THE SCHOLAR AND PUBLIC POLICY: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE THOUGHT OF PAUL S. REINSCH

by

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INTRODUCTION

THE SCHOLAR AND PUBLIC POLICY

The concept of the "ivory tower" is one which has commonly been identified with intellectuals, whether of the artistic or of the scholarly bent. Yet, when one examines certain periods of American history one discovers that they are noteworthy for a union between intellectuals, politicians, and the public. Andrew Jackson relied heavily on literary men, especially newspapermen, for advice. Robert LaFollette turned to the professors at the University of Wisconsin for assistance in drafting legislation and administering it. Franklin D. Roosevelt's "brain trust" of the New Deal period is famous.

This paper will deal with Paul S. Reinsch, one of the scholars associated with LaFollette and the Wisconsin Idea. It will explore the nature of his relationship to public policy and to the spirit of his times. But before considering his ideas and activities, it is useful to examine recent discussions of certain issues which surround the intellectual, especially those centering in the concept of the "ivory tower."
Some writers differentiate intellectuals from other people merely by their association with activities of the symbolic world, including art, science, and religion. Others describe qualities of the intellectual's mind. J. F. Welpert writes that their critical attitude toward the knowledge with which they work elevates that knowledge to the plane of ideas tending toward universality. Karl W. Deutsch specifies that intellectuals, having a variety of interests, consider abstract symbols and ideas in relation to a number of subjects outside their area of specialization. Richard Hofstadter describes the intellectual's "piety," his instinctive feeling that ideas and abstractions supersede all else in human life, and his "playfulness," the pure enjoyment of the use of his mind in search of new truths. Hofstadter maintains that these two elements are balanced to give intellectual life a "certain spontaneous

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character and inner determination. Each of these descriptions adds to our understanding of the concept of the intellectual, but Merle Curti's definition in *American Paradox* seems most appropriate for this paper:

Intellectuals may be regarded as those men and women whose main interest is the advancement of knowledge or the clarification of cultural issues and public problems.\(^5\)

The term "public policy" may have a number of implications. It may be as narrow as decision-making by a government official. But viewing our society as one in which, ideally, "the structure of the government gives force to public opinion,"\(^7\) public policy would include all policy affecting the legislative, administrative, and judicial operations of the government, and the relations of these operations to the public mind which theoretically directs them. Hofstadter points out that intellectuals influence the public mind as they perform either the role of expert or that of ideologue. Both roles are included in the scope of this paper.

Given the assumptions, then, that the intellectuals are a group with distinguishable traits, and that they can

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\(^{5}\) Ibid., p. 27.


have an effect of some kind, the next consideration becomes what functions they are to perform for society. Several writers indicate these functions are multiple. H. Stuart Hughes says that intellectuals are the "ideological bulwark of society" and its "utopian critics." Morton G. White claims that their tasks are to "pursue truth, expose sham and injustice, seek ways of avoiding the destruction of the world, help make it as sane and happy as it can be." Merle Curti says they are to criticize, experiment, and try to bridge the different cultures of the world through understanding. Several writers have pointed out the need to follow truth to its ultimate conclusion.

Edward A. Shils provides insight into the implications of this relentless pursuit of truth.

Intellectual work arose from religious preoccupations. In the early history of the human race, it tended, in its concern with the ultimate or at least with what lies beyond the immediate concrete experience, to think with religious symbols. It continues to share with genuine religious experience the fascination with the sacred or the ultimate ground of thought and experience, and the aspiration to enter into intimate contact with it. In secular intellectual work, this involves the search for the truth, for the principles embedded in events and actions or for the establishment of a relationship between

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the self and the essential, whether the relationship be cognitive, appreciative, or expressive. The tradition of awesome respect and of serious striving for contact with the sacred, is perhaps the first, the most comprehensive and the most important of all the traditions of the intellectuals.  

Shils goes on to say that the intellectual who engages in such activity develops a self-esteem natural to those who carry on important endeavors. Describing the historical evolution of intellectual activity, Shils points out that as intellectuals assumed secular work, a tension developed between them and religious authority. In addition, their self-esteem and the tradition of awesome respect produced tension with secular authorities. Intellectuals gradually grew distrustful of ecclesiastical and secular authority, which attitude was extended to familial and communal authority as well as to tradition as such. This distrust of authority is, for Shils, the second important characteristic of intellectuals.

If, then, one tradition of intellectual activity is distrust of authority, it would appear strange that during periods of our history, notably Jackson's administration, the Progressive Era in Wisconsin, the New Deal period, and the Kennedy administration, intellectuals have associated themselves not only with the authority, but also with the

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power of government. And it is at this point, the association of intellectuals with power, that contemporary theorizers leave the field of plurality of opinion and enter the grounds of outright controversy.

Some writers have questioned whether intellectuals, as such, can successfully occupy positions of power. Both sides of the relationship — the effect on the intellectual and that on the resulting policy — have been questioned, but at this point, only the question of its effect on the intellectual will be discussed. H. Stuart Hughes, in describing the New Deal intellectuals, asserts that when they entered government service, they ceased to act as intellectuals and became "mental technicians." Their tasks no longer involved an unending search for truth, but were specific assigned jobs. Consequently they lost independence. He wrote that the intellectual who left the government after 1945 realized that "without his freedom to speculate at will, ...the intellectual could function only haltingly." Loren Baritz shares this belief. He points out that the social responsibility associated with power may require

12 Discussions of the historical relationship between intellectuals and positions of power in the United States are found in Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life and Curti, American Paradox.

13 Hughes, p. 165.

14 Ibid.
that a conclusion be rejected, not because it is illogical or ugly, but for some other reason; the intellectual forced to make this decision has become a "captive of relevance."15

Hughes and others call attention to other problems that arise when intellectuals assume power. Hughes says that the Bay of Pigs invasion presented to the intellectuals associated with the Kennedy administration a choice between individual conscience and duty to the state, a choice which he claims comes at some time to all scholars in government. David Riesman comments that in modern days, despite the need for expressions of dissatisfaction with the direction of society, many of his friends are too close to power to assume an attitude like that of the Sane Nuclear Power group, "which is 'unrealistic,' or, if not pro-Soviet, neutralist and anti-American."16

This question of whether the intellectual can function in his characteristic way when he assumes power is one facet of a broader issue which has evoked a considerable amount of discussion within the intellectual community. To what extent must the intellectual be alienated from society to be able to contribute the benefits of his talents? In discussing alienation, we do not refer to a position

16 David Riesman, commentary on Lipset, Daedalus, 88 (Summer, 1959), p. 492.
thrust upon an individual by society, but rather to a choice
made by the individual himself. At one extreme is Loren
Baritz, who elaborates his position that intellectuals can-
not operate in association with power into a contention that
intellectuals must operate only from the "ivory tower,"
which ensures them isolation, "social irresponsibility,"
"irrelevancy," and "freedom." He asserts that "distance
from, or continuous criticism of America is, for now, es-

tenential to the intellectual, and — indirectly, uninten-
tionally, dialectically — to America." He admits that
there are times when an intellectual may feel that the
dangers to human freedom exceed those to intellectual
freedom, but warns that, in deciding, the intellectual
must realize the consequences. There may be times when
an intellectual has to break his heart to save his head.
Although much of Baritz's position is related specifically
to the post-World War II situation, it reflects one side
of a timeless aspect of the problem of this paper.

Hofstadter disagrees with Baritz strongly. In "A
Note on Intellect and Power," he suggests that Baritz mis-
takenly sees a conflict between intellectual and social
responsibility; he posits the feasible application of a body

17 Baritz, p. 50.
18 Ibid., p. 51.
19 Ibid., p. 52.
of ideas as one test of intellectual responsibility. In

Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, he analyzes the im-
plications of such a strong position in favor of alienation.

The point here is that alienation in the intellec-
tual is not simply accepted, as a necessary con-
sequence of the pursuit of truth or of some artistic
vision, but that a negative stance or posture toward
society is prescribed as the only stance productive
of artistic creativity or social insight or moral
probity. The argument does not rest upon the idea
that the intellectual has a primary responsibility
to truth or to his creative vision, and that he must
be prepared to follow them even when they put him
quite at odds with his society. It is rather that
he must begin with a primary responsibility to re-
pudiate — in Professor Baritz's terms — his so-
ciety. His alienation is not seen as a risk he must
have the integrity to run, but as an obligation
which preconditions all his other obligations.\(^{20}\)

Morton G. White argues that philosophers who decide
to examine social, political, or moral problems will be
better able to analyze them if they are informed of the
facts in the direct, personal way that comes from active
participation in affairs.\(^{21}\) He points out that in the past
some intellectuals, like Locke and Bentham, spoke out on
practical problems at the same time they wrote about philo-
sophical questions. Moreover, they continually looked for
the practical consequences of their analyses and by doing
this they became intellectual leaders of their age. White
proposes that there are three types of intellectuals, the
"freely speculating mind," the "mental technician," and the

\(^{20}\) Hofstadter, pp. 419-20.

\(^{21}\) White, pp. 2-13.
"free practical mind." He stresses the value of this last type whose interest and participation in political affairs does not prevent him from exercising his right to criticize the means or ends of the group with which he works.

This suggests that alienation may be a state of mind as much as a structural relation to society. Riesman comments that his friends who were hesitant about Sane Nuclear Power "did not feel alienated enough" to associate with protest. 22 David Bell speaks of the "attitude of alienation," which is one of "criticism, skepticism, acknowledging a relationship while being detached." 23 In this sense, even the President could be alienated.

We thus have a number of issues raised regarding the relationship of the intellectual to public policy. One concerns the nature of his function. Another is the question of whether he can successfully occupy a position of power. A third issue concerns the degree of alienation from society he must maintain. It may prove beneficial to examine a specific historical instance of a definite connection between an intellectual and public policy in light of the above issues. We would hope that consideration of the issues would improve our ability to understand the situation, and that the situation might illumine certain elements of the basic issues.

22Riesman, p. 492.
23David Bell, commentary on Lipset, Daedalus, 88 (Summer, 1959), p. 497.
II

In 1912, Charles McCarthey entitled his book describing the legislative program in Wisconsin, *The Wisconsin Idea*. That title has since been permanently bestowed on this state movement which was characterized by social, economic, and political reform. Two impulses stimulated the Wisconsin Idea. One, as McCarthey phrased it, was that the state should be "the Efficiency Expert" for itself, intervening actively to "protect the week against the strong," guide society's development, and "[teach] the man." The other was the desire for "application of knowledge to affairs." These impulses can be detected in the major activities associated with the Idea: the use of university experts in the drafting and administering of legislation designed to promote social and economic welfare, and the extension of university education facilities throughout the state by means of lectures and correspondence courses.

The Wisconsin Idea first became operative during the years 1900-1914, when the "progressive" element of the Republican Party controlled the state's government. This period was marked by a considerable interchange of personnel between the university faculty and the departments

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of state government. This interchange was the result of joint cooperation by state and university leaders.

Many of these leaders, notably Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles R. Van Hise, and Robert M. LaFollette had studied at the University of Wisconsin under John Bascom. From Bascom, they had acquired a sense of responsibility to use the education which the state had given them for the welfare of society. LaFollette wrote that Bascom "was forever telling us what the state was doing for us and urging our return obligation not to use our education wholly for our own selfish benefit, but to return some service to the state." 27

The university imported men who felt the same way, one of whom was Richard T. Ely.

Dr. Ely came to the University of Wisconsin during President Chamberlain's administration, but Professor Turner was responsible for this appointment, and Professor Ely was responsible for the appointment of John R. Commons. Thus two lines of development emerged with John Bascom as the starting point.... Turner, Ely, and Commons, were, with Van Hise, the originators and promoters of a close university-

26 Howard McMurray, "Some Influences of the University of Wisconsin on the State Government of Wisconsin," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1940), pp. 5-64. For a discussion of the University implementation of the Wisconsin Idea, see Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin (2 vols., Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), II.

state relationship from the university end of State Street. And Robert M. LaFollette as governor of Wisconsin made possible this relationship because of common background, aims, and ideals.\textsuperscript{28}

In reporting the appointment of Richard T. Ely to the University of Wisconsin faculty in 1892, The Review of Reviews pointed out that Ely's methods apply the spirit of practical laboratory work to the study of political science...[and] will fit well into Madison's location as state capital.... In diverse ways the school can be made a kind of civil academy, utilizing on the one hand the public office for the benefit and training of its students, and upon the other hand supplying improved methods in scientific knowledge for the advantage of public office, besides training men who from time to time may be appointed to posts requiring special skills and knowledge.\textsuperscript{29}

By 1912, the prediction had come true, and the cluster of activities associated with the Wisconsin Idea had been publicized nationally. Generally, these activities were praised for their useful service to the state. But there were some people who expressed reservations. J. F. A. Pyre in his history of the University stated that at times the idea of service has been applied to the glorification of materialistic pursuits with such an emphasis as to imply that there is something amateurish about the disinterested pursuit of knowledge or of culture.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{28} McMurray, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{29} (author not given), "Wisconsin's School of Economics and Politics," The Review of Reviews, V (March, 1892), p. 164.

He suggested that in the University's enthusiasm for serving the state, it may have overlooked service in the area of art, morals, or theoretical science, service that has a less direct practical application but a higher cultural value than the more utilitarian type. "It will be seen that the issue here must inevitably be one of degree, of emphasis; and the question arises...whether Wisconsin was not quite distinctly yielding to the spirit of the times in challenging the attention of the people so forcibly upon the plane of their material interests and 'selfish solicitudes.' It may well be inquired how far so flattering a reflection of the spirit of the times is harmonious with the high spirit of intellectual leadership which we have the right to expect in a university." 31 Thus, in reference to the Wisconsin scholars and public policy, it has been suggested that they manifested a bias in favor of that intellectual activity which investigates practical affairs at the expense of more general cultural pursuits.

III

Historians who have written about the Wisconsin Idea have focused their attention on the most prominent participants. Yet, in the literature one also finds passing

reference to other scholars who cooperated with the progressives, men like B. H. Meyer, T. S. Adams, W. A. Scott, and Paul S. Reinsch.

Paul S. Reinsch was recognized internationally as an authority on political science, and later served as United States Minister to China during World War I. Three aspects of his career at the University of Wisconsin are relevant to his position as a scholar in public policy. First, we will examine the nature of his participation in the Wisconsin Idea. Then we will review his attitudes toward political science and education. Finally, we will cover his work on international relations. Bearing in mind that he operated as both an expert and an ideologue, we will investigate the functions he fulfilled, his attitudes toward the role of the intellectual in public life, and his conception of the relationship between practical life and cultural affairs.
CHAPTER ONE

PAUL S. REINSCH AND THE WISCONSIN IDFA

The progressive movement in Wisconsin during the LaFollette era demonstrates the close relationship between political and educational reform. "The State welcomes the ever increasing tendency to make the university minister in a direct and practical way to the material interest of the state," invited LaFollette. "The work of Professors Ely, Commons, Gilmore, Reinsch, and others — not only their contribution to the actual business of government but the larger influence of their teaching — was the University's response."

Reinsch's observable contribution to the "actual business of government" was slight. He never served on a commission; he never drafted a bill. But he was a highly respected scholar; and he attended many of those informal gatherings of state and university men, which were such a

2 Quoted in Ibid.
3 Ibid.
major element in the interchange of ideas between Capital Square and Bascom Hill.  

Consequently, this chapter will survey briefly the channels of communication which developed between university men and state officials. It will discuss the nature of Reinsch's participation in them, and the ideas he expressed on the issues confronting democratic government. The unofficial channels of communication included social organizations and personal conferences. Other channels involved regular government agencies like the Extension Division, the Legislative Reference Library, and the various commissions.

Several social clubs which operated in Madison during these years included university scholars, state judicial, legislative and executive personnel, and civic professional men. At regular intervals they met for the former presentation and discussion of papers on subjects of current interest. The most famous was the Saturday Lunch Club. Organized on January 14, 1911, this club consisted of ninety of the most eminent Madisonians from all walks of life. 

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4 Elizabeth Brandeis, Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, pointed out that an important element of this interchange was its informality in a personal interview with the author, October, 1963.


6 Program of the Saturday Lunch Club, File Box 94, W. H. Lighty Papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society.
An examination of the topics presented by members discloses the subjects that were preoccupying Wisconsin progressives during the period: "The Conservation of Minerals and Water-power of Wisconsin;" "The Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall;" "Some Elements in the Progressive Movement;" "The Republican Party, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, or the Independent Voter, the Hope of Wisconsin."

One concern of the club was the place of the expert in public service. When Senator LaFollette was a guest on January 28, 1911, he spoke on the value of the contributions of the experts from the university. On April 15, 1911, Theodore Roosevelt, as the club's guest, also praised this use of university experts.

Another unofficial activity which tied the University to the state was the informal use of university professors as advisers to the state executives. LaFollette consulted such political scientists and economists as Ely, Scott, Meyer, and Commons, obtaining from them theories, information, and practical ideas. LaFollette remarked, "Such meetings as these are a tremendous force in bringing about intelligent democratic government."

One of the institutional vehicles for the transmission of ideas was the University Extension Division. The

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7 Johnston, p. 15.
8 LaFollette, Autobiography, p. 32.
men who built this department felt that the University should serve all the state residents, not only those who could attend school in Madison. The University had sponsored extension work by its regular faculty well before 1900, but in 1905, the regents adopted a new approach by providing special appropriations and a separate faculty for the Extension Division. The new system included correspondence courses and lectures given throughout the state by extension faculty. Centers for extension work were set up in Milwaukee, Oshkosh, and LaCrosse.

Another permanent institution that facilitated the exchange of ideas was the Legislative Reference Library. This library grew out of a concern that legislators were confronted with complex economic and social problems requiring technical knowledge for satisfactory solutions. The Legislative Reference Library was set up to collect information which the legislators could apply in their deliberations. The library had three functions. For purposes of comparison, it gathered from the United States and abroad, all laws and cases relevant to a proposed piece of legislation. For

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purposes of criticism, it collected commentary on the working of such laws from personal letters and printed material. For purposes of construction, expert lawyers on the library staff drafted bills for legislative consideration. Although the library was an organ of the legislature, the University participated in two ways. The professors made available their knowledge in history, law, economics, chemistry, mechanics, agriculture, and other fields. Graduate students did research for the library and thus learned the techniques of research and compilation of material. Charles McCarthy, the chief of this library, who is given credit for making it effective, also served as a lecturer on the University faculty.

Officially, the University also transmitted ideas and information to the state by furnishing experts to serve on commissions created to carry out the policies determined by the legislature. In an appendix to The Wisconsin Idea, McCarthy listed forty-six men who served both the University and the state in 1910 and 1911. Of these, sixteen received compensation from both the University and state; twenty-six received compensation from the University but not from the

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12 McCarthy, pp. 172-99. McMurray, pp. 54-60, listed one hundred and ten people who had served both state and university from 1905-1940, not including those named by McCarthy. Even this list is incomplete.

13 McCarthy, pp. 313-17.
state; four received compensation from the state but not from the University.

Although opponents of the progressives criticized these activities by asserting that the University ran the state, the defenders insisted that the University was not in politics, but that it merely provided government with "stimulating and steadying" facts. Underlying these activities were an ideal of service to the state and a feeling of unanimity between the scholars and the public.

But deeper than any such *quid pro quo* motives lies a common motive to public service and the recognition of common rather than devisive aims, bringing about a genuine approach to that cooperation of the men who do and the men who think, which is of such great importance for the proper solution of any social problem.

We have seen that close relations between the University and the state were maintained through five channels, the social clubs, the conference, the Extension Division, the Legislative Reference Library, and the expert commissions, and that these channels were the result of a desire that the University serve the state by providing its knowledge for the solution of social problems. Paul S. Reinsch not only contributed directly through four of these channels, but his writings constantly reiterate his belief that expert

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knowledge is essential to the solution of social problems. Reinsch's attitude toward the Wisconsin Idea is revealed in the following commentary he wrote for the 1923 Wisconsin Badger.

Wherever I have gone in later life, I have been helped by the inspiration of the new life of a great commonwealth which became conscious of itself in those last years of the nineties. The broadening view of human relationships, the idea of the State as a big family, the devotion of the best talent therein to work for the general good, the testing of all rights by their just subservience to human welfare, these aims so clearly expressed in the Wisconsin Idea, helped me beyond words in facing the difficulties and responsibilities of an arduous time.

In the early 1890's Reinsch was one of a number of young men who studied at the University in the atmosphere created by Ely, Commons, Van Hise, and Turner. He and a group of friends, Francis McGovern, Joseph E. Davies, Henry Cochems, and Thomas Kronshage, called themselves "the five." McGovern later became governor of Wisconsin in 1911 and his administration produced some of the most outstanding legislation associated with the Wisconsin Idea and the progressive movement, including workmen's compensation, regulation of child and women's labor, encouragement of cooperatives,

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17 Horatio B. Hawkins, graduate student and brother-in-law of Paul S. Reinsch, personal interview with the author at the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, November 2, 1963.
and curtailment of corrupt political practices. Kronshage was to become editor of the Milwaukee Free Press, and "prominently identified politically with the LaFollettes and the Progressive movement in Wisconsin." Joseph E. Davies was a United States Ambassador to Russia. Henry Cochems was active in Wisconsin Republican party politics, nominating LaFollette for governor and for president. As Delta Upsilon fraternity brothers, as law students, professional men, and business associates these men maintained life-long friendships. Although they were not always in complete accord on political issues, the "general feeling of them was progressive."21

After graduating from the University, Reinsch practiced law in Milwaukee. But he was so impressed with the work of Ely and Charles Kendall Adams, president of the University, that he returned to Madison in 1895 to study for a Ph.D. in political science. Upon receiving his degree

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21 Hawkins, interview.
he became a member of the faculty. The following newspaper item indicates that he was looked upon as part of the movement in Wisconsin government.

Rather more than ordinary interest clusters about this young Wisconsin scholar...for he is a leader in the movement to effect a direct coupling between higher education and the world's work. The political science department of Wisconsin University to which he belongs is accredited with making that institution the leader among state universities in this work. When Wisconsin has a particularly important piece of work to do in law framing or administration she is in the habit of calling upon some of the scholars of her state university who have fitted themselves with special knowledge of the field to be covered....Professor Reinsch was called upon by the federal government to serve as a delegate to the Pan-American Congress in 1906. As our governments increase in complexity it becomes more and more necessary to commit the details of legislation and administration to specially trained men. It is encouraging to find the state universities arranging to furnish the men, and the public ready to make use of them.\(^{22}\)

Reinsch was a member of several social clubs, including the Saturday Lunch Club, before which he participated in a discussion of "Abraham Lincoln, the Progressive."\(^{23}\) LaFollette mentioned him as one of the scholars with whom he consulted. In 1911, Secretary Knox wrote to Reinsch asking him to encourage LaFollette to support the administration position regarding the Honduras Convention, saying:


\(^{23}\) Program of the Saturday Lunch Club.
"Having always understood that your views carry much weight with the Senator, I am asking your thoughtful attention..."24

In addition to his participation in the social organizations and his personal relationships with LaFollette, McGovern, and other progressive leaders, Reinsch shared in University activities to educate the general public, by lecturing and by writing. His first job with the University was as an extension lecturer on history and political science in German and English. Throughout his career at the University he gave numerous lectures in various cities in the state for the Extension Division. He often referred to himself as a "publicist." In 1900, Macmillan published a new series called "The Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology." The purpose of this series was to provide accurate information on issues in these fields by specialists on a level that the general public could understand. Reinsch published three books in this series: World Politics, Colonial Government, and Colonial Administration.

Yet, despite his personal ties, and his interest in public education, Reinsch's participation as a direct force

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24 Secretary Knox, Washington, 3 May 1911, letter to Paul S. Reinsch, Madison, Box 2, Reinsch papers.

25 Hawkins, interview.

in the Wisconsin Idea was less overt than that of Ely, Commons, or even Turner. Two factors account for this. As a political scientist, his main interest was world affairs. Moreover, he conceived his role as that of the observer of politics and its workings, as that of the recorder of governmental procedure, its methods and rationale. He felt that to have participated more directly might have impaired the value of his observations and comparisons. There was danger that his ability to see affairs clearly would be obscured by getting too close to the action. Horatio Hawkins, his student and brother-in-law stated,

> Without any indication of personal bias, he was usually ready to discuss political affairs, and to give due weight to the strong points of each side, to indicate their weaknesses, to show whence they had come and where they were heading, and how they compared and contrasted with the men and movements and measures of other times and places. Paul did advocate progressive ideals and achievements in government, but he advocated them in his own fair, impartial way, carefully avoiding any partisanship, that might weaken his own position as an observer and a judge.

Significantly, however, the book that became the product of his observations was a direct result of Reinsch's relationship with Charles McCarthy and the Legislative Reference Library. As a student McCarthy took four courses

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27 Hawkins, interview.

28 Hawkins, St. Helena, California, letter, 3 July 1964, to the author.
from Reinsch. Later, when McCarthy was head of the Legislative Reference Library, Reinsch encouraged McCarthy and gave publicity to his work.29 In his teaching, Reinsch cooperated with McCarthy, who wrote the following to J. Franklin Jameson in 1904:

I have started a scheme here in the University.... Prof. Reinsch is to give a class in Comp. Legislation next semester. I am to provide indexes of laws and an expert indexer and the class is to take up one subject and follow it through. In this manner the University will be the center of the study of that subject for the whole country. We would take up for instance, the subject of Contributory Negligence and get all the laws, cases, information of all kinds upon this subject from all states and for all countries. When that is done we will then study the conditions in Wisconsin and adapt this work to our state. We will make a bill and have some one present it in the legislature and we will defend it before the committee and fight for it for all we are worth. In this manner the class will get a good dose of the practical side of legislation. I will engineer the matter so that no one will be hurt or offended in the legislature.30

One result of this cooperation was Reinsch's book American Legislatures and Legislative Methods, published in 1907.31 The book was a critical examination of the procedures followed by legislatures, and the forces that influenced them.

29 Hawkins, interview. For an example of such publicity, see Paul S. Reinsch, American Legislatures and Legislative Methods (New York: The Century Company, 1907), pp. 295-97.


31 Hawkins, interview.
In a spirit akin to that of much of the muck-raking literature of the period, the book was permeated with the attitude that documentation of the facts would rouse the people from their apathy and encourage them to correct the evils in government.  

The reviews suggest that it was received in this spirit also. Many of them called attention to the chapter on "The Perversion of Legislative Action," which described the operations of the legislative lobby and state political machines. The New York Commercial reviewer commented, "What he tells us of legislative 'perversion' — the tale of the lobby and 'ripper' legislation — is not new to men who read newspapers, but it is forcibly put." 

The American Law Review stated,

It is a sad commentary on our political life as he portrays it that as the reader turns page after page it is only to find one sordid betrayal of trust following another. The time comes when he dreads to know more and is tempted to put down the book.

The book received favorable reviews and little criticism. Several reviewers remarked on its value for reformers.


33 New York Commercial (7 March 1907). Vol. 8, Reinsch papers.

34 The American Law Review. Vol. 8, Reinsch papers.
The Milwaukee Free Press called it a "text book which should be in the hands of legislators." 35 Samuel McCune Lindsay, in Charities, wrote that it was "of more than ordinary usefulness and interest to social workers." 36

Through its documentation of the facts, the book contributed to the greater reform movement of the progressive era. Through his participation as adviser, teacher, friend and supporter of the Wisconsin progressives, and as author, Reinsch can supplement our understanding of the intellectual climate of this period.

II

To one who was as firmly committed to the idea of the progressive evolution of society as was Reinsch, any improvement must inevitably grow out of the past. 37 Thus a major purpose of his observations was to determine the direction that evolution was taking. 38 Two tendencies are prominent in his writings. One was the adjustment of nineteenth century liberalism and representative government to

36 Charities (6 April 1907). Vol. 8, Reinsch papers.
37 For a statement of Reinsch's belief in progressive evolution, see American Legislatures and Legislative Methods, p. vi.
38 "The Method of Political Science," typed outline, Box 17, Reinsch papers.
democratic theory. The other was the impact on society of the staggering economic development of the country.

The nineteenth century, according to Reinsch, had been dominated by the political spirit of liberalism, which held that the nation was to be governed by reason, as applied in discussions of representatives of the people in Parliament. Liberalism's chief concern was to create a perfect governmental structure, which would give power to reason and would prevent the domination of the masses, who were feared as being unreasoning. The assumption was that if the correct structure were achieved, the correct actions would be taken by the state.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the principle of democracy had spread to many areas of the world.

So strong is the impulse to base public action on the broad basis of an electorate comprising all classes of the people that a state in the modern stage of development, the national state, instinctively tends in that direction. That indicates the strength of the principle....That does not say that in all these cases a truly democratic rule has been established but it shows that the principle of democratic organization is so strong that it has to be recognized, even by those powers organized in the most despotic manner, like Russia.

At the same time that this democratic spirit was spreading, liberal parliamentary organs throughout the world were being criticized. Reinsch attributed this "apparent

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39 "The Philosophy of the State," Box 14, Reinsch papers, p. 3.
failure of parliamentary institutions to fulfil the promise of a complete and satisfactory development of popular rights in a democratic state" to the failure of the parliaments to adjust their representation to the ideal of the whole society. 40 These liberal parliaments, he claimed, were composed of the middle class, whose policy and statesmanship contained a certain weakness and narrowness which prevented it from representing either the whole people or the whole public interest.

Society had lost confidence not only in parliamentary representation, but also in structure, for even when the structure of government had been altered, the happiness of the people was not assured; poverty and unpleasant social conditions continued to abound. So, in an effort to improve the situation, political parties of the masses had been formed to give the people a direct influence in government. This involved abandoning the idea that representatives would act for the best interest of the general public; it had been assumed rather that the public must force action for its own benefit.

Reinsch claimed that the reform acts, the initiative, the recall, and the referendum, represented the assertion of democratic premises over liberal doctrine. These acts were

40 "The Legislative Function," Box 14, Reinsch papers, page labeled 3, 4, 5.
expressions of a desire to give the electorate a greater direct part in public affairs. They embodied the democratic view that the public official is a delegate of the electorate who must follow his instructions closely. The nineteenth century liberal view, on the other hand, had assumed that the public official was a representative who had the right to exercise his discretion.

The impact of democratic philosophy on liberal traditions, therefore, had brought an attack on liberal views of government and disillusionment with the liberal parliament. Reinsch described this as a worldwide movement; his approach on this matter illustrates the world view that permeated his thought. Actually, he argued, traditional liberalism was persisting longer in the United States than elsewhere.

He described the other direction of evolutionary development, however, solely in terms of the United States. This was the phenomenal development of economic resources, with an accompanying concentration of economic power and the reshuffling of economic and social forces. Reinsch pointed out that, despite the theoretical representation of the entire population in our government, men with narrow economic interests had acquired "an absolute control of political action." 41 As the economic development of the

41 American Legislatures and Legislative Methods, p. 228.
country had advanced in the nineteenth century, the most competent men had entered business and political positions had been filled by inferior men. The Civil War had intensified these tendencies and produced an era of unrestrained individualism, in which the desire for personal success had virtually monopolized decisions, excluding considerations of public rights and the general welfare.

Soon, Reinsch argued, some of these competitors, initially the railroads, had realized that it was possible to secure unlimited economic privilege through those public institutions, the state legislatures, which were being ignored by the public. Originally, corruption had been practiced in a very unsophisticated manner, he said, but over time, the interests had evolved intricate lobbies to work for them. As consolidation had replaced competition in the economic world, so also group coercion had superseded individual practices of corruption. He described the most sophisticated stage as being that one in which one interest got enough control to be able to restrict others and induce in them a spirit of mutual adjustment. American Legislatures and Legislative Methods described the various methods by which private interests permeated state politics and formed "machines." It is explained how, once a machine organized a system in a state, it could control the entire course of legislation.
Under these circumstances, Reinsch argued, the quality of statesmen had declined. The departure from traditional standards, he said, had been particularly acute in the Senate, where an increasing number of Senators were "simply shrewd players of the intricate game of local politics... who have introduced commercial ethics into political life." 42

No more were Senators lawyers of a broad outlook and training, in constant contact with the masses. But, he said, they were either lawyers-turned-businessmen or corporation counsels. Consequently their point of view was limited. "Their attitude of mind and of temper is... characterized by that conservatism — often exaggerated — of the man to whom is intrusted the management of great economic interests." 43

A final result which Reinsch saw as stemming from the economic expansion had been the burgeoning of complex economic and social problems. Legislatures found themselves confronted with intricate decisions regarding banking, insurance, and finance. The initial legislation to cope with these problems he judged a failure because of a lack of adequate knowledge of how to deal with them.

Amidst the descriptions of governmental operations can be found several general principles which Reinsch felt

42 Ibid., p. 121.
43 Ibid., p. 124.
should guide men in their planning for government in the twentieth century. For one, he felt that governmental action should be based on considerations of the public good. Reinsch was not one of those progressives who emphasized the individualism of democracy. Rather he defined democracy in social terms. It means the communal spirit, the realization that there is a general interest, that there is a general social life in which we all participate and in which we all have rights.\textsuperscript{44}

The role of the individual in a democracy was to "act in such a way as to treat others not as means but as ends."\textsuperscript{45} Political authority, he asserted, ought to be based on obligations of public responsibility, a concern that should take precedence over the more narrow interest of a specific individual or group.\textsuperscript{46} This principle he applied particularly to the judiciary. Like Holmes, he disapproved of court decisions that, on the grounds of the need for constitutional conformity, defeated legislative action based on considerations of the public interest.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} "The Philosophy of the State," p. 1.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., pp. 60, 74, 75.
The aim of political institutions, therefore, argued Reinsch, should be to make the representation of all interests public. At this point in his thinking, the two tendencies of evolution came together. The liberal theory of representation by population had not worked out as well as expected. Since social and economic forces directed political life, and since that organ of government would become dominant which represented the dominant economic force of the time, why not alter the system of representation to a basis of economic interests rather than population? Although Reinsch, the observer, not the advocate, never formulated a program to accomplish this end, he did seem to feel it could be worked out. This plan, he believed, would put the activities of business interests out in the open, where they could be observed by the public. He felt that it would stimulate business to place its most competent men in governmental affairs. He hoped that by the open debates between representatives of various interests, that decision would be reached which was closest to the public good.

Another principle set forth by Reinsch was that ideals plus facts, together, must form the basis of political

48 "The Philosophy of the State," p. 19, American Legislature and Legislative Methods, pp. 34-35, 84; "The Legislative Function."
judgments. In typical pragmatic fashion, he recommended that the facts of a situation are needed to aid one in evaluating the workability of an ideal.

That ideal which will stand the test of application to a great range of solid facts, which will give courage in dealing with those facts, that is the ideal which will ultimately prevail. 49

Thus Reinsch defended the role of expert knowledge in governmental actions, at both the legislative and executive levels. Because "control presupposes understanding," only expert knowledge could guide these branches effectively. 50 Society has come to recognize a new natural law, he asserted, that law which is based on investigation. 51 People have been misled into thinking legislatures can solve any evil with a bill, he said. Scientific investigation, however, by providing a factual basis for legislation, he argued, would indicate what can and cannot be achieved.

In this attitude Reinsch was in the tradition of the social science of his day. Lester Frank Ward had long preached a "science of society." 52 Reinsch's associates at the University of Wisconsin were exponents of this idea. Richard T. Ely taught his classes that progress was best

51 "The Philosophy of the State," p. 58.
assured when practice is carried out in accord with the findings of the scientist. 53

However, Reinsch did not follow the principle of expertise to the exclusion of other factors. Government, he believed, should rest on the twin foundations of expert authority and "the general common sense of the intelligent public." 54 Hence, he was concerned about the problem of concentrating the force of an aroused, enlightened public on political affairs. He expressed as much concern about the problem of public apathy to political affairs as about the interference of special interest groups in public matters. In fact, he believed that those special interests were enabled to operate because of the apathy of the public. Once aroused, he felt, the public would not allow special interests to have their way.

A third principle that Reinsch felt was essential to good government was the adaptation of function to institution. He recommended that each function of government be evaluated and then given to the organ of state which is best adapted to carry it out. 55

54 "The Philosophy of the State," p. 76.
55 Ibid., p. 61.
Reinsch was not so enthusiastic as many progressives were about the extension of direct democracy. He did not agree with the assumption that the right to choose was more important than the necessity to choose rightly. Mixing ideas of psychology and evolution in much the same fashion as A. Lawrence Lowell, Reinsch argued that the nature of an electorate has bearing on the functions it may perform. Reinsch asserted that people in "low states of political organization...will obey blindly because they are moved by influences other than political." But, as the society advances politically, its members begin to think politically. If so, they are a political force and make their votes effective. But if they do not think politically, if they shun politics, they become material for political machines instead. So, Reinsch pointed out, "the mere extension of the electorate does not necessarily mean the extension of the political class." 

Like Lowell, Reinsch distinguished between the will of the majority and public opinion. Any extension of the

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57 Persons discusses the views of Lowell on public opinion, pp. 370-74.


59 Ibid., p. 61.
electorate must be based on a decision that it is best fit to perform the function, not on the assumption the majority must rule.

If this power of the electorate over legislative matters is to be extended, it must be done, if scientifically considered, upon the principle that the electorate is more fit to perform this duty than the organ now performing it, and furthermore, that the electorate is thus performing a governmental function, is acting as an organ, one of a group of organs, and not as a public assembly having the right to sweep everything before it. 60

These considerations were applicable to the decision about whether to adopt the referendum, the recall, and the initiative. 61 Reinsch pointed out the lack of interest of the public in voting on proposed constitutional amendments. He concluded that people are less interested in questions of legislative detail than in personalities. Therefore, one could not be sure of public interest in the referendum or initiative.

Nevertheless, Reinsch felt that public opinion must play a greater role in governmental procedure "if true community of national life is to be preserved." 62 The government had the responsibility to develop and facilitate public

60 Reinsch, "The Conception of Sovereignty," Box 14, Reinsch papers.


sources of legislation, such as legislative committee hearings, and of administration, such as the use of citizens on public commissions. Each member of the public also had a responsibility.

Democracy does not mean that you cast your vote and elect your official, and then give no more thought to it for four years, but democracy means that whenever your experience will help, you are willing to give it to the executive. 63

A final principle that recurs throughout Reinsch's writings is that good government is led by able statesmen. This emphasis on government by the "best men" was common to writers on political affairs in his day; Wilson, Croly, and others relied heavily on the principle. In many ways, his concept of statecraft was similar to Lippmann's. 65 Both men agreed that the chief criterion for statesmanship was the ability to comprehend and direct the current of society during the time. Reinsch asserted that statesmen, no matter how great, who have "gone against the forces of political evolution...have inevitably been defeated,"

63 "The Philosophy of the State," pp. 77-78.


65 Forcey discusses Lippmann's views on statecraft, pp. 112-13. See also Persons, pp. 392-93.
while those who have moved with them have accomplished much in the way of progress. But whereas Lippmann believed that the statesman capable of directing life’s forces possessed "creative will and insight," Reinsch argued that ability was developed through experience in the organic operations of government. The "permanence of our Government" depends on obtaining leaders who "[embody] national sentiment in great well-known personalities;" this type of leader has had his "personality...tested in the intense light of public position" and his "great qualities have been developed in the arena of public discussion." The British system, he felt, was eminently successful in training of this sort. "There legislation is harmonized and certain prominent men come to stand for definite policies, to embody great national movements....By this strenuous discipline men are trained who represent great national aspirations or characteristics, and in whose tried ability and experience the nation safely reposes implicit trust."

On this basis he criticized the American system on several specific points. He charged that men were chosen to public office whose character and power were unknown,


68 Ibid., p. 331.
having been given public attention for qualities unrelated to governmental ability. Voters had difficulty evaluating their representatives, he asserted, because important criteria, such as faithful committee service, were unpublicized, but irrelevant matters were broadcast. Yet, he claimed, outstanding men might be prematurely dropped because of local dissatisfaction with something they had done, perhaps regarding patronage.

Even when competent men retained office for a significant period of time, he argued, the legislative system did not provide opportunity for satisfactory training. The specialization of business within Congressional committees meant that a congressman became familiar with only a small field of legislation; the necessity to satisfy constituents also produced a partial view of legislative affairs. Congressional business and debate lacked focus, harmony, and order, he charged. The perfunctory nature of debates and the confusion introduced by excessive amendments retarded the type of intellectual exchange that stimulated wise discussion, he claimed. Finally, he charged, executive and legislative separation also tended to produce one-sided statesmen, because legislators did not administer the laws they made. These criticisms became especially important in light of his belief that the selection of leaders was "the prime business of government." 69

69 The Philosophy of the State," p. 82.
Although Reinsch's observations, analyses, principles, and criticisms grew out of his experiences in Wisconsin, in several ways his ideas seem to differ quite markedly from those of many midwesterners. In fact, it is tempting to speculate that Reinsch did not participate more actively in the Wisconsin Idea because he was not wholly sympathetic to progressivism in its midwestern manifestations. Reinsch unquestionably operated from the "world view" that was absent in much of the thinking of LaFollette and other midwesterners. Although he felt that Wisconsin was important because of the immediacy of government's impact on life and because it served as the foundation upon which good government was built, he believed that this local government was only the foundation, and had no meaning apart from the reality of its place within the national state and the international setting. Another characteristic that set him apart from other midwestern progressives was his hesitancy to increase direct democracy.

Thirdly, Reinsch, like Walter Weyl and Herbert Croly, shied away from the partisanship of LaFollette and the insurgents. He remained friends with "the disputing

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71 American Legislatures and Legislative Methods, pp. 126-27.
72 Forcey describes this attitude of Weyl and Croly, p. 148.
leaders in Wisconsin's stormy politics," including such diverse men as Vilas, Spooner, LaFollette, and McGovern.  

"Like many other...Wisconsin people, who appreciated the aims, ideals, and service of the elder LaFollette, Paul regretted 'Bob's' unfortunate tendency to quarrel bitterly with his political friends and lieutenants."  

Moreover, Reinsch was relatively unconcerned about concentrations of economic wealth. He wished only to prevent economic interests from gaining control of the political process by underhanded methods; he believed this could be best accomplished by arousing public interest in good government, not by breaking up large business concentrations. He recognized that such concentrations reflected "a desire to supersede the wasteful efforts of unrestricted competition and to create large organizations which will profit by the accumulated experience." He did not even fear the control that these organizations would exercise within their field of industrial life. The only restriction that he imposed was that the "industrial ability" gained by such concentration must "assume a constructive form. The

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73 Hawkins, annotation to LaFollette's letter to Reinsch, 7 May 1908, Box 1, Reinsch papers.
74 Hawkins, St. Helena, California, 3 July 1964, letter to the author.
wrecking operations by which so many fortunes were built up in the former generations are no longer within the proper sphere of industrial life." 76

Although Reinsch did not want to destroy large concentrations of wealth, and affirmed the contributions of industrialism to society, he was concerned about the effect that the machine had on the laborer. "It is not less work that we need, but work which has not been drained of every element of soul and spirit, work which has not been robbed of all the joy of play, work which has not been reduced to the level of more soulless drudgery." 77 Factory work he believed, made one a "mere insentient cog in the machinery of industrialism" and took away "the joy of producing a thing of beauty." 78 Consequently, he encouraged any development that would stimulate handicraft work. "The capital set free by the earnings and savings of machinery could be profitably invested in hand industries; thus may the question of lack of employment be solved and capital also come to its own." 79 But this did not mean he rejected the factory system as a whole. His concern was for the worker

76 Ibid.

77 Reinsch, "Art in a Democratic State," Section 1, Box 14, Reinsch papers, p. 4.


79 "Art in a Democratic State," section 1, p. 4.
as a person; he did not want the craftsman to "feel his entire personality blotted out and crushed in the wheels of a complicated administrative machinery." In this concern for individuality, as opposed to individualism, Reinsch reflected what Charles Forcey has called "the new liberalism." Reinsch, with his ideals of the national state and the priority of culture, resembled Herbert Croly, one exponent of this "new liberalism." The role which these ideals played in his thinking further distinguished Reinsch from the midwestern progressives.

Reinsch derived his faith in nationalism partly from his belief in its evolutionary inevitability and partly from a belief in its benefits. He believed that political society had evolved from the clan stage to the city state and thence to the national form of organization, which thus represented the most advanced stage of civilization. The nineteenth century had been not only the age of liberalism, but also of nationalism, which, by the end of the century had "become the avowed principle of action in the political world." He claimed that the statesmen of his day dedicated their lives to building national unity, to developing national force, and to accomplishing national purposes.

80 Ibid.
81 Forcey, pp. xiii-xiv.
82 Ibid., pp. 3-51.
The "realization of a need for common destiny" is the major factor in national life, Reinsch felt. He argued that artificial unity brought men together until real unity was achieved through the attainment of common ideals and interests. American national life was not yet fully developed, he said, and he termed this the "problem of the day." 

Reinsch believed national life made positive contributions to social organization. It meant the development of the "individuality" of a country. Nationalism promoted a community spirit, the impulse of a general interest shared by all. Patriotism, to him, was "not the blind worship of an emblem, but the realization that we are part of a larger life which ought in all classes to embody our highest interests and ideals." 

Many of Reinsch's suggestions for political reform were intended to promote the development of the national state. He believed that keeping government in contact with public opinion and experience, especially by utilizing the

84 Report of a speech given by Reinsch, unidentified newspaper clipping (Salt Lake City) 17 November 1901. Vol. 2, Reinsch papers.
85 Ibid.
services of citizens as experts, would accomplish this end. Realization of the national state was also the object to be obtained through the selection of leaders who have extensive training in public service. Even Reinsch's stress on maintaining viable state governments grew out of a concern for national development. Local governments, he felt, provided opportunity to attempt solutions for problems before the solutions were tried on a national scale. "To derogate state governments too easily does not cause people to strengthen and purify local governments, and therefore produce a national political life which is varied and deepened by local differences." 88

Like Croly, Reinsch was concerned about the relationship between democracy and nationalism. But whereas Croly had difficulty in reconciling the two, Reinsch's definition of democracy was such that there could be little conflict between them.

If the national state means the communalization of a larger society, much larger in extent than that of the old city state, then of course democracy is an essential element of the national state, because democracy...means the communal spirit. 89

Croly saw nationalism as the means for improving society. Reinsch conceived of nationalism as an end in

88 American Legislatures and Legislative Methods, p. 127.
itself. He did not advocate using the national powers of
government to solve social problems, but rather advocated
keeping nationalism as the goal toward which all change in
society is directed.

In his emphasis upon the cultural aspects of nationalism,
as opposed to the military, Reinsch further resembled Croly.
One feature of Reinsch's cultural emphasis was his desire
that each nation foster its individuality. Another was his
conviction that "national life cannot be complete until it
includes artistic achievement and is itself transfused with
the artistic spirit."\(^90\) Reinsch was deeply interested in
art and believed that it took precedence over all other
manifestations of human activity. "Art is more than a di-
version;...it is the highest index of civilization and the
means through which human life is exalted and the human
spirit freed."\(^91\) To experience art was to experience "joy,
inspiration, [and] redemption from the fatigue of life."\(^92\)

To the extent that art speaks to feelings common to
everyone, he said, it serves as a bond uniting all men of
the world. Nevertheless,

it is certainly true that all great art is
national, in that it is closely connected with
national life, is expressive of its deepest

\(^90\) "Art in a Democratic State," section 1, p. 1.
\(^91\) Ibid.
\(^92\) Ibid., section 2, p. 7.
feelings, and as it were grows out of the home soil of the artist's country. The greatest artists of the world...wrought a national work in the sense that the roots of their being drew life from the national society to which they belonged.93

Therefore, each society produces an art intimately related to its social and political environment, he argued.

In a man with such a firm commitment to the importance of art both to the individual and to the nation, and with such a conception of the interrelationship between art and the social ideas and institutions of a society, it is not surprising to find concern about the place of art in the democratic state. He dealt with three questions: Would art in a democracy "necessarily involve the leveling of all sublimity to the average general standard of human experience?" What is the fate of the artist as an individual? Can the masses experience a cultural uplifting?

Reinsch denied that art in democratic societies must restrict itself by appealing to everyone. Since the experience of art is different for each individual, he argued, it would be foolish to expect that a work of art would satisfy everyone. "Democracy does not mean actual equality in art any more than in life, and unless it is to be reduced to a mere impractical abstraction it must be held to mean equality of

93 Ibid., p. 6.
94 Ibid., section 1, p. 1.
opportunity rather than of condition." 95

Although the work of an artist in a democracy could not be restricted to any specific type, and would not be appreciated by everyone, Reinsch argued, it was essential to preserve the artist's freedom to express himself as he wished. Only in this way could freedom of opportunity be maintained and national life be attained. It should be the aim of a democratic nation state that

all aspirations of human nature, all forms of human activity may find free expression. Until the rarest minds can feel that they draw inspiration from our life, until they will adopt the forms of our social thought as a vehicle for their messages, our national life will not have reached its full stature. 96

Such an independent artist would serve the needs of the masses, for "in a democracy bold and high-minded leadership is absolutely necessary." 97 This "high-minded leadership" was the key to Reinsch's answer to the third question.

The mind can hardly grasp the immense possibilities for art that exist under a truly democratic organization of society, and can but dream of the products when these energies and enthusiasms shall have been directed into better channels by a high-minded leadership in matters of art." 98

Hence, while he did not feel the masses could appreciate all works of art, he did feel that their lives could be

95 Ibid., p. 7.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid., p. 6.
culturally uplifted, and this was his expectation in a truly national democratic society. As early as 1896, he had argued that the small town, in order to compete with the attraction of the large city, needed art and intellectual leadership.

The material is at hand, the unjaded intellect of country people...is appreciative of the truly great in art and life; leadership and organization are all that is needed for a development of real culture and intelligent study in the rural towns, so that residence there may no longer be considered mental starvation. 99

Reinsch believed that his faith in the possibility of a general cultural uplifting of society was being vindicated in the decorative art movement of his time. 100 He felt that this movement was democratic in several respects. It aimed at introducing principles of artistic pleasure into the design of household equipment. Its organization on the handicraft level counterbalanced the factory system. It appealed to people of all social conditions and backgrounds. And, finally, he argued, since all art was unified, a solid basis in handicraft could stimulate excellence in the fine arts.

III

From our historical perspective, we can see that Reinsch functioned both as a defender of American society.

99 Reinsch, "The Problem of the Small Town." Vol. 8, Reinsch papers.
100 "A New Era in Decorative Art;" "Art in a Democratic State."
and as its "utopian critic." His belief that society improves gradually partially conditioned his defense. By advocating the principles of statesmanship, of the adjustment of function to governmental institution, of the application of knowledge, as well as ideals, in making political decisions, and of the consideration of the public good, he demonstrated his desire to defend American society, for these principles involve not altering the system, but making it work better. Horatio Hawkins summarized this conservative approach as follows:

Paul...strongly believed in the cumulative growth of institutions, and in building on tried and trusted foundations, as exemplified in the American government and its national constitution.... He always wished to preserve America's ideals and other great inheritances.101

Reinsch criticized society on points where he felt it had fallen short of fulfilling its promises. In connection with this element of his thought, we see that he provided intellectual support for the progressive reformers.

Reinsch's writings reveal two reasons why he advocated that the person who possesses specialized knowledge ought to contribute to political life. Firstly, this person possesses those facts which he felt were so essential in formulating plans of action. Secondly, such participation would serve to keep the government in touch with public opinion; consequently, in his thinking, expertise took on a democratic quality.

101 Hawkins, letter.
However, this type of participation was flexible and unstructured. Reinsch himself preferred to remain detached from partisan affairs in order to safeguard his ability to observe the life around him. Nevertheless, the observations served to support the progressives, as can be seen in his reaction to the election of 1910, for his language indicates a sympathy with their outcome.

The question is simply whether economic and financial power is to be the master of or is to be subject to the government....A form of state action is to be developed which, while guaranteeing at all points the observance and complete protection of the common interest of all the people, will, on the other hand, abstain from crude measures that would destroy instead of helping, our development....The election has demonstrated in a most striking way that the people will not be satisfied with any policy that means the imposition of a hard and fast system. They want our institutions and policies to remain flexible so that they can adjust themselves to the interest of the greatest numbers.102

It seems possible that his emphasis on observation tended to limit the scope of his criticisms. He accepted the basic governmental pattern and observed its procedure. This approach appears to have resulted in criticisms of such a specific nature as excessive legislation and perfunctory debates. Hence, the reader's attention was attracted to the practical problems of overcoming these

difficulties. In addition to this tendency to concentrate on the practical, there are elements in Reinsch's thought that indicate a willingness to yield to the spirit of the times, for Reinsch stressed those qualities of statesmanship that involved reflecting and embodying the national sentiment. His assertion that a leader could not defy the evolutionary trend indicates the same willingness.

But, if his work contained elements that had the effect of promoting an emphasis on the spirit of the times and of concentrating attention on practical problems, it is also obvious that he did not intend to sacrifice the cultural life of the nation, for he indicated that this development was to be the culminating feature of national life, and he expressed a faith that all citizens of the nation could experience cultural inspiration and could benefit from the infusion of the spirit of art in their lives.
CHAPTER TWO

THE SCIENTIST AS EDUCATOR

It has been said that "to sense the relationship between progressivism and progressive education is to gain new insight into the meaning of Progressivism itself.... One might...contend that the Progressive mind was ultimately an educator's mind, and that its characteristic contribution was that of a socially responsible reformist pedagogue."¹ This generalization applies to Paul S. Reinsch's career at the University of Wisconsin. He was a teacher of political science who shared in the movement to make the study of politics more objective and more solidly based in reality. His ideas were rooted in a concern for social improvement, through the assumption of a scientific approach by all members of society, through the practical improvement of the operations of government, and through increased international understanding. This chapter will examine Reinsch's pedagogy, which combined his scholarly interest in the study of political life with a commitment to learning as experience and an active participation in the improvement of the University of Wisconsin.

I

The "seedtime for political science as a subject of study" came during the period from 1865 to 1900. During these years it blossomed into a full-fledged subject of instruction in universities. The concept of political science education that emerged after the Civil War, as advocated by men like Andrew D. White and Charles Kendall Adams, was one of an intellectual discipline in political theory and history for the purpose of training men for rational discussion. Adams argued that if educated men exercised political power "reliance will [not] be based upon the baser arts of political manipulation."

As time went on however, the concept of political science as citizenship training was broadened by the incorporation of a number of ideas that had become dominant in American scholarly life. One was a belief that progress could be achieved by the application of science to all aspects of society, an idea that was promoted with considerable effectiveness by Lester Frank Ward. In the

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4 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 25.

5 Crick, pp. 37-70.
field of political science, this concept was synthesized with the older goal of citizenship training, and thereby "a new style of political studies" was created. 6

In addition to extending the purpose of political science, political scientists began to supplement the traditional study of political theory and history by the new methods of scholarship adopted by scholars in several fields, who were participating in an attempt to supersede the use of formal logic, abstraction, deduction, and classical economics as tools of social research. 7 Instead, they consulted what Morton G. White has called "experience in some streaming social sense." 8 One of the two specific methods they proposed as substitutes was "historicism," or the effort to understand present institutions by examining their history. The other method was "cultural organicism," or the utilization of the findings of other social sciences to illuminate problems in a particular field.

These scholars were anxious to increase the objectivity of the study of the social sciences. Political scientists began to feel that objectivity had been sacrificed by devoting too much time to considering how institutions

6 Ibid., p. 69.
8 Ibid., pp. 11-12.
ought to work. Instead, they asserted, scientists should spend their time gathering data about how these institutions actually did work. In their search for this data, political scientists found new sources of information. There was a tendency in "a small but rapidly growing body of opinion...to see the superstructure of society as explicable...in terms of psychological drives;" realizing that men were stimulated to action not only by reason but also by psychological drives, political scientists like Lippmann, began to look beyond the form and structure of political life to its underlying psychological forces. Finally, political scientists revised their attitude toward the relationship between interest groups and government. They began to examine the participation of these groups and to "see politics as a contest for marginal privilege by a great many pressure groups, mostly regional and economic rather than primarily ideological and doctrinal;" the scientist did not feel compelled to choose among the groups, but was primarily interested in keeping these groups within the spirit of the law and in speculating whether a more representative system could be devised.

9 Crick, pp. 95-120.
10 Ibid., p. 109.
11 Ibid., p. 118.
Meanwhile, in institutional affairs, political science was emerging as a separate discipline. During the twenty years following the Civil War the subject was taught largely within the scope of the existing fields of political economy, history, and moral philosophy, and centered on the Constitution and its history. But as scholarly interest broadened from a narrow concern with the Constitution to an interest in the social and industrial forces that surrounded political life, courses in the traditional fields expanded correspondingly. Gradually the elements of those courses which consisted of political analysis were separated out and grew into independent courses of political science. New graduate departments in the field were established, and political science entered a period of spirited expansion.

As political science was being recognized as an independent subject throughout the country, it was also being established at the University of Wisconsin. The creation of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History under Richard T. Ely, in 1892, was a major advance. In 1895-1896, the University offered courses in municipal government, public administration, and political theory. Charles Kendall Adams was president of the University at

12 Haddow, pp. 171-269.

this time. His work inspired Reinsch to study for his Ph.D. in political science at the University, and Adams was also instrumental in obtaining a teaching position for Reinsch in 1895. When a separate Department of Political Science was formed in 1901, Reinsch served as its head.

Reinsch's attitude toward political science combined elements of the older concepts of the subject with the newer ideas that were becoming popular. Citizenship training, after the fashion of White and Adams, was still important; he made use of some older methods of study, such as deduction and the comparison of political institutions of the world. These elements, however, were fused with the techniques of "historicism" and "cultural organicism." The scope of his studies included underlying social and economic forces, psychological factors of personality, and a consideration of the role of interest groups. 14 And basic to his approach was a conviction that science could make valuable contributions to society.

Reinsch defined the purpose of political science as sixfold. 15 First he pointed out the need for an "accurate

14 For Reinsch's suggestion that political representation might be altered to a basis of interest groups, see above, chapter 1.

15 "The Method of Political Science," typed outline, Box 17, Paul S. Reinsch papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society.
understanding of political action, causation, and institutions." Next he expressed the need for an "understanding of the tendency of development." Another purpose was "the criticism of institutions and political action." Yet another was the "securing of a body of general principles." He suggested a normative purpose of "erecting an ideal to guide developments," and an artistic purpose of "a mastery of the instruments used in political life."

He wrote that political scientists should gather materials from a number of sources. A major one was the observation of men in political action. On the formal side this included attendance at caucuses, councils, legislatures, boards, and commissions. On a less formal basis, he recommended observing committee meetings and conversations.

"Political science takes interest, motives, and purposes as it finds them, investigates their relations to each other, traces their mutual influence, and studies the political actions and institutions created by them." A scientist would look for a combination of interest groups in parties, the dominant personalities who "embody the purposes of large groups of men," and the enactment of these purposes through legislative action and administrative procedures.


17 Ibid., p. 316.
Another source of materials for the political scientist that Reinsch suggested was the records of political action. He again divided this category into a formal and informal side. Laws, proclamations, administrative instructions, and judicial decisions comprised the formal side, while memoirs, letters, descriptions, and biographies comprised the informal side.

In the other sources he suggested for the collection of materials, Reinsch manifested both "historicism," and "cultural organicism." Although he carefully distinguished between political science and the other social sciences, he maintained that the findings and methods of related subjects were applicable to his field.

Political studies have always drawn their material chiefly from the recorded history of mankind, and are therefore assisted by the technique of the historical method — the critical scrutiny of documentary evidence and the mastery of the laws of cause and effect.  

Economics is another discipline that Reinsch believed was important to political science. He claimed that politics and economics had a reciprocal effect on each other. Economic power wields considerable political influence; yet at the same time, political agencies interfere with economic interests and processes.

He asserted that statistics was another valuable source of materials for the political scientist. This

18 Ibid., p. 317.
science was relevant as a "basis of induction for all the social sciences," functioning both to aid in understanding the operation of political forces and in evaluating new practices and procedures. He warned, however, that the "quantitative method" had limitations, because "the complex force of sentiment, sympathy, tradition, and of other psychological factors cannot be quantitatively measured nor reduced with exactness to the quantitative causes in the physical world."\(^{20}\)

Reinsch maintained that the materials collected in these ways must be sifted by application of a number of standards. Their reliability must be ascertained by the same rules of evidence that govern the study of history. He emphasized the need to compare institutions in different countries to discover their prominent features. And a third technique consisted of logical and juristic analysis, by which one gains an understanding of relationships between institutions and the implications of a political principle. He warned that the analysis should not be limited solely to structural forms, but must also be applied to the motive forces underlying the structures.

Reinsch called the deductive method a "legitimate" one and pointed out that most great political writers had used it with beneficial results. But, he warned, it must

\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. 317.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 318.
be used in conjunction with other methods, for alone, it tended to neglect concrete facts and promoted hasty generalizations. He recommended this method for use in the application of knowledge to affairs, but only after the facts had been studied enough to provide certain well-founded principles.

He advocated that political scientists use their materials to determine individual chains of causation. He also suggested experimentation, although he warned that its possibilities were limited. The "pure" scientific experiment is impossible because of the unsuitability of society as an object, and because of the difficulty of isolating factors for testing. But he pointed out that "practical" experiments in politics abound, in that actions are taken despite the lack of knowledge of exact results. These are experimental

in the sense that the nature of [their] consequences can be definitely ascertained only through experience with a knowledge of the possibility of varying results. Therefore, while politics as a science cannot set aside certain social factors for experimental purposes, as an art it is constantly making experiments in practice which in turn furnish the most valuable kind of material to scientific study.21

Once the sufficient information has been gathered and sifted, a final sifting, that which truly characterizes politics as a science, takes place. This is induction and

21 Ibid.
generalization, by which general principles are established.

Reinsch, in his approach to political science, exemplified two developments in the subject matter of the social sciences common to his day. 22 On the one hand there was increased specialization and intensive study of small areas. Yet, at the same time, there was a breakdown of artificial distinctions between them. Reinsch, although interested in all areas of political science, specialized in foreign relations. His book, *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods*, was a pioneering study of state government. He also pioneered in the editing of books of documents on the operations of the federal and state governments for use in college courses. 23

Frederick Jackson Turner alluded to Reinsch's disregard for artificial separation between fields when he wrote to Reinsch, praising his work. "I am particularly pleased by the emphasis which you lay on the 'deeper forces of economic and social life,' for this is exactly in line with my own interests in the study of history." 24 Horatio Hawkins,


23 These were *Readings on American Federal Government* (Boston, New York: Ginn and Company, 1909); and *Readings on American State Government* (Boston, New York: Ginn and Company, 1911).

24 Frederick Jackson Turner, 3 January 1911, letter to Paul S. Reinsch, Box 2, Reinsch papers.
reporting to Reinsch of E. A. Ross' trip to China, revealed how Reinsch considered all subject matter as fair game for political science. He told Reinsch that Ross was gathering material that would duplicate work Reinsch had done.

Sometimes I wonder if Dr. Ross has any idea of Political Science or its field. He seems to regard all material as sociological material. When he finds me able to answer some of his deep questions he seems surprised and says, "How do you find that out? That's sociological;" and I answer, "I don't know, it's only what Professor Reinsch taught me." — And Dr. E. A. R. will say "But how? That's not political." He speaks sometimes as if Political Science were only a study of political facts and not at all a study of political forces....Sometimes, when Dr. Ross asks for the best material on certain subjects, I simply tell him that it is at Wisconsin in your possession. Then he begins to wonder what you are doing with it, because "it's not political."...He seems to fail to appreciate that there is a dynamic side to Political Science.25

The American Political Science Association was founded in 1904.26 Frank Goodnow, Bryce, Lowell, and Wilson were the first four presidents. Most of the men who were responsible for its formation were convinced of the necessity that the study of politics train men for citizenship, as White and Adams had been. The founders also shared the idea that the study of politics had been impaired by too much consideration of how politics ought to work; they advocated more attention to how they actually did operate.

25 Horatio Hawkins, 5 March 1910, letter to Reinsch, Box 1, Reinsch papers.

Reinsch was elected second vice-president of the Association when it was founded. In an article for the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, he expressed the hope that this new organization would be a beneficial influence on American life. He referred to the citizenship training aspect of the teaching of political science by commenting that the society was one which "will promote the better understanding of the obligations resting upon our citizenship." He expressed the hope that the new organization would improve the status of political science in the academic world, promoting its independence from the fields of history and economics. But he also pointed out that these latter two disciplines might hope to profit from "a clearer emphasis on the political and juristic point of view," which the Association would provide.

Just as the individual natural sciences profit by the progress of one another, so does the progress and efficient development of the social sciences depend upon a clear distinction between the various points of view and a careful and patient working out of each separate science.

Reinsch was instrumental in organizing a Department of

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29 *Ibid*.
30 *Ibid*.
Colonial Affairs within the American Political Science Association in 1905 and 1906.

The dominant element in the study of political science in the early twentieth century was a dedication to the application of science to the field. Since several scholars have questioned to what lengths this merger can be taken, it is worthwhile to examine carefully what Reinsch said about the relation of science to the study of politics. 31

Bernard Crick has suggested that the use of the word "science" in connection with political studies can refer to three concepts: an identity of methods between the natural sciences and the social sciences; a belief in the possibility of attaining a "degree of generality of substantive theories;" and "the claim that the scientist's concept of experimental or observational verification is the only mode of truth in any science." 32

Elements of all three concepts can be found in Reinsch's thinking. The scientific method he was extolling seemed to be the technique of observation and collection of data. But it will be recalled that he recommended caution in the use


32 Crick, p. 217.
of quantitative techniques of statistics because certain psychological factors cannot be measured in this way.

Reinsch was more concerned with the construction of general theories based on observations and facts. He said that when Americans had first embraced science

American scientific work became peculiarly positive and matter of fact. The tendency lay towards the useful, the concrete; men worked with atoms, with masses of facts, and there was a certain dispersion of mental energy as individual investigators busied themselves preferably with very minor problems. The students liked to arrange a number of well-authenticated facts like pearls on a string, without organic connection.  

But he argued that a different type of activity was needed for the completion of American scientific life. He looked for the passage "from an analytical, atomistic age into one given to synthesis and constructive thought." He advocated "artistic presentation and illuminating interpretation, based upon carefully controlled preliminary research."  

Reinsch was also interested in the pertinence of science to social matters from the point of view of verification. On this point he argued that with scientific procedure, one could "avoid judgments based on untrue analogies and premature generalization." But he did not

34 Ibid., p. 741.
35 Ibid.
36 "Chart of Investigation in American Political Action and Institutions," 1907?, Box 17, Reinsch papers.
insist that all truth was verifiable by science only, for he recognized that "reason cannot be entirely dissociated from will." 37

A further qualification of this belief in verification is Reinsch's repeated emphasis on the personal element in any endeavor. The success of science depended on the qualities of the men who pursued it.

Scientific achievement is indeed favored through the abundance of means at hand, but true mastery is, after all, dependent on personal qualities, which can be preserved and developed only by constantly putting personality above mechanism. 38

Reinsch claimed that American universities were unique in their concern for making their scientific discoveries useful by applying them in practical, everyday situations. 39 The universities not only found practical applications, but also taught the people directly, so that the people themselves could "utilize the results of scientific methods and discoveries....The impulse to carry the advantages of scientific method into all parts of human activity is the outstanding characteristic of modern American university work." 40 In this way did Reinsch merge progress, science, and democracy.

38 Ibid., p. 742.
39 Ibid., pp. 737ff.
40 Ibid., p. 737.
He hoped that university instruction of all people could be "inspired with the enthusiasm of pure science."  

If this were done "it will do far more than to teach a trade; it will awaken broad interest in the solution of scientific problems and in the methods for gaining greater efficiency." Thus science would become an ideal which guides their work and, ultimately, would be the tool for raising the cultural level of the masses.

It follows that men thus educated are open also to other ideals relating to conduct, art, and literature, to good and wholesome arrangements in social institutions. Thus the creative impulses of art and philosophy often find more encouragement among men whose education has been along so-called practical lines than among those who have been surfeited with the humanities.

It is in connection with this aspect of his thought, that we see that his use of the word "scientific" often takes on the characteristics of a slogan. It becomes a descriptive term which seemingly is used to obtain a positive reaction to the idea he is trying to express. He spoke of the purpose of the American university to "develop science" and "make science directly useful." At another point he referred to "scientific problems and...the methods

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41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.

All quotations in this paragraph come from "Inner Freedom."
for gaining greater efficiency." He mentioned "scientific work" and "scientific knowledge." He also talked of the activity of bringing "human experience and knowledge scientifically digested." This use of the term in so many different contexts, yet so ill-elaborated, takes on the quality of a catchword.

Reinsch, therefore, does not give us much satisfaction regarding his understanding of the relationship between science and social life. A number of concepts can be detected in his use of the term, but none of them take on a clear focus, nor is their relative importance pointed out. He never came to grips with the problem of how science is used in forming ethical judgments, in "erecting the ideal to guide development." His attitude is best summed up by what Crick has called "a simple 'facts and induction' view of science." 45

However, it is obvious that Reinsch conceived of science as involving much more than a practical approach. He did not intend to neglect the higher cultural values. Rather, his concept of an education in science included not only the transmission of useful skills but also the adoption of the ideal of a scientific approach to problems. He hoped that the experience of high ideals of science would open people to other, cultural ideals. Thus, scientific training was seen as a means to obtain the cultural uplifting of the people.

45 Crick, p. 214.
II

Reinsch believed that the man of science had a definite role to play in the formation of public policy. He recommended that men who were scientific experts, in chemistry, law, or other fields, be available to the government for advice at any time on a particular problem. He admired this quality in the German system of government, where "the entire executive rests not only on the experience embodied in itself, but the entire experience, scientific and human, of the nation."\textsuperscript{46} He felt that this would mitigate the problems of a bureaucracy. "The government will do the best thing possible and not merely what those in official position will think to do."\textsuperscript{47}

Reinsch himself made his expert knowledge available to the federal government as well as to Wisconsin. Before his service as minister to China, from 1913 to 1919, when he permanently left the teaching profession, his most important service on the federal level was as a United States representative to the Third and Fourth Pan-American Conferences (1906 and 1910) and to the Pan-American Scientific Conference in Santigo, Chile in 1909.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46}"The Philosophy of the State," box 15, Reinsch papers, p. 78.

\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Ibid}.

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography}, p. 301.
People appreciated at the time that Reinsch's participation in these conferences grew out of the idea that scholars ought to contribute to public policy. A. J. Montague wrote the following to Reinsch regarding his report in the Rio Conference.

A publicist of your rank could alone make [such a fine summary.]...I think you forecast the horoscope. It is of great moment if we are to have the moral influence and ascendancy to which we are entitled that our delegates should more and more represent the culture, refinement, and patriotism of our country, for the end to be achieved as you point out must be won as much by personal example and influence as from anything else.\textsuperscript{49}

Reinsch published reports of the conferences in several magazines. His major emphasis in respect to the Santiago Conference was on its value for the study of problems "peculiar to the American continents."\textsuperscript{50} He pointed out that this approach was not a "covert design to set up separatist standards and to sever American from European science."\textsuperscript{51} Rather, he said, the participants explored the possible approaches by which American scientists could "best cultivate the field assigned to them by Providence, and how they could thus repay the debt which

\textsuperscript{49} A. J. Montague, 13 April 1907, letter to Reinsch, Box 1, Reinsch papers.


the New World owes to the Old in the matter of learning."

He referred to the broad scope of the discussions which originated out of a desire to survey the whole field of American science to ascertain the tasks to be accomplished. He praised the results and speculated that anyone who wished to study an American science would have to become familiar with the work of the conference, pointing out that jurisprudence, the social sciences, medical practice, and the field of education benefited especially.

His report on the Fourth Pan-American Conference stressed the practical nature of the goals of the conference, in response to those who criticized it for not promoting general ideals enough.

An international conference...does not represent the utmost that the combined energies of the countries can bring about, but the utmost which they can agree upon with practical unanimity. Its work must, therefore, aim to be entirely practical, based upon ascertained needs of international relations and traffic."

Only when "detailed and practical improvements are introduced into the machinery of international intercourse" could concrete progress in international life be achieved. Therefore, "working upon this practical basis, the several

\[52\text{Ibid.}\]


\[54\text{Ibid.}\]
committees...addressed themselves to questions of detail, leaving aside...the rather fruitless field of theoretical discussion." 55 The agenda of the conference included such matters as the completion of the Pan-American railway, the improvement of steamship service between the countries, international sanitation, and plans for copyrights, patents, and trademarks.

Reinsch therefore saw these scientific conferences as fulfilling a function of international relations. "The personnel...was representative of the official experience and scientific expertise in political matters within these countries." 56 He described the conference at Santiago as having a "semi-diplomatic character," because of the governmental representation and the fact that, for most countries, the minister to Chile served as the head of the delegation. 57 Over time, he said, the conferences produced concrete results in "elaborating a system of treaties which has proved in practice acceptable to the American republics." 58

But the main value which the conferences held as far as international relations were concerned, in Reinsch's opinion, was the personal relationships that developed between scientists from the various countries. These

55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., p. 597.
57 World To-Day, p. 249.
relations of friendship and mutual understanding "will not only be of great moment in the scientific work of the future, but...will also make for a more stable friendship among American nations." He expressed the hope that through these friendships between men in widely different fields, and from divergent social and economic backgrounds, the countries themselves would be brought together in understanding and sympathy.

Although a great meeting such as that...cannot in itself do the work of science...it can establish relations of mutual helpfulness, it can stir up the imagination to a conception of the great tasks still to be achieved, it can be a true peacemaker, by showing thinking men their common interests and ideals. 60

These views on the Pan-American Conferences were fully in accord with United States policy. 61 Because of Latin American fears regarding the foreign policy of Roosevelt and Taft during this period, the United States wanted to avoid arguments at the conferences that could fan anti-American feelings. So the government acted to confine the topics to non-controversial subjects on economic, social, and cultural affairs. Latin Americans were skeptical about Pan-Americanism, dominated as it was by the United States,

59 World To-Day, p. 249.
60 The Independent, p. 373.
and accompanied by its aggressive foreign policy. But Reinsch never alluded to this rationale behind the topics of the conferences. He functioned as a defender of United States policy.

In addition to functioning as an intellectual supporter of governmental policy, Reinsch strove to extend international good will. His services as an expert did not involve the assumption of direct governmental power. Rather, he emphasized that international relations could be improved by the strengthening of informal friendship.

It is likely that Reinsch was especially proud of the United States' participation in these scientific conferences because of its implications for the development of American national life. He viewed the "appreciation of national culture as the fullest expression of national life," and rejoiced in 1915, that "science and literature have at length become national."\(^62\) As Americans were reaching this position, "they also discern...the full implications of membership in the international community of human scientific endeavor, no longer occupying the position of the student or learner, but in association with compeers, ready for a mutual interchange of achievements."\(^63\)


\(^63\) *Ibid.*
III

We have seen that Reinsch participated in the development of the times in his views on political science. Elsewhere we have considered how he participated directly in that part of the progressive movement known as the Wisconsin Idea. It remains here to be examined how he served as an educator, in defense of academic freedom, in the application in his own teaching of progressive methods of instruction, in his contributions to the University of Wisconsin, and in his international reputation as a teacher.

American scholars originally took the concept of academic freedom from Germany, but they adapted it to our environment. 64 Whereas in the classrooms of the German university the professor was free to convince the student of the correctness of all his views, Americans did not approve of such an effort; rather they recommended neutrality on controversial issues. Outside the university the contrast was reversed. There the German professor was expected to remain silent, but the American professor was free to speak out as he pleased.

Reinsch recognized these differences and offered commentary on them.

The American ideal of instruction and investigation demands that there shall be an accurate perception and concrete presentation of positive facts, with clear-sightedness and thorough-going truthfulness of expression. Moreover, it is expected that it should be made clear what is the truly fundamental, generally accepted body of any science, and that when interpretative valuations of facts and theories are offered it should be with the express reservation that the ascertained data might possibly also lead to other conclusions....In the expression of opinions a rather impersonal tone is cultivated, to the extent frequently of being coldly neutral.  

He speculated that this need for neutrality in the classroom might account for the lack in America of "commanding personalities among the teachers in the same measure as the great academies of Europe."  

He suggested that this limitation on professorial freedom was related to the general morality of society. In Europe and the Orient, where there was both a class moral and a mass moral, it was possible for a group in society to develop special standards of conduct. But the United States was committed to the application of one moral code to all members of society. In a country where the door of progress is open to everyone, where personal independence is developed, where the entire people participate in the ideas and sentiments of the day, any other position would be impossible....Whatever with us receives any sort of public sanction is thereby implicitly commended to the entire people for acceptance and emulation. It is, therefore, impossible in matters of conduct to bestow

65"Inner Freedom," p. 734.
66Ibid.
privileges and exemptions upon certain classes. This explains the condemnation of performances which may in other countries be permitted for the purpose of select artistic circles....It even explains, though it does not justify, such an extreme case as the police interdict of the performance of 'Salome' in Chicago.  

Reinsch spoke out in defense of academic freedom on several occasions. He was a faculty representative for the conference committee which on December 10, 1909 met to discuss with the Regents certain issues of dissatisfaction within the faculty concerning academic freedom.  

At this meeting he reiterated the idea that American teachers were not free to impose personal principles on their students, but "you cannot close any field of inquiry without impairing the students' faith in the honesty of teaching."  

At the close of this meeting he and the other faculty members agreed to meet with the faculty and convey impressions that the Regents were not guilty of "improper motives" and that the Regents intended to follow their by-laws.

Another instance when Reinsch defended academic freedom occurred in 1904. Eero Erkko, editor of the Amerikan Kaiku, a Finnish-American newspaper, wrote to Reinsch, describing the deportation and imprisonment in Russia of

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67 Ibid., p. 736.
68 Curti and Carstensen, II, pp. 59-62. Curti and Carstensen concluded that "the victory was clearly with the faculty" at this meeting.
69 Ibid., p. 62.
three prominent Finnish professors at the University of Helsinki. Explaining that some European professors were moving to protest "this new breach of law and the rights of Finland as well as the liberty of free science," he asked Reinsch if he would cooperate to obtain a similar protest from American professors. When Reinsch replied in the affirmative, Erkko expressed delight and reported that President Eliot would do nothing stronger than express sympathy to him.

The outcome was an article by Reinsch which appeared in the August, 1905, World To-Day on "Russia and Finnish Education." In this article he again linked the intellectual and cultural life of a nation with national spirit, basing his argument for academic freedom more on the value of maintaining a national spirit than on the desirability of free teaching and speech. He charged that the most serious instance of interference with intellectual life was the treatment of the three Finnish university professors.

The freedom of this institution has always been guaranteed by the most solemn imperial promises.... But even this last resort of Finnish intellectual life has been invaded.  

There is a problem reconciling Reinsch's views expressed on academic freedom and American morality with those

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70 Eero Erkko, 5 September 1905, letter to Reinsch, Box 1, Reinsch papers.

he expressed on academic freedom and national life. In America, he said, it would be undesirable, "that in the name of artistic refinement or recondite research currency should be given to things that are destructive to the foundations of public morality." Yet, he also maintained that intellectual and cultural development was essential to national life. At some point, it appears, intellectual activity stops supporting national life and starts destroying it. When? Who is to decide? These are problems he never considered.

Just as the core of the concept of academic freedom had come from Germany, so did university instructional methods, especially the seminar. Under Reinsch, this method became an embodiment, on the university level, of the philosophy of education expressed by progressives.

Reinsch advocated that the scholar in science ought to have his students work with him, "to free their minds of preconceived notions, to see how to judge the reliability of an act." The only way to learn this was by actual practice in investigation. Anyone trained otherwise "will indoctrinate."

73 "The Philosophy of the State," p. 95.
The main value of the study of political science and political philosophy ought to be that it would assist you to distinguish properly and not to be blinded by general terms, to see that there may be danger through confusion....For the purpose of clear and vigorous thinking we have to go back to the facts and construct our own system. This course is just an effort to show you how this may be done — not an effort to bring out something that you would have to accept without criticism, but to show you how these questions may be dealt with so that when you do your own thinking, you will have some method and be warned against some dangers and be given some idea of methods of thought that may yield results.\(^74\)

Like so many progressive educators, Reinsch emphasized the social aspects of education.

Democracy imposes that we live not with a high fence about our house by which we exclude the public from our life. It does not involve the idea of seclusion. [sic] It means that we will share in the life about us. That is reflected in our education by not putting the children in a secluded school but allowing them to mix with all sorts of children in a great public school system. The absence of fences is the thing that makes this characteristic of democracy concrete to us all.\(^75\)

Education, for democracy does not require that students be taught fixed beliefs, he said, but "implies adaptation to an environment in a free and open society."\(^76\) Thus it attempts to "teach the student the life in which he is living."\(^77\)

\(^{74}\) Ibid., p. 37.

\(^{75}\) Ibid., pp. 90-91.

\(^{76}\) Ibid., p. 92.

\(^{77}\) Ibid.
The method of teaching government, Reinsch asserted, should be "an activity in which the pupil is taking part and is going to take more part." Thus we see that his seminars in which the students collected information by which to frame laws for the Wisconsin legislature not only were beneficial to those in government who wanted to secure better legislation, but also were a method by which students learned by investigation.

Horatio Hawkins described his own participation in one of these seminars, the one that studied state legislative procedure and whose results were incorporated into Reinsch's book, American Legislatures and Legislative Methods. Hawkins, a resident of California, examined carefully the newspapers he got from home to observe legislative procedure there. He also ate his meals at a downtown Madison hotel where Wisconsin legislators ate; this way he could converse with them and observe the informal side of legislation.

In classes like this Reinsch operated his classroom under the principles advocated by the progressive educational reformers. He also built up the political science department at the University of Wisconsin, arranging for guest lecturers, and obtaining suggestions for improvements in curriculum and method.

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78 Ibid., p. 93.
79 Hawkins, interview.
In addition, he served the University in a number of other ways. He loaned his art collection to the University for a year where it was displayed in Lathrop Hall. He co-operated with the Blatz Brewing Company who paid for a collection of books on German Parliamentary life and history and the Debates of the Reichstag that Reinsch acquired in Europe for the University Library. On lecture tours he visited high schools to evaluate them as part of the University program of high school accreditation.

Reinsch quickly obtained an international reputation as a teacher and scholar. Among his students who later pursued careers in foreign relations was Stanley K. Hornbeck. Many of his students were foreigners who returned to their homeland after studying with him. One of these, H. C. Das, from India wrote to him,

The present day 'Professors of International Law' of love and sympathy are...the forerunners of brighter future. [sic] The influence of a good soul cannot be confined to Madison or the United States but is sure to extend its horizon. 80

Reinsch received letters from a former Japanese student who wrote that he now belonged to the "experts," and was "studying the general colonial administration of Formosa," which he was happy to do because it "helps him understand the theories of colonial administration." 81

80 H. C. Das, 8 September, 1910, letter to Reinsch, Box 1, Reinsch papers.
81 Masao Matsuoka, 17 September 1910, letter to Reinsch, Box 1, Reinsch papers.
Many of his writings were introduced to foreign countries. Charles Gregory Noble, Associate Dean of the College of Law, telling Reinsch that his thesis on "Common Law in the United States" had been quoted extensively in the Law Times of London, congratulated him on "getting a hearing across the ocean." K. Ebina, a former Japanese student of Reinsch, complimented him on writing so ably on the Orient despite the fact he had never been there.

In my judgment such a book like yours would never be produced by an American scholar, or I am misled. I believe the reason why your books always appeal to the Japanese mind is that you are the German scholar, at the same time the American. The systematical and analytical way of research which the German scholar used to do is what the Japanese students like most.

Ebina pointed out the need for understanding between nations and commented that this required the "work of men who attempt to figure out the things foreign to their countrymen with keen and exact observation." For this, he commented that Reinsch's book was quite satisfactory.

As recognition of his accomplishment in the scholarly profession, Reinsch was appointed Roosevelt Professor to the University of Berlin for 1912. Nicholas Murray Butler described the position as follows:

82 Charles Gregory Noble, 7 March 1900, letter to Reinsch, Box 1, Reinsch papers.
83 K. Ebina, 18 December 1911, letter to Reinsch, Box 2, Reinsch papers.
84 Ibid.
The Roosevelt Professor is not an exchange professor at all in the usual acceptation of that term. He does not represent any individual American university. He represents the scholarship of the nation and the whole body of our public opinion. His status both in theory and in fact is entirely different from that of a professor who represents a single institution of learning.\textsuperscript{85}

Cremin has claimed that "Progressivism cast the teacher in an almost impossible role: he was to be an artist of consummate skill, properly knowledgable in his field, meticulously trained in the science of pedagogy, and thoroughly embued with a burning zeal for social improvement."\textsuperscript{86} Reinsch strove to fulfill the various dimensions of this role, as he analyzed political activities and theory, educated his students through experience in research, and advocated the utilization of science for social improvement.

\textsuperscript{85} Nicholas Murray Butler, 12 December 1911, letter to Reinsch, Box 2, Reinsch papers.

\textsuperscript{86} Cremin, p. 91.
CHAPTER THREE

THE WORLD VIEW

Reinsch's approach to world politics was regulated by his concepts of nationalism and evolution. His commitment to cultural values gave his thought a character that was different from that found in the international views of most other progressives. It is not surprising that his concern for international affairs prompted him at one point in his life to give up his role of observer to assume a position as United States Minister to China.

I

Reinsch's attitude toward international relations has often been misunderstood, both in his day and in ours. A survey of contemporary reactions to his books reveals that several writers emphasized those elements of his thought that were critical of or hostile to the imperialism of his day. 1 George B. Chandler called World Politics "misleading," because, under the pretense of freedom "from a priori

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1See the review of World Politics in The Dial (16 October 1900). Vol. 2, Reinsch papers; the review of World Politics in The Outlook. Vol. 2, Reinsch papers.
conceptions and prejudices, it has running through it a pronounced vein of hostility to the expansionist movement as a whole."² Howard K. Beale quoted from the same book in citing arguments posed by anti-imperialists, and called Reinsch "a leading critic of Rooseveltian theories."³

A reviewer for The Dial came closer to the truth, however, when he wrote, "Instead of confusing the subject with sentimental platitudes about destiny, humanity, and the strenuous tasks of duty, he looks at the facts with something of the directness of a Machiavelli."⁴ Although Reinsch was more critical of the methods of expansion than were many men of his day, he supported the basic premises of the movement, and he defended the aggressive foreign policy of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Taft.

At the core of his approach to expansion was the idea that evolution had ordained it.⁵ Believing that it had been sanctioned by the processes of social evolution, therefore, Reinsch accepted it as inevitable and, like other expansionists, defended it as being essential to

³ Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), p. 227n; see also pp. 18, 19-20, 159n, 175, 312n, 449.
⁵ For Reinsch's views on the evolution of society, see above, chapter 1.
national development, as being a corollary to industrialism, and as being an instrument for civilizing the world.

Reinsch's defense of expansion was in many ways a manifestation in foreign relations of his nationalist impulse and reflected his tendency to consider the national state as an organic unity. Just as in domestic affairs the statesman must develop his policy according to the evolutionary thrust of the nation, so also in foreign relations must his major aim be to realize the national spirit, by facilitating its expression and removing obstacles that might impede it. Reinsch judged international rivalry worthwhile, as it enabled a nation to develop its individuality by bringing out its strongest characteristics; and in the process, the world's civilization was endowed with music, literature, art, and other cultural gifts.

More sympathetic to the demands of nationalism than many midwesterners, Reinsch pointed out how nationalism and imperialism were related. Like Theodore Roosevelt, he understood the relationship between imperialism and national

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power. "As colonial enterprise has become a matter of prime importance in modern life, the success of a nation with respect to it is looked upon as a touchstone of national vigor and ability." He argued that a nation which possessed a complete national life would seek the influence which it felt it ought to exert by extending its civilization throughout the world. "The great powers are at present struggling not for supremacy, but for their fair share in the wealth and territory of the globe, in the influence that moulds the destiny of humanity."  

Reinsch's concept of national development depended on a precarious balance by which each nation expressed itself fully, but not excessively, and he realized this. "The national state is...a necessary condition of progress; but if it shall exaggerate its nationalism, it will ultimately defeat the very purpose by which its adherents justify its existence."

What must be prevented at all hazards is the ruthless preemption of territories not yet demanded by the interests of national expansion.... It is only necessary to repress the tendencies that would anticipate natural development, and thus create an artificial spirit of contention and competition not based on living, actual interests. To oppose the natural growth of a strong power is unwise and futile; to resist

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the artificial preemption of regions not yet necessary for national life is the part of statesmanship.\textsuperscript{11}

Yet Reinsch seldom concerned himself with the problems of how it was to be decided whether or not a nation was expanding naturally.

Economic motives were more prominent in the ideas of Reinsch than they were in the thinking of expansionists like Roosevelt.\textsuperscript{12} Reinsch argued that the pattern of modern expansionism was determined by the nature of industrial development.\textsuperscript{13} Capitalists wanted to invest in primitive regions and develop their resources. These investments were frequently accompanied by a movement for political control by their government. In addition to the motive of national prestige, there was the demand made by capitalists that their investments be supported by stable political conditions. Moreover, the fear of being shut out of an area controlled by another industrial nation produced competition for colonies.

The civilized powers are therefore preparing for the industrial conquest of the world. They have undertaken to open all promising regions to commercial and industrial development, and

\textsuperscript{11}World Politics, pp. 13, 257.

\textsuperscript{12}Beale, pp. 38, 74-75.

are striving to make investment in any part of the globe absolutely secure. Thus it is not only the desire for trade pure and simple, but a desire for fields of investment and exploitation that is the real motive of modern expansion. The watchword 'trade follows the flag' is at present not so important as 'the flag protects the investor.'\(^4\)

Like many men who believed in expansion, Reinsch was unwilling to admit that the national and commercial motives were the sole justifications.

Though true, it is a one-sided view that imperialism is the selfish policy of capital. Did it not represent the real demands of the human race, which is increasingly in want of available sources of sustenance, imperialism could not have become the force it is in modern politics. It is often difficult to distinguish the narrow selfishness of individuals, craving fields of exploitation, from the real demands of human progress; at all events, we must beware of a too easy optimism which forgets that often a harsh and cruel struggle for existence is really going on between superior races and the stubborn aborigines.\(^5\)

Thus the competition which produced national development also bestowed "civilization" upon the backward peoples of the world. This job was so vast that there was work for everyone. His only caution was that nations must limit themselves to those "manifestations of expansive energy... which are really in accordance with the aims and the character of civilization."\(^6\)


\(^5\)World Politics, p. 42.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 360.

Reinsch followed a circuitous path in formulating a rationalization of the need to provide the backward peoples with civilization. He admitted that imperialism could not be justified by simple humanitarianism because it was not possible to prove that "our political interference with others will be necessarily beneficial to them." So he looked to his own civilization. The characteristics that he saw as distinguishing Western civilization were mobility, concentration, and mastery over the forces of nature. In no other society are the members so independent, so able to move within the social body, to determine their own development, and to bring their energies to bear in a variety of places and manners. No other society has so high a concentration of individual forces for social ends. No other society has achieved so complete a mastery over the productive and impelling powers of nature. Out of these characteristics the expansion movement has naturally developed. It was impossible to restrict the mobility of social forces to national boundaries.\(^{19}\)

Having thus justified expansion in terms suggesting cultural relativism, Reinsch went on to define civilization in such an absolute way as to make it beneficial to all people.

Defined from the structural point of view, civilization implies a social organization of highly centralized energy combined with great mobility of the individual parts. This mobility involves the absence of a deadening fixation of activities by custom or caste, leaving the individual free

\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 9.

\(^{19}\)Ibid., pp. 9-10.
to seek the line of endeavor in which his own energies may find their best and most fruitful expression. It involves a constant betterment of the condition of humanity through invention, and consequently an intensive cultivation of the natural resources of the civilized state. The surplus thus obtained enables the civilized society to devote a large part of its energies to the advancement of education, art, and science. The distinction between civilization and barbarism lies therefore primarily in the mobility of social forces and in the readiness with which they are able to concentrate their efforts at any given point. The impact thus produced, no barbarian society can withstand. The positive superiority of a given society is thus not due to the presence of a large armed force but to the maintenance of conditions which will enable it to bring to bear at any time and at any given point the entire national energy.  

Thus, Reinsch defended the superiority of Western civilization, not in the economic and militaristic manner of men like Roosevelt, but on the basis of its entire social organization.  

Having justified the superiority of Western civilization on these grounds, Reinsch argued that to extend civilization to backward peoples would bless them in several ways. The most valuable gift, he said, was peace, which would pave the way for social advancement.  

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20 Ibid., p. 25.

21 The attitudes toward civilization expressed by Theodore Roosevelt and other expansionists are discussed in Beale, pp. 32ff, 460; and Mowry, p. 144.

that civilized nations could help raise the social organization of barbarian societies. Demonstrating his commitment to Western social institutions, particularly private property, he criticized barbarian communities for their taxation system, which "obstructs all opportunity of social progress...discourages the accumulation of the economic surpluses necessary for the work of civilization."  

It was the Orient which Reinsch felt was the critical area of Western expansion, for there expansion involved a contact between two great civilizations. The Orient was significant to the West, he felt, for several reasons. Modern communication and transportation were "shrivelling up" the world; 24 hence, "the narrow arena, within which European contests seemed destined to be fought out, has been broadened to include the whole world." 25 Moreover, he asserted, China possessed such vast natural resources and population that it was destined to become the industrial center of the world. 26

The whole situation is fraught with fateful possibilities for mankind; for whether the empire itself is destined to regain its strength and enter upon a marvellous career of industrial

23 Colonial Administration, p. 92.
24 World Politics, p. 205.
development; or whether Russia is fated to gain the upper hand, and make of China the real seat and center of her power; or whether, finally, the European powers should succeed in preserving a balance under which the forces now at work may develop without disturbance — in any event, the issue is found to exert a radical influence on the civilization of the world.  

Not only would the meeting of the Orient and the Occident have tremendous impact on the world balance of power, it would also vitally affect Oriental civilization, warned Reinsch. There, society, stabilized by a social tradition of thousands of years, was threatened with dissolution. Should industrialism wipe out Oriental social traditions there would be danger that "fanatical hordes, freed from the restraint of their inherited social laws, scourged into bitter dissatisfaction by the loss of their livelihood through the introduction of machinery, will be ready to burn, rob, and murder indiscriminately the rich of their own nation and foreign intruders. Therefore, the application of these progressive methods of thought and action to a static society is fraught with the greatest danger."  

Most significant of all, however, was the question of the ideological impact of the two civilizations on each other. Reinsch, unlike many expansionists, was acutely

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27 World Politics, p. 88.

28 Reinsch, "Governing the Orient on Western Principles," The Forum, 31 (June, 1901), p. 400.
aware of the fact that Eastern ideas might change Western patterns of thought. "Whether in politics the opening of the Orient will lead to an emphasis of absolutism, and to a discouragement of individualistic and liberal principles of government, is a question which must engage the most serious thought of student and statesman."  

Reinsch preferred a "peaceful fusion of Oriental and Western social ideals and industrial capacities" 30 to the conquest of one civilization by the other, and consequently urged that statesmen direct all their efforts to "maintaining intact and open to Western thought and life the greatest empire of the East." 31

Like other progressives, Reinsch did not oppose America's imperialist undertakings; instead, he provided ideological support for them. 32 He believed that American participation in world politics was inevitable, and welcomed it as a just recognition of its power and an acceptance

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30 World Politics, p. 231.
31 Ibid., p. 241.
of its responsibility. Along with Roosevelt, Croly, and others, he expected his country to exercise a beneficent influence on the balance of power, especially in the Orient.

With the great influence in international councils thus acquired by the United States may we hope that there will not go a complete assimilation to the rather unscrupulous methods of empirical diplomacy. It is here that the greatness of our country may count. If habitually exercised in consonance with the older American ideals of international justice the newly acquired power and prestige of the United States cannot fail to advance the cause of justice among nations and counterbalance the movement towards excessive nationalism.

He argued the interpretation that the United States had been "driven to interference" in the Spanish-American War by a humanitarian concern for the Cubans; he did not see "how we could have avoided the initial responsibility." But, regardless of the unpremeditated nature of American participation, he advocated that the United States keep the Philippines because "he believed in holding and defending to the utmost of our resources the territory gained by arms in a justifiable conflict." He valued the Philippines as an excellent base for trade with China and as a naval

33 World Politics, pp. 310-11.
34 Reinsch, "Results of the Spanish-American War," unidentified newspaper clipping. Vol. 8, Reinsch papers.
35 Ibid.
port. He argued that, because of the advantageous natural position of the Philippines in relation to China, the commercial interests of the United States there were greater than those of any other country. He predicted that someday American trade with China would exceed that with Europe. Since it held the Philippines, America would not need to "seek territorial concessions." He argued, moreover, that to secure American commercial interests in the Orient would also benefit international relations.

We can assist in offering a sturdy resistance to a dangerous advance on the part of the Russian empire, and exert a decisive influence in keeping the whole of China open to Western commerce. If our influence is thus justly and fairly exerted for the general interests of trade and industry we need not...incite the enmity of other great powers, except when they desire advantages that are contrary to the general welfare of the world.

Reinsch also defended other elements in the Far Eastern policy of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. His writings contain numerous arguments in favor of the Open Door Policy.

Natural expansion of commerce and industry, he said, was


39 "The Philippine Question in its International Aspects."

40 Ibid.

"less liable to abuse [than spheres of interest] because under it any nation, before entering upon new territory, must prove by economic service, already rendered, its ability to benefit that region and its inhabitants."\textsuperscript{42}

Of course, his insistence on allowing commerce to expand was based on a conviction that America, if she could secure equal opportunity, would win the competition.

The policy of building a practical system of defense of United States' interests was also recommended by Reinsch. Do not seek territory indiscriminately, he advised; rather "ascertain where the most important interests of the United States...are, and by what political actions and methods they may be developed."\textsuperscript{43} Specifically, he advised strengthening domestic industry, building the Nicaragua Canal, laying a Pacific cable, forming banking communications with the Orient, and maintaining strategic points of communication.

He extolled the merchant marine, which, "both as the handmaid of international commerce and as the complement of the naval force, has become a most important index of naval power;...its healthy development is coming to be numbered among the very first national interests."\textsuperscript{44} Although expressing disappointment at the small size of the

\textsuperscript{42}World Politics, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., p. 312.

United States merchant marine, he took comfort in the belief that the country, in building its internal strength, had been laying a "solid foundation," so that as "the national energy is beginning to be turned toward foreign commerce we shall...also develop all the instrumentalities necessary for this great national activity."\footnote{Ibid.}

Reinsch's support of the American government's foreign policy is evident in his attitude toward the Russian-Japanese War. His attitude toward Russia and Japan demonstrated a shift similar to that of Theodore Roosevelt.\footnote{Beale's discussion of Roosevelt's evolving attitude toward Russia and Japan is found on pp. 259ff.} As early as 1899 he warned that an excessive expansion by either Russia or Japan should be opposed by the West. He warned especially, however, against allowing China to fall into the hands of Japan, for then, "the Western world might expect not only disastrous industrial competition, but also grave political consequences."\footnote{"The Philippine Question in its International Aspect."} But his attitude toward Russia seemed to be more sympathetic, as he warned Americans to protect themselves from "violent anti-Russian prejudice, because the Russian government has given evidence of a desire to treat American commerce with great fairness within her Asiatic dominions."\footnote{Ibid.} In 1900, he concluded that "Russia's paramount
importance in contemporary history is her position as chief mediator between the East and the West."\textsuperscript{49}

By the time of the Portsmouth negotiations, however, Reinsch was defending Japan and criticizing Russia. He denied that Japan presented a "Yellow Peril." "The military, industrial, and racial peril with which Europe is...threatened is the burden of the present song of Russian diplomacy, since the 'treachery' of Japan in attacking before a solemn declaration of war has been fully exploited."\textsuperscript{50} Japan was working to become the "middleman" for the Orient. If she succeeded, she "would not be strong enough to hamper and exclude European commerce, but she would be given the opportunity to call the Orient to a realization of its own spirit."\textsuperscript{51} On the other hand, "should Russia be successful, she will have a free hand to enforce the policy of exclusiveness which she has already announced."\textsuperscript{52} Reinsch, therefore, like Theodore Roosevelt, by 1905 was seeing Japan as a bulwark against Russia. But, whereas Roosevelt was concerned with questions of strategy, it seems that Reinsch was primarily interested in commercial considerations.

\textsuperscript{49}"Cultural Factors in the Chinese Crisis," p. 437.


\textsuperscript{51}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{Ibid.}
To prevent Russia from accomplishing her purpose in China, Reinsch recommended that it is the present duty of British and American diplomacy to prevent...injustice to Japan and the consequent danger to the peace of the world. Japan is fighting our battle...The very least that the Anglo-Saxon races can do for the representatives of their policy in the Orient, is to counteract the diplomatic influence that would...again deprive the Japanese of the fruits of their unexampled self-sacrifice. 53

Thus he supported a policy similar to that adopted by Roosevelt in undertaking to mediate at the Portsmouth Peace Conference. He criticized the results of the conference, however, but not, as Beale intimated, because he was worried about antagonizing Russia; 54 it was because the results were "a diplomatic defeat for Japan." 55 Japan had been defeated at the conference, he explained, because Russia had been supported by her friends, while Japan had been abandoned by the United States and Great Britain.

Another example of Reinsch's support of American policy was his defense of friendship and cooperation with Great Britain. He maintained that "real sympathies...draw the best men of both nations together. In England alone, of all European countries, is our civilization understandingly

53 Ibid., pp. 56-57.
54 Beale, p. 312n.
judged."  

It had been to England that he had looked for help in stopping Russia in China, and he felt that Britain had neglected its duty by failing to support Japan during the Portsmouth negotiations.

In addition to supporting American policy in the Orient, Reinsch advocated the American position regarding Latin America. In 1907 he warned that American prosperity would not continue indefinitely, and that "it is only a matter of time when we shall fear hard times....It should be our aim to increase our commerce with South America, Japan, and China to act as a safeguard against such a crisis."  

He encouraged Americans to take a leading role in developing the continent to our south. In a speech to the Milwaukee Bankers' Club, he said,

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In January, 1903, Reinsch wrote an article on the "Positive Side of the Monroe Doctrine," in which he enunciated the principles which were to be expressed in 1904 by Theodore Roosevelt in the "Roosevelt Corollary." "It is a fundamental requirement, in the present state of human development, that every part of the world must be rendered subservient to the uses of the whole, by being made accessible and being provided with responsible and efficient government." European powers, therefore, had every right to demand protection for their citizens who were developing the continent, and South American states must be held responsible for any damages caused by local disturbances.

The basis of the responsibility of a South American republic is different from that of a perfectly independent state. Such a state answers in the last resort by its territorial sovereignty, which, in the case of Latin America, is declared inviolable by the Monroe Doctrine. The United States by shielding the southern republics in this manner is itself assuming a certain responsibility for them. The policy of excluding all political influence of the European Powers would be purely a 'dog in the manger' way of acting unless it rested upon vital national interests and unless it included the willingness to make up in some way for removing the ultimate political responsibility of the states affected.

Therefore it would be up to the United States to maintain stable government there.


60 Ibid.
During Taft's administration Reinsch, on the request of Secretary Knox, agreed to advise LaFollette to support the administration on Dollar Diplomacy and the Honduras Convention.\(^{61}\)

It is evident that Reinsch cannot be considered as an anti-expansionist. He believed in the underlying ideological bases for the imperial movement throughout the world. In addition to encouraging the expansion of American commercial interests, he supported the aggressive policies of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. His writings and speeches provided a rationale for the expansionists.

II

There were, however, elements in Reinsch's thought that were not typical of expansionist sentiment, and which, taken by themselves caused him to be misinterpreted. His scholarly approach made him reluctant to accept at face value everything connected with expansionism. He feared that some tendencies, if uncontrolled, might become exaggerated, and thereby distort the world situation. He was unusually sympathetic with the natives of underdeveloped regions. Finally, he was concerned about the harmful effects that expansionism was likely to have on domestic affairs.

\(^{61}\) Secretary Knox, letters to Reinsch, 3 May 1911 and 10 May 1911, Box 2, Reinsch papers.
His attitude toward foreign relations involved the same pragmatism that characterized his approach to domestic affairs and political science. When confronted by a theory or an idea, his reaction was to test it by an examination of the facts: "The idea of endowing an inferior or backward race with the institutions of a more highly developed civilization has at present a great charm for the American people....Therefore [it is wise to] inquire how far attempts to accomplish this result have been successful in the past." 62

Although his value system prevented him from being as objective as he thought he was, this attitude of skepticism enabled him to develop valuable insights into conditions and formulate criticisms that appeared striking to many people. The Springfield Daily Republican commented that Professor Reinsch writes with the glacial impartiality of a scientist who is concerned only to gather data and make truthful inductions from them. Evidently he believes that the civilized world is entering upon a fresh era of imperialism, but at the same time, he recognizes and states with admirable candor and force the evil effects of this movement upon liberal political institutions. 63

Reinsch argued that several advantages could be gained from careful examination of the facts. 64 Such examination would enable the United States to learn from

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63 **Editorial reference to World Politics.** Vol. 2, Reinsch papers.
64 **Colonial Governments,** pp. v, 13; **World Politics,** pp. 339, 310, 313, 25, 26.
the experience of other nations and would stimulate an attitude of rationalism within the country. Like Herbert Croly, Reinsch was critical of the American propensity to enunciate policies without consideration of their consequences. He argued that, as America was embarking on a career in international affairs, she could no longer rely solely on her resources and good fortune; competition was so severe that it was essential to plan carefully lest fortunes be wasted on fruitless projects. Finally, he hoped that knowledge of the facts would temper American attitudes toward foreign peoples. An increased understanding of the industrialized nations would minimize the tendency to regard them with suspicion, while a realization of the actualities of contact with underdeveloped peoples would lead to "[recogn... that it is a serious and sad duty which the white race is performing in making way for its own further expansion." 65

Reinsch's investigation of the facts behind the theories of imperialism made him fearful of some of these theories, if carried to extremes. 66 At times, he doubted the value of European intellectual life, with its Machiavellianism, its worship of force, its cynical pessimism, vast armaments, and cunning statesmanship. He recognized dangerous

65World Politics, p. 43.

66"The Attitude of German Toward the United States," p. 5; World Politics, pp. 12, 242-43.
tendencies in nationalism. One danger was the possibility of armed conflict to obtain world empire; another was the possibility that humanitarian and cultural values would be subordinated to national aggressiveness. His doubts about colonial expansion were so great as to make him feel that "the entire policy of governing distant and alien dependencies is still on trial."  

But, in general, he suppressed his anxieties and doubts by a faith in the ability of man to exercise reason and control the forces at work in the world.

As the human will and intellect has tamed the fierce powers of the lightning and the storm, can it not also master, in some measure at least, the tumultuous energies that are now stirring its own deeper nature and breaking forth into the battle cry of action, conquest, expansion, glory, and might?  

Reinsch's critical attitude toward certain aspects of expansionism was prompted not only by his scholarly approach, but also by a number of beliefs which produced in his writings a sympathy for non-Western populations that was remarkable for a man of his day. One of these was his humanitarianism. Another was his appreciation of cultural values. A third was his conception of social evolution. Finally, he did not adhere to theories of innate racial inferiority.

67 Colonial Administration, p. v.
68 World Politics, pp. 79-80.
A sketch of Reinsch in World To-Day remarked on his humanitarian outlook, saying that Reinsch constitutes himself a champion wherever a champion is needed. Our civilization has plenty so he champions others. He stands against the aggressor, for the native against the exploiter, for the backward races against the strong militant nations.69

One desideratum Reinsch expected of a colonial government was that it safeguard the rights of the natives; he sharply criticized practices that impaired their lives. Although he approved of the movement to extend industrialism throughout the world, he hoped that "the ideal side, the obligations to humanity, of this great movement [may] be realized more fully, to the end that it may become humanized and refined."70

Reinsch's respect for cultural values stimulated him to appreciate cultures other than his own. In some ways, his views were anticipatory of twentieth century anthropologists like W. I. Thomas, who explained differences between cultures as being manifestations of different interpretations of experience.71

May industrialism also forbear to reduce the life of the world to the sordid uniformity of a dead

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mechanism, but taking account of the rich variety of human existence, aid the peculiar genius of race and locality to find the best means of expression.\textsuperscript{72}

Reinsch did not share Roosevelt's contempt for the Chinese.\textsuperscript{73} He ascribed Western misunderstanding of Oriental culture to the inability of a practical nature to comprehend a spiritual approach to life, but Reinsch himself admired those peoples exactly for this quality. "We can imagine no greater political crime, not only against the Orient, but against ourselves, than the attempt to turn Oriental civilization from its natural course of development,...to destroy its broad and noble ideals, its peaceful industrial life, in order to force it into a sham similitude with our system."\textsuperscript{74}

Reinsch's appreciation of Oriental culture was so deep that he believed the Western interpretation of life would be permanently altered by contact with the Orient. Pointing out that Schopenhauer, Comte, Nietzsche, Kipling, and Wagner were all influenced by Oriental thought, he denied that conflict between East and West was inevitable.

They are complementary to each other, not competitive....Our own civilization, torn by internal conflicts and troubled by uncertainties, has sought for broader views in Oriental thought;


\textsuperscript{73} Roosevelt's attitude toward the Chinese is discussed in Beale, pp. 181-82.

\textsuperscript{74} "Japan and Asiatic Leadership," p. 57.
Japanese art has shown our artists a new way of beauty... A new vista of artistic possibilities has been opened up. The monistic thought of Oriental philosophy has been more and more approached and assimilated by our scientific system.  

As a consequence of these views, there is little chauvinism in Reinsch's writings. George Ray Wicker, reviewing a Reinsch book, asserted that the "search for truth, not for American truth, has been the aim of the writer."  

Reinsch's work contains little of that racism that is found in the ideas of so many of his contemporaries. Recognizing that individuals in underdeveloped nations were capable of outstanding achievement, he, like Roosevelt, ascribed the simple civilization of these societies to their social, political, and climatic environment, not to their physical incapacity.  

In addition to these values, which prompted Reinsch to reject the assumption that non-Western societies were hopelessly inferior, Reinsch's conception of social evolution convinced him it was possible to assist them to achieve a better life. He did not agree with the progressive assumption that any extension of Western civilization automatically

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75 Ibid.  
76 Review of World Politics, unidentified magazine clipping. Vol. 8, Reinsch papers.  
77 Howry (pp. 92-93) discusses the attitudes of progressives on race.
produced an improvement in the social conditions of the colonies, however. His studies of the colonial policies of Great Britain, France, and Germany led him to conclude that most methods of governing had been failures. Drawing on principles of psychology, he argued that the policies had failed because Westerners had underestimated the viability of native customs and beliefs. His idea that society progressed only according to orderly stages of evolution reinforced this belief.

A society in which the individual has not yet developed and left the bonds of class, caste, or family, would have its morale utterly destroyed and be reduced to calamitous confusion by the introduction of western individualistic institutions. But not only would the introduction of such a system injure social life and even destroy its foundations, it would, moreover, lead to manifold abuse, manipulations, and suppressions of right and truth in its application.  

The only colonial policy that could succeed was one which took cognizance of the laws of social evolution and, by working with the society at its present stage of evolution formulate a program to guide it to the next stage of social organization.  

Reinsch's humanitarianism, his appreciation of cultural diversity, his environmental attitude toward racial differences, and his understanding of social evolution

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78 Colonial Governments, pp. 224-25.
79 Colonial Administration, p. 24.
prompted his criticisms of colonial policy. These criticisms often made him appear to be an anti-expansionist. He insisted that policies toward underdeveloped regions must not be based solely on consideration of home interests, but must be determined by the local conditions in the area. "What these regions need is not politics, but wise and experienced administration; not assimilation, but sympathy and assistance in achieving their peculiar destiny." By this attitude, and specifically by his application of it to affairs in China, Reinsch demonstrated an insight that Theodore Roosevelt lacked.

His approach was based largely on the assumption that once the right environment was established, the individuals within the society would change.

In colonial politics we have to deal with societies in their broadest aspects — with civilizations and not with individuals...It is only as we modify the structure, principles, and customs, of native societies, that we can exert any lasting influence upon individuals.

80 "Governning the Orient on Western Principles," p. 396.
81 "What Roosevelt failed to see, in his contemptuous attitude toward the Chinese, was that neither America nor any other outside power could impose these moral and mental processes on China, but that she must come through her own development to new values in keeping with her own culture and history," Beale, p. 459.
82 Nowry discusses the prevalence of this attitude in the thinking of many progressives, pp. 45-52.
The first concern of a Western country should be to establish a sound economic basis for the society, he said. Reinsch did not view economic reforms as ends in themselves, but argued that they "may, like the massive architecture of a cathedral crypt, in time, upbear an edifice which will answer larger purposes than those of mere economic welfare and progress."\(^{84}\)

Another concern must be to encourage practices of self-government, in order to bring the natives to a share in the administration of their area, he urged. In this way administrators would be following the principles of social evolution.

All attempts at self-government in the colonies must begin at this point, and unless the natives can be interested in the concerns of their local and municipal administration, unless they can develop a spirit of communal solidarity, of readiness to take part in the communal business, and of pride in communal progress, there is no hope of successfully introducing the higher institutions of self-government.\(^{85}\)

A third important concern of colonial administrators, he wrote, should be the process of education, which, like other policies, could only be effective if adapted to the local conditions. He stressed the idea of education as social adjustment.

We educate a mind when we open it to an understanding of the social phenomena that surround

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\(^{84}\) Ibid., p. 37.  
\(^{85}\) Colonial Governments, p. 330.
it, when we give it a grasp upon the principles of existence which affect its being, when we give it the power to act creatively by formulating suggestions and modes of action which will find a response among contemporaries. 86

He suggested, therefore, that the intellectual content of Western education was not appropriate to underdeveloped nations, and proposed that the best approach was through instruction in practical life.

The side from which the intellectual nature of the non-European races will perhaps prove most accessible is that which is connected with the mastery of nature....The mastery of the resources and forces of nature has given us a new conception of life, it has relieved us from the fear of the capricious powers by which primitive man sees himself threatened on all sides....As we prepare the more backward races to share in this mastery over nature, they will also have a better understanding of our intellectual life and our beliefs. 87

Reinsch not only differed from most expansionists in his skeptical attitude toward their exuberant theories, and his compassion for the natives, but in his concern for expansion's effect on internal affairs. 88 Insisting that America's primary concern must always be its national life at home, he believed that expansion threatened to undermine this life in several ways. It would divert public attention from social reform. It tended to emphasize

86 Colonial Administration, p. 39.
87 Ibid., pp. 34-35.
88 World Politics, pp. 327-62.
techniques of wasteful exploitation rather than intensive methods of economic growth. There was danger of an extreme increase of power in the executive department, which was not sufficiently responsive to public opinion. Finally, he was concerned about freedom of speech for "as soon as the foreign interests of the nation are at stake, divergences of opinion have to be reconciled and a common front presented to the foreign rival." 89

III

During his years at the University Reinsch remained the detached observer of foreign affairs that he had been with respect to the domestic situation. Much of his work reveals remarkable understanding and sympathy for other ways of life. In fact, in addition to functioning as a defender of American expansion and as a critic of some of its aspects, his major function as an intellectual was to promote international understanding by interpreting the Oriental way of life. A former student wrote Reinsch that a reviewer of one of his articles in a popular Japanese magazine, the Tai-Yo, concluded by remarking, "In the United States and in England we could have rarely such an authority of just and thorough conception upon the Orientals, as is represented by Professor Reinsch." 90

89 Ibid., p. 329.
90 Goro Nakayama, letter to Reinsch, 19 April 1905, Box 1, Reinsch papers.
Believing that mutual understanding was essential for the peaceful solution of the problems presented by the confrontation of East and West, Reinsch insisted that the moral concepts underlying the two civilizations were identical and suggested that the observable differences were caused by environmental factors and social structure. Prominent in his writings are sympathetic descriptions of the Oriental approach to life. Often the victims of violent natural catastrophes, the Orientals, he said, had adopted a passive approach to nature. "Busied rather with the causes of things and with the general laws of existence, they turn to religion and philosophy, and give but little attention to practical facts, to scientific control of the forces of nature, and to the betterment of social conditions." The feeling of helplessness in face of the forces of nature causes the world to appear as a great procession of shadows, full of suffering and evil. But in all this impermanence, in the multitude of fleeting and ephemeral individual existences, the Oriental mind sees the manifestation of an omnipresent force — eternal change.

This concept of eternal change had only recently entered Western thought, he pointed out.

92"Japan and Asiatic Leadership," p. 49.
93Ibid.
Not only—did Reinsch sympathetically impart the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Orient to Americans, but he also analyzed this heritage to determine which qualities were compatible with Occidental life. An important distinction, as he saw it, was the absence in the Orient of a tradition of individualism. He believed that China was most amenable to democracy because of its tradition of local self-government. Yet China was also most backward in economic and social affairs. Hence he was concerned about the effect of industrialism on the social life of the nation.

In understanding and interpreting Oriental life, Reinsch recognized, as many Americans did not, the nationalist aspirations of the peoples there. He pointed out that one factor to be considered in governing the Philippines was the educated natives' "ideal of ultimate independence, of a prosperous and honored national life like that of Japan.... They will not cease appealing to the honor of the United States to aid them in realizing this ambition." Reinsch's interpretation of the Boxer Rebellion gave credit to the upsurge of nationalist feeling in the country and its objection to foreign interferences; he criticized the foreigners for not having worked with the Chinese group that had desired peaceful reform along Western lines and in accord with the major ideals of Chinese civilization.

As the years went on, Reinsch became more concerned about the dangers of international war. Consequently, another element of his promotion of international understanding involved his efforts to ensure world peace. His early attitude had been that international competition was good because there was enough work to be done in the world. But, as time passed, his writings began to place more stress on world unity.

The great fact that the world is a unit rests upon the underlying conditions of modern invention and science which the dictum of no national government can destroy. International cooperation points out the only way in which humanity may continue to develop without wasting its energy and ultimately falling prey to triumphant militarism....On the one hand lies barbarism, on the other the hope of continued progress.95

Pointing with encouragement to the growing number of international professional and governmental organizations, he expressed the hope that these would provide a concrete form of international cooperation so that war would become unfeasible, since it would threaten to destroy essential bonds.

He grew alarmed at the burgeoning armament competition and recommended that several of the great powers be persuaded to agree to reduce arms on a proportional basis. But this suggestion, it should be noted, was carried on wholly within the framework of United States policy. Great

Britain and the United States were to lead in the negotiations. Moreover, he specified that

the adoption of such a policy...would in no way act as a restraint upon the proper and natural expansion of national life and power. All that the nation can reasonably demand is the freedom to arm itself in a natural proportion to its various resources. When armaments are restricted within this limit, they are free from the dangers involved in an exaggerated and artificial competition.⁹⁶

He expressed a sentiment shared by Roosevelt, that armament reduction would not necessarily reduce a nation's protection, for, if a country did not have to worry about the size of its military, it could concentrate on quality.

He also became active in the Carnegie Peace Endowment group. He participated in an international conference in Berne designed to plan for the scientific study of the problems involved in maintaining world peace, emphasizing that war was a social phenomenon.

But despite this concern, he was never willing to give up requirements that the national state be fully developed. The priority he gave to this idea reduced the effectiveness of any plans for peace because there was always the possibility of conflict produced by competition springing from a feeling of genuine interest.

⁹⁶Reinsch, "A Possible Approach to the Limitation of Armaments," Box 14, p. 4.
In spite of his insight into world affairs, his fear of dreadful conflict, his appreciation of other cultures, the fact remains that the impact of his writings and speeches was such as to sanction the international rivalries that eventually resulted in World War I. Certain basic values prevented him from any other possibility.

For one, his conception of the evolution of Western civilization convinced him of the inevitability of industrial imperialism. In addition, this development was in accord with his vision of the world. Part of this vision involved a faith that knowledge and study would provide sufficient ammunition to control the forces.

We must analyze the forces at work in order to determine which of them are really in accordance with the aims and the character of civilization. ...We must...be governed by the inherent laws of our own rational nature.97

Another element in his vision was a conception of the world as a vast expanse of undeveloped physical and human resources.

No one can behold the new fields and possibilities opened up to the human race...without the thought that for centuries to come there is here provided work in abundance for willing hands. Could only the crying injustice to natives...that so often mars the work of the greatest pioneers of industrial advance, be shut out from our vision, the picture of teeming resources only awaiting a master hand to be turned into wealth and bountiful sustenance for whole nations would fill us with

97 World Politics, p. 8.
pure gratification. What a school for hardy training in bold purpose and iron will power, what risks to face, what dangers to overcome, what prizes to win!98

This vision of vast resources waiting to be utilized explains his attitude that each nation could develop according to its own inner drives without infringing on the rights of others.

Finally, his affirmation of force places him so firmly in sympathy with his age that it would be impossible for him to make more severe criticism of it.

Our age has turned from intellectualism to the worship of force. This development may be considered as antagonistic to democracy. But I do not see why the concept of democracy cannot be brought into harmony with these new forces.... It means, after all, only that we interpret life not in the cold analysis of reason but that we conceive of all life as the manifestation of force. Intellectual life, itself, ought to be looked upon as a manifestation of force. A worship of physical force goes with that, but after all no force counts unless it is intellectually organized. A democratic society represents in itself the force of the entire social body and this idea of the development of force is really an outgrowth of the democratic idea, because in older forms of life, there was no attempt to develop the force of the masses of the people.99

IV

We have seen that, as an intellectual writing on


99 Reinsch, 'The Philosophy of the State,' Box 14, Reinsch papers, p. 94.
foreign relations, Reinsch functioned in several ways. He tried to increase international understanding. He provided ideological support for principles underlying the foreign policy of the American government and the expansionists. Yet, he also served as a critic of certain methods by which some aims were being carried out.

As a critic, Reinsch objected to certain elements of world politics; yet his criticisms were not as basic as they might have been. With all his sympathy for Chinese nationalism, he did not argue that the Chinese should take part in the Portsmouth negotiations and thereby help determine their own destiny; rather he discussed the negotiations from the point of view of the imperialist nations, siding with Japan. There are two possible explanations for his failure to follow his insights to their ultimate conclusion. One could argue that, in light of the inevitability of world conditions, he decided to accept them, and try to channel them in a constructive way. But, in light of his vision of the world, it seems more likely that, despite his assumed attitude of detachment and observation, he was not sufficiently alienated from the forces of his society to apprehend the extreme dangers in the expansion movement which would stimulate severe criticisms.

Reinsch's views on foreign affairs reaffirm the primacy of intellectual and cultural values in his system of
thought. They also further illumine his attitude toward the role of the practical. He saw practical and material affairs as the means to his higher ends. The creation of a stable economic system for underdeveloped countries, he felt, would pave the way for development of cultural institutions of a higher level and value. Approach the Orientals with the practical arts, he proposed, and they may become more amenable to Western intellectual and cultural achievements.

But, most important, Reinsch left no doubt that he believed an intellectual approach to life to be of primary value. This quality of the Orientals is what attracted him to their culture. And it is what he thought could be the ultimate meaning of expansion for the West.

Mastery over external nature...attracts as part of the regime of energetic activity, but to the Orient the spirit of man, the mysteries of his psychology, the grandeur of the limitless vistas of development of which the human soul is capable and the heights to which it may attain, are more fascinating than any of the phenomena of external physical nature. It is to Orientals a source of great inspiration and enthusiasm to think that they are called to give to the world, and to perpetuate in it, this noble spirituality. They have come to recognize the merits of the West, its high individual development, its energetic activity, its clean and successful methods, its complex system of machinery; but they also well understand that the human spirit does not always come to its own with all this efficiency and outward success, that machinery kills souls, that mechanism destroys human feeling. When they see the West striving to introduce mechanical ideas into the most sublime realms of thought, standardizing everything upon the basis of computed units of efficiency, they feel that the
Orient still has a message that will be heard. It is from materialism that they hope to bring liberation.

This is the greatest paradox in philosophy, that the West, where man first became conscious of his powers, where he learned to master the forces of nature before which the Oriental peoples bowed down in awe, should invariably have to yield to the Orient in fully appreciating the intense power of that very human mind and its activity.

He expected the West to derive a new interpretation of life as a result of its contact with the East. Ultimately, this new interpretation was to involve a realization that the human mind is the most powerful force in the world.

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100 Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East, pp. 60-61; 47.
CONCLUSION

How can we assess Reinsch as an intellectual? Professor Curti's definition of an intellectual describes Reinsch, for central to his thinking was the idea that knowledge, gathered and evaluated by the application of rigorous analytical standards, was the essential instrument for the solution of the social problems of his day. He also manifested other qualities attributed to intellectuals. The critical attitude by which he evaluated theories, testing them against concrete experiences, or facts, elevated the knowledge with which he worked to a level tending toward universality. Probing the relationship of art, literature, philosophy, and technology to the political environment, he demonstrated the breadth of his interests. His intellectual "piety" put him in tune with the Oriental reverence for the powers of the mind.

As a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Reinsch played the role of both expert and man of ideas in public policy. He shared his knowledge of political science with state officials through conferences, through participation in Madison social clubs, and through his cooperation with Charles McCarthy. He served as expert for the federal
government by his participation in the scientific conferences. Speeches, given under the auspices both of the University and of private groups served as vehicles for his ideas, as did published books and magazine articles, appearing in The Outlook, Unity, The North American Review, World's Work, and The Chautauquan, among others.

Reinsch demonstrated that the functions intellectuals may perform are indeed multiple. He was an intellectual defending American society to the extent that he wanted to preserve and enrich democracy. He was also an intellectual defending that segment of society which wanted to reform state and federal government. In foreign affairs, he provided an intellectual rationale for the policy of the American government and was a spokesman for Western civilization as a whole. Yet he was also a "utopian critic," as he criticized legislative procedure, the education and selection of public officials, and the methods of colonial administration. His descriptions of dishonest lobbying practices and harmful colonial policies served to "expose sham and injustice." His sympathetic descriptions of Oriental society and his work in behalf of world unity were intended to promote international understanding.

Reinsch was aware of what Shils calls the tension between intellectuals and authority, as manifested in a tension between the intellectual activity of a university
and the authority of public opinion in a democratic state. 1
This problem, he said, was most severe in the State uni-
versities, where the support of scientific work depends
upon the decision of a legislature composed of men from all
occupations. But he believed that the tension could be
resolved so that the intellectuals would be able to main-
tain their standards. His faith in the people convinced
him they would not let the universities down. "Almost
invariably, the underlying common sense of the average
citizens and their trust in intellectual ideals asserts
itself, with the result that the support of higher educa-
tion never fails." 2

But he did specify that the men of learning had a
responsibility "to ascertain by adequate induction a sure
foundation for their scientific theories and...deal with
personal opinions as provisional." 3 And he was willing
to restrict academic freedom in order to maintain a uni-
form moral standard in America.

Contemporary writers have discussed the idea that
tension exists between intellectuals and the business com-
munity. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., claiming that the attitudes

1 Reinsch, "The Inner Freedom of American Intellectual
2 Ibid., p. 735.
3 Ibid.
of Americans toward intellectuals are cyclical in time, believes that the intellectuals were taken more seriously in the 1900's and 1930's than in the 1920's and 1950's. He claims that business control of America shuts out the intellectual, but that when an effective coalition of non-business groups, in which intellectuals play an essential part, replaces business domination, intellectuals are highly regarded.

There are indications that a coalition was part of what happened in Wisconsin. LaFollette, in his Autobiography, described how he enlisted the help of university graduates during his campaigns and how he utilized the knowledge of the professors to enrich his administration. Reinsch also provides support for this contention. In discussing the use of university experts for scientific counsel to state governments, he remarked,

Though strongly combated by certain private interests which, to put it in their own form of thought, believe that the experience of men of business is a safer guide than the expert ability of men of science, and which oppose co-operation, the system has nevertheless established itself on account of its utility; and few people continue to dispute the right and duty of the university to assist in the work of building up the industrial, commercial, agricultural, social, and artistic life of the commonwealth.

4 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Commentary on Lipset, Daedalus (Summer, 1959), p. 488.

5 "Inner Freedom" p. 739.
Although Reinsch advocated this application of scientific knowledge to governmental affairs, he recognized that there also were limitations. Hence, though he talked much about expertise, he also stressed the need to incorporate the common sense of the people into the government. He also pleaded for more public participation in governmental affairs in order to overcome any evils of excessive bureaucracy.

Although he believed that direct government employment of scholars was essential for the establishment of satisfactory foundations for action, he also realized, as have Hughes, Baritz, Riesman, and others, that direct assumption of power in a governmental office restricts the intellectual's freedom. "The regimentation which is inevitable in governmental work limits the freedom of movement of the expert, so that the conditions are not perhaps most favorable for individual and intensive work leading to great discoveries." 6

Hofstadter points out that such association with power can itself be enlightening to the intellectual. 7 Reinsch recognized this. In discussing the manner in which professors provided expert advice to the state, he remarked that "the necessity of having concrete reality always before

6 Ibid., p. 738.
7 Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, p. 429.
their eyes and of remaining conscious of the relation of scientific work to the welfare of the commonwealth, has a vitalizing effect upon investigation and instruction in the universities." Certainly his own teaching illustrates this.

However, Reinsch preferred to be rather detached from the activities of the Wisconsin Idea because he was anxious not to impair the objectivity of his study of legislative procedures. While studying foreign affairs, he tried to remain "entirely free from a priori conceptions and prejudices, and to view the great drama of contemporary life as an unimpassioned beholder who forbears to censure to commend." 8 Baritz charges that the intellectual who assumes power becomes a "captive of relevance." A reading of Reinsch, especially on foreign affairs, suggests that the mere observer is in danger of captivity also, but of a different kind of relevance. The suspicion arises that Reinsch, in his passion for observing, tended to regard what he saw as inevitable, and that his willingness to accept situations, which was reinforced by his views on evolution, tended to reduce the scope of his criticisms and damage his ability to see alternatives.

We have seen that Reinsch's values, that is, his belief in social evolution, his vision of the world, his commitment to "force," prevented him from presenting the

8"Inner Freedom," p. 739.
9Reinsch, World Politics, p. v.
objective observations he thought he was making. This suggests the importance of values to the question of the intellectual and the problem of his relationship to society. If he accepts the basic values of his age, it seems doubtful whether he can be as alienated as Baritz would have him, though he might spend all his time locked in the study. It even seems doubtful whether he can be the "free practical mind" that White describes. On the other hand, if his values are really independent ones he might very likely participate without endangering them.

II

The final question which was raised in the introduction concerns the degree to which the Wisconsin scholars tended to ignore cultural factors. An examination of his ideas indicates two reasons why he, as one of the university scholars, may have contributed to a bias in favor of that intellectual activity which investigates practical affairs while ignoring cultural values.

The first is his skeptical attitude toward pure theory, his desire to base ideals on the realities of life. Time and time again, we find him rejecting something that is "theoretical" for something that is "practical." He praised the practical approach taken by the Fourth Pan-American Conference. He denied that theoretical discussion
could determine the exact manner by which the United States would assure stable government in Latin America. "The positive implications of the Monroe Doctrine...will be developed, not by theoretical discussion, but by gradually accumulating precedent."\textsuperscript{10} Such avoidance of the theoretical necessitates an ad hoc approach, which tends to emphasize the need for getting a practical solution to an immediate problem.

The second sprang from the means-end approach Reinsch took toward the question of the relationship between practical life and cultural affairs. His definition of civilization was predicated on this relationship. He believed that technical education could be infused with the ideals of pure science, and that those thus educated would then be open to ideals of art and culture. He believed that the practical skills of the West could open the way for an intellectual influence on the minds of non-Westerners.

But, despite these apparent preferences for the practical, the goal toward which he looked was the achievement of cultural values. He argued that national life could not be complete unless it was crowned by cultural activity. He hoped that the life of all individuals in the country could be bettered by the inspiration of artistic ideals. And he expected that the Orient would teach the West to appreciate

the primacy of the mind. Therefore, although we may feel that certain elements of Reinsch's work contributed to a bias in favor of the practical, but we must recognize that he never conceived of practical affairs as ends in themselves.
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