

Gilbert K. Chesterton Judges the Ladies

"Shall We Make an Epic of Washing Day, or the Needle Mightier Than the Sword?" He Perorates, and Then --- "Anyway, the Quarrel Between Man and Woman Can Never Be Settled Because It Is a Lovers' Quarrel."

By LOUIS H. WETMORE.

"WILL you state the reasons for your opposition to granting the vote to women?"

Mr. Chesterton leaned back heavily in his chair, muttered some indistinct things under his breath, rose, shook himself very much as a huge bear would and replied as follows:

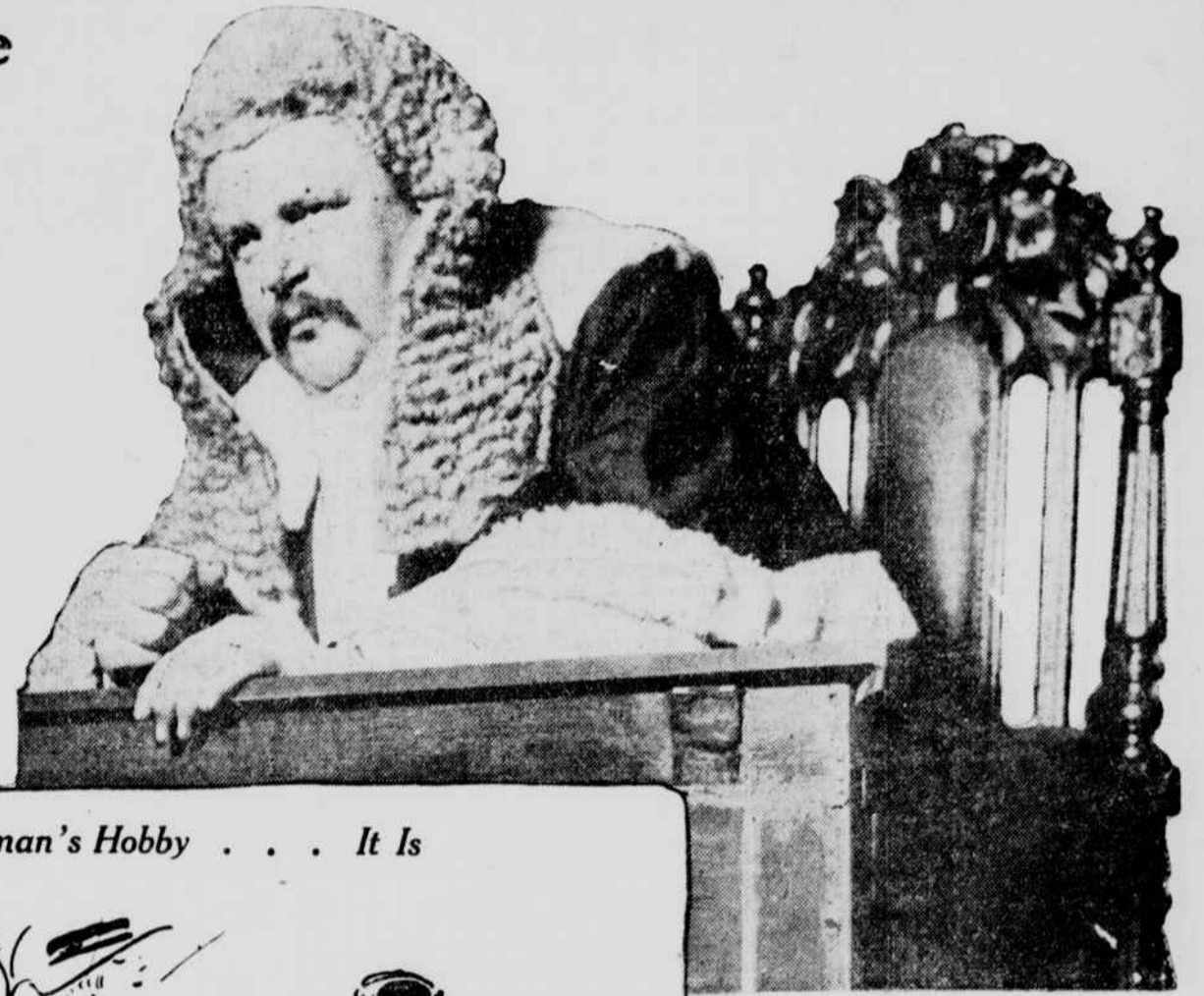
"I suppose it is due to the suffragettes to explain to them why I disagree with them spiritually and intellectually. In answering you I shall also answer a lady whom I know to be both strong-minded and sane (the two

but if I should forget to do so (as is unfortunately quite possible) I can only hope that she may happen to read this interview, which seems extremely unlikely!

"The superficial answer is quite easy and quite sound. It can be put in the cold collectivist formula—there must sooner or later be a class war. The only thing that could possibly stop a class war would be a sex war. A suffragette typewriter might perhaps side with Lady Cowdray because she is in favor of female suffrage. An old-fashioned dockerman might perhaps forgive Mr. Asquith because

stopped at the crossroads by an everlasting procession following an uncomprehended idol. The sex war is at once so much more real and so much more unreal, so much more practical and so much more impossible that the parade of it must prevent the mending of troubles more temporary, but much more intolerable. It really means that we must defer forming any judgment upon Dives and Lazarus until we have heard the judgment upon Adam and Eve—and that will most certainly be the last judgment.

"But in a sense more strictly instant and



The Paradoxical G. K. Passes Sentence: "Votes Are a Farce," "Suffrage Is a Wealthy Woman's Hobby . . . It Is Anti-Democratic Just Now."



do not by any means go together), who has asked me why, since I constantly protested against the humbug of English politics, I do not sympathize with the suffragettes, who have certainly been instruments in exposing that humbug. I hope to answer her letter,

he is against female suffrage. But the quarrel between rich and poor may be settled. The quarrel between man and woman can never be settled, because it is a lovers' quarrel. What therefore confronts us is the spectacle of the mob marching on the Bastille, which is

practical suffragism is anti-democratic just now. The point is one of the very few political points that seem to me almost mathematically demonstrable. Suppose somebody in a story says, 'Find me a four-leaved clover and I can open all the treasures of kings and

possess all the kingdoms of the earth.' Obviously you cannot put in the same story the sentence, 'And these slaves were abased and were as the beasts of the fields, being turned out in a field of four-leaved clover, with no other sustenance and no pleasure in the world.'

A child listening to such a fairy tale would say, 'But if the clover can do that it is the fault of the slaves if they are not kings.' Now it is the whole case for industrial democracy that it is not the fault of the slaves, but the fault of the masters. And when the suffrag-

ettes say, 'Give poor women a vote, and they will alter all these things,' a child could answer, 'Then why cannot poor men alter them?' A SWORD MAYBE.

"Or suppose it were said in a child's story, 'I have burned and broken the houses of harmless men; I have nearly killed my neighbors; I have nearly killed myself, but all this was to obtain a sword, which is a wand that changes the world.' A child could point to another picture in the book showing an emaciated army, without food, without water, without housing or without hope, but each still girt with his idle sword.

"That is the superficial but very business-like answer. At this moment all desire for a vote, all praises of a voter, all loyalty and heroism in the pursuit of a vote, are so many excuses for the capitalist, who gives his slave a vote and nothing else. All sacrifices made for this are unconscious sacrifices to an idol, a golden idol that Nebuchadnezzar the King has set up. First and last the rich man can use his terrible sneer and say: 'And how can I be oppressing your brother, oh my sister, when I grant him that glorious thing for which you are ready to die?' That is the brute logic of the thing; and I have never heard a logical answer to it."

"And that is your answer, your position?" I asked.

"My own position is much more solid than brute logic. In order to state it I must leave all politics and talk of much more lasting

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"Zionism Is Jewish National Efficiency"--Louis Brandeis

By ERNESTINE EVANS.

This New Leader Explains the Impetus of This Restoration Movement, Gives Its Programme and Correlates It with Americanism.

THE hour has struck for a new chapter in the destiny of the Jewish people. For whatever national causes may be won or lost in the great war the Jewish nation, when all is ended and the peace dictated in Berlin or in London or made with whatever compromise or anguish elsewhere, is certain to stand before us restored to some measure of its ancient glory, throbbing again with its old "right to be itself" and equipped with a mechanical leverage for operating against the anti-Semitic fears of the Christian world, never again to be despised.

Zionism became a tremendous thing in American history on the thirtieth day of last August, when the American Jews took over the leadership that the war had made impossible for the general office in Berlin. A provisional executive committee was chosen to sit above the various fraternal and other branches of activity, and Louis Brandeis stood at the head of the committee.

It is some five years since Mr. Brandeis has turned his reading into Zionist channels, and two since he inconspicuously took his place in Zionist ranks. Since last August he has been, in the feeling and in the speech of the Zionist offices down on Twenty-third Street, the modern messiah of Israel's hopes. With him as their leader, they know that things will come to pass. They trust his judgment, they believe in his unflinching devotion to the downtrodden and the preciseness and strength with which he will proceed with the organization and the accomplishment of a living Jewish state.

In his office in Boston, we talked over the assurances of success that lie in the Zionist organization at this date.

"Zionism is the programme of Jewish national efficiency." Then Mr. Brandeis broke off—efficiency, poor word of blood and iron, ill used, bitten on, feared, unblest, because no patient definition has remade it nearer to the heart's desire, was one he rather disliked to use. But he really meant it and explained. "Because," he said, "efficiency does mean for individual and for nation the equipment with

whatever enables the process of self-expression to take place.

"It may be probable that the Jewish people can, for they do, express themselves linguistically in German, Russian, English and many other languages, but it is of the essence of national inheritance that in no other tongue can they so clearly, so eloquently, so precisely speak as in their own Hebrew, the vehicle through the centuries of their peculiarly national cultural contribution.

"Deeply imbedded in every people is the desire for full development—the longing, as Mazzini phrased it, to elaborate and express their idea, to contribute their stone also to the pyramid of history. Nationality, like democracy, has been one of the potent forces making for man's advance during the last hundred years. The assertion of nationality has infused whole peoples with hope, manhood and self-respect. It has ennobled and made purposeful millions of lives. It offered them a future, and in so doing revived and capitalized all that was valuable in their past. The assertion of nationality roused Ireland from the slough of despondency. It roused the southern Slavs to heroic deeds. It created gallant Belgium. It freed Greece. It gave us united Italy."

THE MILITANT VALUE OF SELF-RESPECT.

It is clear to see that Mr. Brandeis is wholly aware of the poetic and militant value of self-respect. When Arthur Schnitzler, in his novel on anti-Semitism, made the point that the Jew's distrust of himself and willingness to take the stupid anti-Semitic valuation to heart was the selling of his birthright, he was right. The Zionist movement is the temple in which every Jew has reclaimed by the fact of his being there all that he has ever had taken away or has given away of his sense of self-respect.

"In the past," says Mr. Brandeis, "it has been generally assumed that the full development of one people necessarily involved its domination over others. That belief is passing,

"Since the destruction of the temple, two thousand years ago, the longing for Palestine has been ever present with the Jew. It was the hope of a return to the land of his fathers that buoyed up the Jew amidst persecution and for the realization of which the devout ever prayed. Until a generation ago this was a hope merely—a wish piously prayed for, but not worked for.

"The Zionist movement is idealistic, but it is also essentially practical. It seeks to realize that hope; to make the dream of a Jewish life in a Jewish land come true, as other great dreams of the world have come true—by men working with devotion, intelligence and self-sacrifice.

"And now is most definitely the time when work will bring its accomplishment. Already enough work has been done to indicate the future of Palestine."

The old wet-blanket manner of speaking about Zionism has been the portion before of propositions that had not the immediate earmarks of patent success. Was not Palestine a barren land—did not the postcards sent by Jews and Christian pilgrims, scattered broadcast over the very world that was invited to make it again a land dripping with milk and honey, show it a veritable desert of stone crusted with a powdered dust as desolate as salt?

ZIONISM IS PRACTICAL.

But thirty years of fact gathering by the scientific agriculturists of Germany and America chiefly, most of them Jews, has told a different story, and if the mysticism of Zionism does at this date begin to have the practicality of definite, written and not rainbow promise, it is because of the work done, say, by the Agricultural Experiment Station underwritten by Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, and operated by a genius recognized by our own Department of Agriculture, Aaron Aaronsohn, and the steady and unremitting work of the Jewish farmers who have gone there.

Furthermore, not one sign, but twenty, point to the centring of a number of economic forces in Palestine. The country not only draws benefit from the agricultural research done by their own experiment station, but the same work as undertaken in Southern California and in Tunis. The country has already become a wine exporting place. A million trees have been planted in the last twenty years, part of a tremendous re-forestation project. And not even the Swiss have more talent than the Jews for organization and making the most of the constantly growing tourist trade of the country—tourists who support art industries, traffic projects and hotels. The stream that once flowed westward has eddied and whirled to the sparsely populated regions of Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia. The ownership of Asia Minor is a thing golden enough in prospect to embroil all Europe, and it is into the changing fortunes of that part of the world that Jewish emigration directs itself. Native historically to its valleys, the Jewish population of the Turkish Empire has always shown itself, as no other nation has, capable of living amiably with the Moslem.

WAR CHANGES THE SITUATION.

The war has necessarily made differences in the feeling of the past, and though Turkish hopes are high it has not been pleasant for the authorities to hear Asquith promising the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and proposing the establishment of a buffer Jewish democracy under English protection. It has been suggestive of suspicions to hear the Czar stipulating the reward of a Promised Land to his Beloved Jews and urging his Jewish regiments against the Dardanelles with Palestine as the reward. It has irritated the military governor of Palestine to hear of the expelled Russian Jews forming an English regiment at Alexandria, and the Jews seemingly ranged not for themselves, but on the side of the Allies, and so it happens that the irrigation pipes of the German and Austrian vine

growers have ruthlessly been torn up for military purposes and years of the hard work of the Zion makers has been lost.

The war, too, has made the Jewish population poor, and not so easily called on by the tax gatherer. Export has been stopped almost completely. A single Italian line was for months all that kept the Holy Land from complete isolation. Even those boats have now stopped. And over all has stood the misfortune of the worst pest of the locusts that the land has ever known.

But nothing—no present misfortune nor complication—touches the enthusiasm with which Mr. Brandeis speaks of the return of his people to active nationality.

HEBREW REVIVED AS NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

"Material development in Palestine," he says, "has been attended by a spiritual and social development no less extraordinary than the material development in education, in health, in social order and in the character and habits of the population.

"Perhaps the most extraordinary achievement of Jewish nationalism is the revival of the Hebrew language, which has again become the language of the common intercourse of men. The Hebrew tongue, called a dead language for nearly two thousand years, has in the Jewish colonies and in Jerusalem become again the living mother tongue. The effect of the common language in unifying the Jews is great; for the Jews of Palestine came literally from all the lands of the earth, each speaking, except for a little Yiddish, the language of the country from which he came, and remaining in the main almost a stranger to the others.

"But the effect of the renaissance of the Hebrew tongue is far greater than that of unifying the Jews. It is a potent factor in reviving the essentially Jewish spirit. It was a bold dream to plan the foundation of a new Jewish state in Palestine by giving a common lan-

guage to the natives of so many lands, especially when the language had not only to be revived, but adapted to modern use.

"Yet this has actually been accomplished in a single generation, and the man who took the first practical step, Eliezer Ben Jehuda, will have a place in history.

"Mr. Ben Jehuda is at the present moment in New York, completing his great work which he began in 1880.

"The Jewish problem is this: How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights as those enjoyed by non-Jews? How can we secure for the world the full contribution that the Jews can make if unhampered by artificial limitations?

"There are two sides to the problem, that of the individual Jew and that of the Jews collectively. Obviously, no individual should be subjected to a denial of any common right or opportunity enjoyed by non-Jews anywhere by reason of the fact that he is a Jew. The Jews collectively should enjoy the same rights to grow and develop as do other groups of people, and, standing upon the broad foundation of nationality, Zionism aims to give them full development.

"Zionism is not a movement to remove all the Jews in the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place, there are 14,000,000 Jews, and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-fifth of that number. In the second place, the movement is not one to compel any one to go to Palestine.

"The burden has fallen on America to maintain the Zionist movement, now so promising after so many years of travail, while the leaders of the governing committee, most of them men of the nations at war, are not free to work.

"There are special reasons why the Jews in America will fully perform their obligation, for Palestine gives promise of doing more for the American Jew than he can ever do for Palestine; for the Jewish renaissance in Palestine will help us to make for the attainment of American ideals of democracy and social justice, that large contribution for which religion and life have peculiarly fitted the Jew."