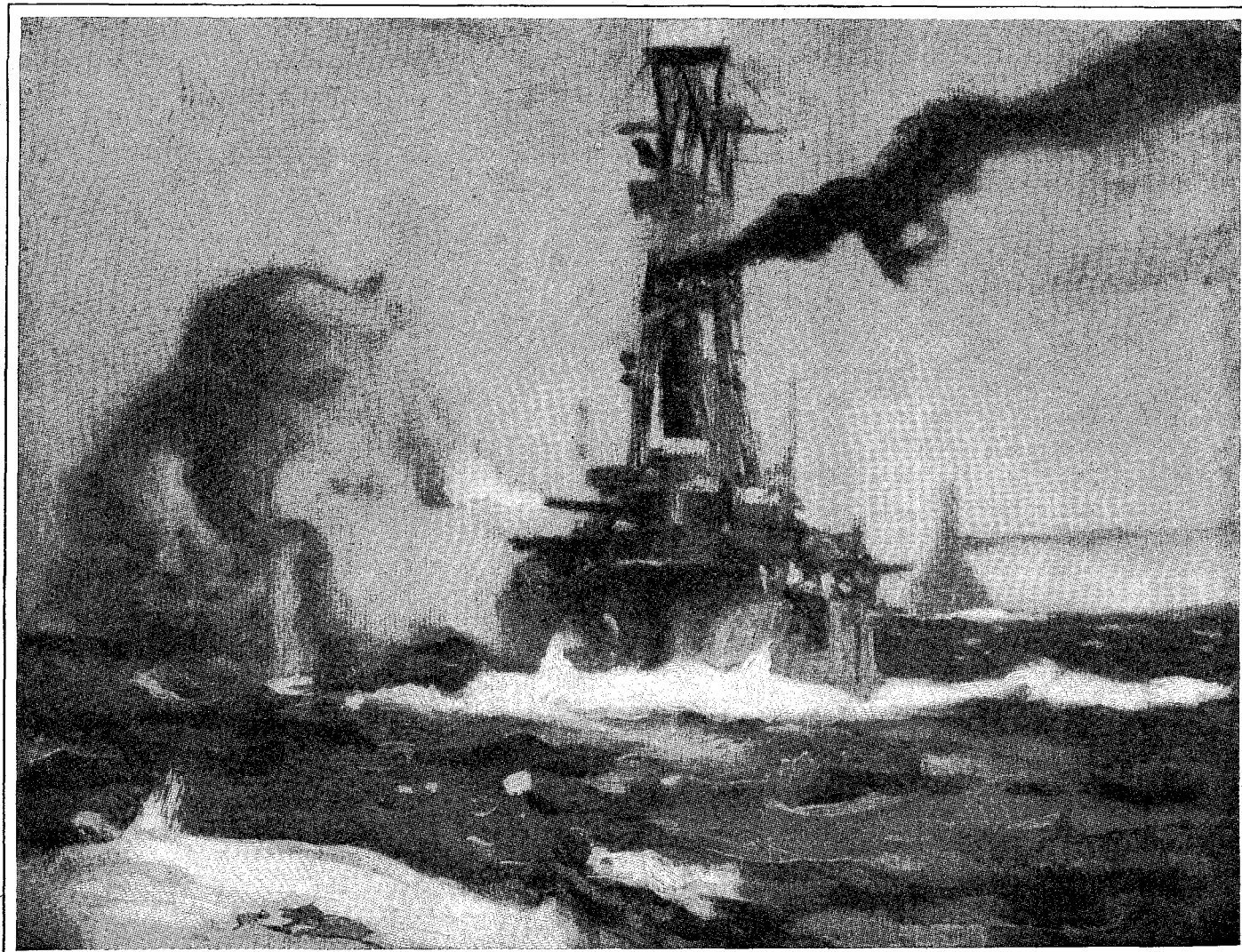
From Forty Dollars to Forty Million

FRANK ANDREW MUNSEY'S life may be outlined briefly. Native of Maine, at twenty-eight years of age he arrived in New York with forty dollars, spent three years in getting a magazine started, spent the remaining forty years of his life in creating

and demolishing periodicals and newspapers, and died possessed of a fortune estimated at forty million dollars. It was the life of an ambitious man.

In the newspaper world Mr. Munsey will be remembered chiefly as a destroyer. In succession there died at his hands the New York "Continent," the New York "Daily News," the Philadelphia "Evening Times," the New York "Press," the Baltimore "Star," the New York "Sun," the New York "Globe and Commercial Advertiser," the New York "Evening Mail," and the New York "Herald." The names of the "Sun" and the "Herald" still remain, the one as a new name of the former "Evening Sun" and the latter as a heading on the New York "Tribune," but the newspapers that those names once represented are as dead as any of the rest.

In this work of devastation Mr. Munsey believed he was doing a service for journalism. "There is no business," he once wrote, "that cries so loud for organization and combination as that of newspaper publishing." His ideal, which



From a painting by Henry Reuterdahl

A battleship on the range

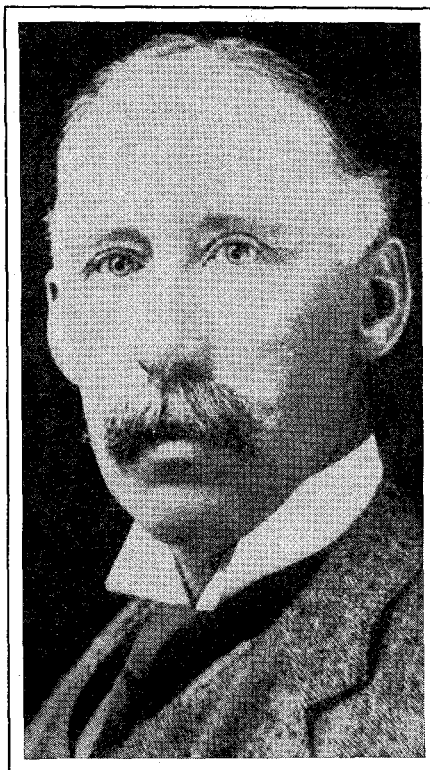
he never realized, was a chain of newspapers under a single control, supporting a veritable faculty of writers, each writing for all, with "a \$100,000 or \$200,000 a year man at the head of the editorial force and another God-made genius in charge of the business end." If Mr. Munsey's view that publishing is primarily a business for profit, and that struggling journals whose only claim to existence is that they preserve variety and freedom in the expression of public opinion are an unnecessary waste, then his estimate of his own service was quite modest.

On another page in this issue Don C. Seitz describes in none too vigorous language the moral effect of the prevalence of this view of the press as a business rather than a profession and the danger with which it threatens the Republic. It is by coincidence, not by design, that as we are called upon to comment upon the death of this notable newspaperman we present through Mr. Seitz's article the question whether newspapermen are going to abandon their leadership in the pursuit of money.

In war we have learned that liberty cannot be won except under leadership. What is true in war is equally true in peace. Self-government requires free and fearless spokesmen of public opinion. If the press does not supply those spokesmen, who will?

Mr. Munsey was not oblivious of his responsibility in the expression of views on public questions. Although a believer in party organization, he was free from the spirit of subserviency to party organizations. He showed this at the time of his revolt against the Republican bosses in 1912 and became a strong and valued supporter of Theodore Roosevelt. He was not, however, primarily a leader of public opinion. He was too naïve and impulsive in his views. Mr. Roosevelt, in tribute to his courage and activity, used to refer to him as the "wild ass of the desert"—a term that was not without its implication of admiration and friendliness, but could not have been applied to a steady directing force. Mr. Munsey showed his independence during the last campaign in New York State, when as a Republican he heartily supported the Democratic Governor, Mr. Smith, in support of the measures for the reorganization of the State Government and provision for certain public needs.

If the press is to lead, of course it



International

Frank A. Munsey

Who died on December 22 at 71 years of age

must live, and it will always require the services of men who have ability as business executives; but, though it may live, it will not lead unless those who control the press regard their vocation in the spirit in which the physician regards his practice of medicine—as primarily a public service. If the American people are to keep free the channels of public opinion, they must support journals which Mr. Munsey would have thought it a virtue to do away with.

The World Court

OPPPOSITION to the World Court seems to have arisen chiefly from three fears.

One is the fear that by joining the World Court the United States will be entrapped in the League of Nations. The Court, it is alleged, is a subsidiary of the League, and by becoming a member of the subsidiary the Nation would be virtually and should have to become actually a member of the major organization. This argument is based on a mistaken view of the status of the Court. It is a separate international statute or treaty, not the League, that created the Court. In electing the judges the League acts as an agent of the statute. By a change in the statute itself another agent might be substituted as an electoral college. The League may apply to the Court for an

opinion on a legal case, but in that respect does not differ from any nation that may appeal to the Court.

The second fear is that by joining the Court the United States may submit its National policies to foreign judges. This fear would be well grounded if the Court were organized to render decisions on political matters. The Court, however, is charged solely with decisions on questions of law. It has no authority concerning any question of policy whatever, and its record so far indicates that its judges are more keenly aware of this limitation on its authority and more certain to keep the Court within its function than any one untrained in law can be.

The third fear is that the United States may be subjected as a member of the Court to the enforcement of the Court's decisions by the exercise of military or other power. In particular, it is the fear that the so-called sanctions of the League may be resorted to in case some decision should go against the United States. Some of the more ardent advocates of the Court who are also ardent advocates of the League have gone rather far to justify this fear. Even Judge Bustamante, one of the judges of the Court, goes so far as to say:

Since all or almost all the nations and their colonies and self-governing dominions now form one social organism for certain joint purposes, this organism, which must have force and authority, might well assume the duty of enforcing the judgments of the Permanent Court of International Justice, in case the defeated nation resists the decision.

Against this view that the decisions of the Court should be supported by military or other force American opinion is clearly overwhelming. For years the United States Supreme Court was comparatively weak because it had no sanctions—that is, no means of its own to compel obedience to it; but it ultimately has become the most powerful Court in the world, because it has won for itself the moral support that is the natural consequence of the reasonableness of its decisions. If the World Court succeeds, it will be by the same process of winning the support of those whose controversies it decides. There is nothing in the statute that created the Court that provides for sanctions. If there is any doubt upon this subject, the Senate should remove it by a reservation. We do not think that