

York County Chapter, which permit themselves the costly luxury of governing their action in various important cases by their narrow-minded and bigoted views.

The issue is clear; there are no two ways about it. For the American Legion to endure as an active force in our national life, the watchword should be: "Hands off politics and leave the individual members to think and speak and write as conscience dictates!" Our ex-service-men brotherhood will thrive best under a constant discussion of the conflicting opinions concerning the great problems of the day.

In order to reestablish itself in the good opinion of the American people, the Legion through its National Executive should unequivocally repudiate the action of the New York County Chapter in expelling Lieut. Col. Alexander E. Anderson and demand his prompt restoration to his former place of honor in the post.

*Hurley, South Dakota, April 5*

ISADORE BERKOWITZ

## Correcting a Historian

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Charles Andrews, in a recent issue of *The Nation*, characterizes Lincoln Colcord's attempt to demonstrate similarity between the struggle of the American colonies for independence and the present Irish struggle as not "particularly good history." Without entering into the issue under immediate controversy, upon which I have nothing to say, may I point out a statement in Mr. Andrews's letter which is not "particularly good history." Mr. Andrews states that "in the middle of the last century the concession of representative government [to Canada and Australia], the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation acts, and the eventual granting of responsible government brought to an end all desire for independence." Professor Andrews should know that the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation acts was deeply resented by the colonies, and that instead of conciliating them to the British connection it led to the development in Canada in the late forties and early fifties of a formidable movement for annexation to the United States.

*Chicago, April 11*

JACOB VINER

## The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The foundations of our liberties are being destroyed. In fact, the cornerstone—"freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to peaceably assemble"—has been blasted by legislative action, executive policy, and judicial decisions and interpretations. Our supposed Bill of Rights has been treated as a "scrap of paper." There is no need to elaborate, for everybody knows that our boasted liberty is the standing joke of the world. I am not writing this as a protest. The tyrannical usurpers care nothing for protests or petitions. I am writing to urge action, from one end of the land to the other, to secure the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall—an amendment to the Constitution restoring to the people the power to initiate and make laws, to demand a referendum upon laws made by Congress or unmade by five of the Supreme Court judges, and to recall representatives who fail to do their bidding, such as all employers have.

If in the face of all the legislative blunders and outrageous wrongs of our representatives, the rulings of departmental chiefs, and court decisions the people fail to exercise their sovereign power and demand to be clothed with the power to approve or disapprove of the acts of their servants, then there is little hope that they ever will. If the Bolsheviks' regime of the dominating few is to continue unchecked, who can deny the possibility of a real bolshevist revolution?

*Paicines, California, March 21*

J. W. WELLS

## I Should Like to Live in a Ballad World

By EDA LOU WALTON

I should like to live as a ballad maid  
Who loves, is loved, and dies,  
Or bears four sons as a matron staid  
To her lord's amazed eyes.

Birth, and youth, and womanhood,  
Ripe lips and golden hair,  
Death and a lover understood,  
And a black silk shroud to wear;

And all the long years left untold  
The long hours left unsaid,  
While swift, rare moments of life unfold  
Bronze and silver and red.

I should like to live in a ballad world  
While vivid lips of song  
My leaping, lingering tale unfurled  
Of a fate six stanzas long.

## Plaint

By VIRGINIA WOODS MACKALL

You can do so many things!  
And I only one.  
You can build monuments of triumphant stone,  
You can compass large and awesome subjects,  
You can subdue the sea with tree trunks,  
And catch the stars in steel nets.

All I can do is to tell you about it—  
To sing how great you are!  
Naturally, you listen with impatience;  
You have known it for a long time.

## Books

### On Fighting Japan

*Must We Fight Japan?* By Walter B. Pitkin. The Century Company.

THIS is a powerful and compelling book, packed full of meat and worthy of the most careful consideration. It is a non-partisan study of the conflicts, corruptions, and conciliations where East meets West and greed meets greed across the narrowing Pacific. The author aims to dispel illusions whether roseate or sinister and strikes hard at some of those most widely cherished. In places its tone is dogmatic, a fact to be forgiven in view of the author's wide studies and evident sincerity.

The unsophisticated visitor to the Far East is surprised and bewildered at the apparent absence of any middle ground in the judgment of Japan. Every American or European is anti-Japanese or pro-Japanese and does not care who knows it. Fulsome praise and biting criticism are heard on all sides, and each is in its degree founded on fact and each subject to gross exaggeration.

In the pro-Japanese view, the busy people of the islands are

human beings like the rest of us, simple-hearted, sincere, courteous, lovable, idealistic folk for the most part, acutely patriotic, sensitive to praise or blame, very hospitable, very fond of companionship, prone to making judgments gregariously, and having a special genius for adaptation and cooperation. Their speech, dress, and customs have grown up in isolation, but such matters are skin-deep, in no wise fundamental to race or nation. Politically they do the best they can under changing circumstances, for the traditions and conciliations of two thousand years cannot be obliterated in a half century. The status of a people cannot be judged by present conditions, but rather by the line of direction in which it is moving.

The anti-Japanese view goes somewhat as follows: The Japanese know that Western civilization cannot be escaped, but they despise and fear it. They imitate what they cannot understand, therefore undertake what they cannot carry through. Being extremely clannish they are bad neighbors to outsiders. Individually eager for wealth, pull and graft beset every walk of life. Militarism they cherish because Germany has taught its value and it has already brought Japan into the front rank of the nations. Hence its ruling forces follow German models. The Government is a close corporation of bureaucrats, directed by the "Elder" statesmen (Genro), a clique of leaders of the three "fighting clans" (Satsuma, Choshu, Settsu), exploiters, militarists. Bureaucrats direct foreign policies and the Government subordinates personal freedom to its system of public welfare (minhon). Their water-front mobs clamor for war because war brings a livable wage. The village boss controls the rural population. Only fear of revolution gives the people any voice, and that voice, through the adroitness of the Circumlocution Office, is mostly still and small. The prophets cry in the wilderness, most earnestly, no doubt, but unheard by either of the chief political parties.

These two paragraphs I wrote in 1911. Each can be defended as true so far as it goes. They represent merely different points of view. The first arises from knowing the student-class and the bourgeoisie of the provincial towns. The second pictures some phases of the political life of the capital.

But American opinion, friendly as a whole, has become embittered by recent events in which the rulers of Japan are concerned. Toward China Japan has behaved even as the other powers have done and to the scandal of her rivals in spoliation. The twenty-one demands, the operations in Siberia, the control of Shantung, the mandate-absorption of a chain of coral reefs, have shocked our moral sense. The assertion of a "Monroe Doctrine" of monopolistic spoliation as unlike that of Monroe as our own worst attempts at perversion is naturally offensive to our own exploiters, who cannot admit it unless they can indeed strike hands with its perpetrators.

Hence arises another picture of Japan, elaborately and accurately drawn by Professor Pitkin as a composite of our "yellow journals." This view (page 40) is as false as malice can make it, but it matches perfectly the portrait of America as drawn by the yellow press of Japan, a vile caricature which seems justified by the atrocious moving picture films which our dealers dump on Japan. The "rising wave of crime" which is breaking over our cities, as shown on the front pages of our great dailies, also serves to confirm the low opinion water-front Japan already has of us.

It is true, of course, that the commercial classes in both nations are on excellent terms with each other. "Hands across the sea" are reached almost daily in San Francisco and Tokyo, and "the Pacific binds together, not separates," "two peoples destined to be each other's neighbors for a thousand years." But friendly banquets, good intentions, and fine words from internationalists and business associates do not reach the heart of the matter. The memory of Perry at Kurihama, our magnanimity at Shimonoseki, and the modesty of General Grant at Nikko do not touch the hearts of militarists bent on exalting their calling. Nor does it reach the narikin (new rich), who, bent on the conquest of Asia, regard army and navy as their

own lackeys. From such conditions, found in a degree in every country, together with the ever present fear of the loss of power on the part of those who wrest it from the people, arises the "hyena theory of nations," to borrow a phrase from Pierre Loti. In accordance with this theory every nation must maintain a perpetual or chronic enemy—which is by no means to be allowed an increase of armament, such as we plan for ourselves.

This abhorrent idea being still "in the saddle," strengthened by the moral and political lapses of the war, Mr. Pitkin asks his question "Must we fight Japan?" His answer, of course, is "No," but he is not blind to dangerous tendencies on both sides of the Pacific. That such a war, whatever its nominal cause or motive, would be incalculably senseless, degrading, costly, and futile will not of itself ward it off. The wisdom of Norman Angell's "Great Illusion" did not save Europe in 1914. Powerful forces are working now for war; greater forces, though less active, are drawing toward peace. War and peace are possibilities; neither is a certainty.

Mr. Pitkin has developed a number of vital propositions, only a few of which I have space to summarize. The Japanese press notes our imperial expansion in Asia, while we are active in blocking all Japanese moves in that direction. In these matters and others our attitude is regarded as both unjust and provocative. From Perry's expedition of coercion through our successive seizures of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Guam we have stood in the way of Japan's normal extension. We have been high-handed in dealing with Japanese who are legally in America and we have drawn lines of racial discrimination such as we have not dared to apply to Europe. We (that is, some Americans) have tried to monopolize Asiatic trade, to withhold Japan's coveted prizes of war, to restrain her salutary entrance into Siberia and Mongolia, to stimulate Korean unrest, to bankrupt Japan by forcing on her a ruinous naval expansion, to say nothing of the varied mendacity tolerated in our press. In every Congress humiliating bills are introduced, without official check, and apparently for no other purpose save insult, our two political parties being alike in these regards.

Without discussing this one-sided view of patent facts, I have found Japanese officials rarely able to understand why our Government allows the press to promulgate slanderous lies. Examples of this are found in the wild extravagances which centered in 1911 about Magdalena Bay and which gave rise to the "Lodge Resolution," fortunately left unsigned by President Taft. We may read any day that the "Japanese have no home life," tea-house and geisha monopolizing men's attention; that Japanese banks employ Chinese tellers, not trusting their own people; and the like *ad nauseam*. In 1911, I had what was called "a heart-to-heart talk" with members of the Sayonji ministry, and the question of why our Government allows such wholesale lying was the first that arose. The answer was simple: A free press, even if venal and mendacious, is safer than a censored one, as it is better for the people to decide public questions badly than to have them adjusted from above.

Mr. Pitkin regards the strongest influence for peace, so far as the United States is concerned, as resting in "the widespread disgust and disillusionment as to the value of war as a method of getting results." The only result of the late victory worth the name has been the crumpling of a pasteboard Caesar, at the cost of a ruined continent. Our author finds further that the intellectual classes of the world are getting together. "In this movement the intellectuals of Japan are playing a worthy part, at times under handicaps little realized by us." Moreover, Japan as a nation is on the verge of bankruptcy without the resource utilized by Germany of wholesale robbery of her own people. Japan's industries are dependent on the United States, and our nation "will not be dragged into any but the most obviously defensive war, unless the public is tricked by politicians or propaganda." That "Europe, as everybody knows, but few like to say, is insolvent from Bordeaux to the Urals" is also "a tremendous insurance against war." "The most un-

popular proposal that the mind of man could invent and present to Americans today would be one calling to an increase of taxes to be spent in an army and navy."

But nations bankrupt and inchoate still fight on, throwing stolen money after bad, their soldiers the only people who escape starvation. Meanwhile Japan has not learned the lesson of "The Great Illusion." Rulers and common people alike fail to realize that "money spent on wars of conquest is a dead loss and worse." There is danger not alone from militarists and from fools or kaisers in power. Beggars have been known "to smash in shop windows to seize a loaf of bread." Two classes in every country can always be reckoned as in favor of war: those who gain by war and war preparation, and those who have nothing to lose. Withal we have to deal with "that fatal incapacity of most men to think clearly and take intelligent action concerning matters that lie beyond the routine of everyday life." The crimes of diplomacy are due far more often to ignorance than to malice. Even in high places, "there is no substitute for intelligence." Moreover, we must count on the venerable tradition that an insult from one politician to another is reasonable cause of war even at the cost of national suicide. This idea is a sort of survival which used to lead the insulted Samurai to commit suicide when homicide was not practicable.

Our author gives us a certain assurance that both Japan and the United States are impregnable from the sea. The most that either could do, without base of supplies in a military way, would be the burning or poisoning of a few coast cities. Incidentally Japan would be debarred from her best customers, her necessary machinery, and from future trade—a corresponding result, though less damaging, naturally following on the other side.

I cannot claim the space necessary even for an outline of this close-packed book. Mr. Pitkin regards the Japanese question in California as part of a world problem never to be settled, but to be ameliorated by wise statesmanship. Japan, with small areas of great richness and a wilderness of mountains, is vastly overcrowded. The great empty areas in the north and in Korea, fit for grazing and little else, cannot be utilized without capital and without a market for products. Milk, butter, and cheese find little market in Asia. Cattle, dwarfish and half-starved, are beasts of burden mainly and in regions virtually destitute of roads. The outlook for sheep raising is better and is being considered. Japan has been too much occupied with her place among the nations to build adequate railways, or even public roads. Korea has the former, thanks to the enterprise of Baron Shibusawa, but a system of highways would be a grotesque novelty. Those farmers who have any capital or hold on the land will not leave their present homes "where our customs fit us like a garment." Those who can be moved are in general the homeless farm-hands, the class with which the enterprise of our steamship companies populated Hawaii, or the unskilled workmen of the cities. The birth-rate question, I may say in a word, appears nowhere as racial. The percentage falls just as soon as woman is emancipated to the extent involved in separate apartments. And within limits as the birth-rate falls the survival rate rises.

The notion that the Asiatic races will by a "rising tide of color" get together and overwhelm the white races our author deservedly treats with scant respect. The white races have their enemies within—mainly war and vice. I may note further that the blend of races which inhabits Japan is at least as near Caucasian as Mongolian, and in everything except looks has more in common with Southern Europe than with China. The Japanese are no more inscrutable than any other divergent race, if we get behind the veil of language and tradition. The rising generation of Japanese who acquire citizenship assimilate almost perfectly in all matters except in looks, much more readily and fully than most of the Mediterranean races. And in this connection I may add that the strongest single bond of peace is found in the thousands of Japanese men and women educated

in the universities of America and England. These imbibe all our traditional college loyalty, with a real appreciation of the advantages of democracy, however defective, over the bureaucracy and political favoritism which they encounter at home.

Mr. Pitkin's work, so far as details are concerned, centers about affairs in California. In spite of his thoroughness and general sobriety, he finds this problem full of pitfalls. Special criticism of minor matters is ungracious, but the light needs shifting a little.

It is quite true, as he says, that the state of mind in California cannot be set aside as "a case of nerves." It is rather a recurrent malady which comes on every fourth year, after the fashion of the seven-year cicada. Save for a few internationalists and a few purveyors of cheap labor, no one here wants to see California racially stratified or marred by class distinctions. Cheap labor or alien labor would enrich the State, while impoverishing its society. In the late election the act further restricting Japanese agricultural activities was passed by a vote of about two to one. The vote of the 200,000 who opposed this bill deserves an analysis. It comprises in general the commercial classes, the churches, the university people, and the large number who hate to see California take a blundering initiative in international affairs, matters in which it entangles the whole nation while assuming no responsibility of its own. As Roosevelt is largely quoted, they would not discredit his dictum: "It always pays for a nation to be a gentleman."

It is not true that Japan in any official sense has pushed into California. Apparently most of the farm laborers came from Hawaii. When we annexed those islands, half the population was Japanese. It is so still. It was then dominated by a small but interesting and forceful oligarchy of Americans with thousands of plantation serfs, brought in from every country from which cheap labor could be secured. Hawaii was then, and is still, in a degree a commercial and social annex of California. As to the acts of their nationals in Hawaii, the Government of Japan may have wishes or opinions but can exercise no control. The "Gentleman's Agreement" might be made more restrictive. The Japanese Government will respond to any courteous request, or to any adjustment that will not overturn politics at home, but there is no evidence that the present agreement has been violated even in a single case. Nor is it likely that any considerable number of Japanese have been illegally smuggled in. A system of registration could be used to prevent this.

The agitation against the Japanese in California seems to have four separate motives: (1) The desire to elect officials on an anti-Japanese platform; (2) the desire to prevent the growth and spread of alien colonies; (3) the desire to cut off immigration of labor from Asia; (4) the desire to keep up a chronic sore in our relations with Japan. This fourth may be the motive of the yellow press, to see that "something is doing," or it may have the motive equally sinister, but more dangerous, of spreading war-scares, for the purposes of a larger army, a greater navy, or even a bigger naval base on San Francisco Bay.

As to the second of these, I may say that Japanese legally here will not go home. They are clannish partly because we make them so. It is never wise to exclude from citizenship any group of permanent residents. The Japanese, Chinese, and Hindus should be allowed to find their way to citizenship, not an easy way, and not without renunciation of any rights at home. To enter our cosmopolitan nation does not mean intermarriage—that is a personal matter. Nor should it depend on race or religion or any other condition save personal fitness and orderly behavior.

As to checking immigration from Asia, we shall find ample help in cooperation with the Japanese Government. They would rather our people knew Japan from scholars, travelers, and business men than from the overflow of the rice fields. The leaders understand, as I have often said to them, that just such an opposition as has grown up in California would rise in Japan if a colony of Americans, Italians, or Siamese should establish

themselves among the "Seven Beauties of Omi." The case is "a condition not a theory." But the matter is not helped by gross exaggeration of the present "menace," nor by its use as leverage in local politics. To use it as a means of promoting militarism and war expense is even more reprehensible and more dangerous. The real problem of immigration is how to maintain our own democratic standards of living in the face of hordes who have never known it and have never known how to demand it.

Mr. Pitkin outlines an international policy which should permanently dispose of the "Japanese crisis." Not much (however wise) of it will be accepted by America or Japan, for rulers are short-sighted as compared with professors, and the art of government is the most backward of all human enterprises. One element of most importance is the restoration of farm industry by relieving it of the heavy burdens laid on it in the interest of manufacture and commerce. The rush to the cities is becoming appalling. Meanwhile it is "not a mass movement" but individual. "Every person who moves from the country to the city does so for individual reasons."

To this volume are contributed certain "expert opinions" of high value. Professor E. T. Williams of the University of California writes on *Conflicting National Policies*; Mr. Warren S. Thompson on *Cheap Labor and Standards of Living*; Professor Elwood Mead on *New Agrarian Policies*; and Professor S. J. Holmes on *Racial Intermarriage*. The last essay may be specially commended as a just summing up of our knowledge and ignorance of much-vexed questions.

DAVID STARR JORDAN

## From Locke to Bentham

*Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham.* By Harold J. Laski. (Home University Library.) Henry Holt and Company.

RARELY has the task of summarizing the main characteristics of an intellectual movement been performed with more notable success than that which Professor Laski has attained in this concise account of the development of English political thought from Locke to Bentham. Any writer who essays to narrate the history of ideas is beset by two dangers. One is the danger of framing a series of essentially detached studies whose subjects are the more striking personalities of the period with which he deals. The other is that of forcing an appearance of development or logical connection where in fact little or none exists. Mr. Laski has avoided both of these pitfalls. Naturally, the men whose writings bulk largest in his brief survey are the dominating thinkers of the time—Locke, Hume, Burke, Adam Smith; but the sketches of the work and teachings of these leaders are so skilfully interwoven with equally just appreciations of lesser writers and, what is quite as important, with a review of the political and economic history of the period, as to show clearly such coherent development as actually took place. It was with the eighteenth century as history shows it to have been with other centuries—a few profound thinkers opened the greater highways while a host of lesser workers scouted the forests, blazed connecting trails, or toiled at the debris which others had left; and if we get from Mr. Laski's illuminating pages a matured philosophic view of Locke and Hume and Burke, we also see in judicial setting the work of Leslie and Hoadley and Bolingbroke, of Blackstone and Tucker and Delolme, of the nonjurors and the protagonists of the Bangorian controversy.

Broadly stated, the problem of English political philosophy in the eighteenth century was to find a sound doctrine of democracy after the Revolution of 1688 had made an end to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. It was the task of Locke to justify the changes of 1688. He was hampered by his lack of perception of "the psychological foundations of politics," he was bound to the theory of the social contract as

"the only possible retort to the theory of divine right," and in his doctrine as a whole there is little that is novel; but he nevertheless stated more clearly than either Hobbes or Burke "the general problem of the modern state." One would like to know, however, why Locke's view of toleration was apparently less generous when he published his great "Letter on Toleration" than it was when he drafted the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," some twenty years before. Mr. Laski's exposition of the long controversy over the theory of the relation of church and state, which followed naturally from Locke's attempt to separate the visible church from the essence of religion and to exalt the state above the church, is able to the point of brilliancy, and the more because the essential nature of the problem of religion as distinct from the problem of ecclesiasticism is not at any time lost sight of. If the problem remained unsolved throughout the period to which the book relates, and remains unsolved now—witness the diametrically contrasted claims of Lord Haldane and the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1919 (pp. 125, 126)—it was not from lack of proffered solutions or acrimonious debate, but because the problem itself is insoluble save on the familiar British plane of compromise. So also one must say of the mooted issues of non-resistance and passive obedience and of the deeper question of revolution.

The period of political stagnation which extended from the accession of George I to the fall of Walpole, in 1742, at least prepared the way for Hume, the first series of whose essays was published in the latter year. The most that Mr. Laski can say for Hume is that he is suggestive and that utilitarianism owes its foundation to him, but neither the man nor his times permitted the erection of a system. Until 1770, when Burke's "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" appeared, "there is no work on English politics of the first importance." But it was the period in which the ideas of Montesquieu and Rousseau were making themselves felt, when Blackstone in his "Commentaries" was presenting a picture of the English Constitution as it was not, and when the beginnings of revolution in America were dividing political theorists and practical politicians alike. That Burke should have had "the singular good fortune . . . not merely to obtain acceptance as the apostle of philosophic conservatism, but to give deep comfort to men of liberal temper" is the more surprising in view of the fact that "he was not a democrat, and at bottom . . . had little regard for that popular sense of right which, upon occasion, he was ready to praise." It is easy to see that his selfishness, his keen insight, his maxims of political wisdom, his emphasis upon practical accommodation in the face of complex difficulties, and the noble sweep of his literary style should have made him lovable; but in hardly any other respect, and least of all as the expounder of a coherent system of political philosophy, is anyone who reads Mr. Laski's analysis likely to think Burke great. The real precursor of liberalism Mr. Laski finds in Adam Smith. It was, indeed, to be a liberalism which saw the state as something "untrammelled in its economic life by moral considerations," but it was also "the road to those categories wherein the old conception of cooperative effort might find a new expression."

WILLIAM MACDONALD

## First Aid to Authors

*The Lure of the Pen.* By Flora Klickmann. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

*If You Don't Write Fiction.* By Charles Phelps Cushing. Robert M. McBride and Company.

*A Plea for Popular Science.* By Edwin E. Slosson. Eilert Printing Company.

SOMETIME in his life, it would seem, every magazine editor becomes surfeited with manuscripts pencil-written on both sides of foolscap sheets, rolled, and tied with a pink ribbon. Then he does one of two things. Either he becomes a hopeless