

man, and land. When, therefore, we find society afflicted with ills, since it is not practicable to alter the nature of man or land, the conclusion must be that the laws of relation of the one to the other are not just.—Evelyn Ansell, in *Westminster Review* for March, 1904.

THE PRAYER OF WAR.

Lord, be on our side,
Where our war banner floats,
And help us cut
All our enemies' throats!

To dash out the brains
Of their offspring and then
Lay in ashes their cities—
Amen, and Amen!
—Atlanta Constitution.

The cost of building one battleship like the Oregon is equal to the value of all the land and all the 94 buildings of Harvard university, plus the whole endowment of Hampton Institute; and the average time of efficiency of a battleship is only 13 years.—Report of speech by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.

"What is your idea of a statesman?"

"Well," answered Senator Sorghum, "in my opinion, the successful statesman is the man who finds out what is going to be done and then lifts up his voice and shouts for it."—Washington Star.

"Although I have granted you this interview," said the pompous new officeholder, "I don't want people to think I'm in the habit of talking for publication."

"They won't," replied the reporter, "when they see these remarks in print."
—Philadelphia Ledger.

BOOKS

ETHICS OF DEMOCRACY.

The first of a series of articles on "Christianity in the Modern World," appearing in the *Contemporary Review*, was noticed in *The Public* several weeks ago. In the second article, which appeared in the January number of this review, the author, with the same clearness and candor shown in the first article, comes to the consideration of the ethical aspect of modern social problems. What he says on a certain point is full of interest and importance, because it expresses very fairly the present attitude of many, perhaps of most, intelligent men who are giving thought to the stage of development in economic thought at which we have arrived. The quotation is somewhat long, but it is worthy of close attention:

"We stand to-day, then," writes Mr. Cairns, "if the argument be sound,

in this position. The old régime of pure 'laissez faire' has been proved impracticable. Its intellectual basis has been undermined, many of its inevitable consequences have outraged the conscience of all civilized and Christian States, and all of them to a greater or lesser degree have set about the task of producing a better order by means inconsistent with its principles. But the opposing ideal of a cooperative commonwealth is also impracticable. Civilized man has got beyond 'laissez faire'; he is not ready for the cooperative commonwealth. Freedom is no solution, but force is no remedy; and therefore, as has been said, we find the same unrest and anarchy in the economic sphere as we have found in the religious world. Society in our time is—

'Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,'

and experiences all the misery and unrest of such a state to the full.

"Shall it go back to the régime of pure competition with its enormous disparities of wealth, its women and child-slaves, its ruthless exploitation of the lower races? Surely to retrace its steps thus would not be to get any nearer to the City of God. Shall it plunge forward into a new social order in which the means of production are controlled by all, and each receives an amount of the proceeds in accordance with his 'needs,' and wealth and poverty are alike extinguished? Even those who feel most keenly the wrongs of the present order and the rights of the deserving poor may feel that such an issue would be fraught with more evil than good. Shall we then be content with the 'status quo,' with its 'submerged tenth,' its many millions who, as we have been recently told, live just above the hunger line, its increasing class antagonisms, its economic anarchy and instability? Surely none of these courses is possible, and yet it is difficult to see any other."

These serious questionings of an earnest mind as to the uncertainty of what is to be done are as earnestly and candidly answered in the book at present under review ("Ethics of Democracy," by Louis F. Post, Moody & Co., New York and Chicago, \$2). If Mr. Post had read this passage, and had wished to make answer to the difficulties of so intelligent a thinker as Mr. Cairns, he could hardly have replied more effectively and directly than he has done in the central and essential thought of this book. In its pages Mr. Cairns might see why the old régime of laissez faire has not brought success. When he says that freedom is no solution, he would see that we have never tried freedom. When he charges enormous disparities of wealth and ruthless exploitation

to the fault of pure competition, he would see that we have never had pure competition. When he dreads the plunge into a new social order in which the means of production are controlled by all and wealth is distributed according to needs, he would see that there is a more practical and a juster way out of our troubles than by any vague cooperative commonwealth, which would not be a commonwealth if it were forced. He would see that there is an ideal of genuine democracy which he has omitted in his analysis—a democracy which is an expression of righteousness, whose ethics are in harmony with that great order of things in which mankind must march upward and onward.

"The democratic idea," says Mr. Post, "as applied to government demands that equality of fundamental rights be recognized as a natural endowment to be protected as a public duty." When Mr. Cairns sees that we have never had such recognition of the equality of fundamental rights, he would see that there is one solution which has not yet been tried, namely, the application of this truly democratic idea, which is as simple and practical as it is just.

Emerson once said that "the essence of greatness is the perception that virtue is enough." Speaking in the same general way, may we not say that the essence of social ethics is the perception that justice is enough? To show and develop this idea may be said to be the central purpose of Mr. Post's book.

A book dealing with such a theme necessarily touches the most interesting and vital features of modern life and work. Individual life, business life, economic tendencies and theories, are all affected by the democratic idea, and fall naturally within the scope of the present volume, which in parts is in the nature of a series of essays dealing with separate phases of contemporary thought. The chapters on the "College Graduate," "Success," "Justice or Sacrifice," "Department Stores," "The Rage for Trusts," "Free Competition," "Trial by Jury," "Partisanship," as well as others, lose none of their force by being read as separate essays. One chapter, the sixth of Part V., entitled "An Economic Exploration and Survey," will be found to be a valuable *vade mecum* on economic terms. The student will find there definitions of Land, Labor, Wealth, Value, Money and other words which have been so copiously disputed over. This chapter is accompanied by a diagram, which may help some—and the rest may skip it. The chapter is so clear that it needs no diagram, but as the Irishman said, if any want this diagram, then of course this is the diagram that they want.

It is impossible in a brief review to notice the many interesting side questions discussed in these chapters, but there are several which I should like to mention. Nowhere else have I seen the much used terms "optimism" and "pessimism" so satisfactorily dealt with. And the discussion is well worth while, for it has become the fashion, the moment a criticism is made, to cry "pessimism" and consider that that settles everything. Mr. Post does well to show so conclusively that much so-called optimism is spurious, and that one who finds fault with an existing condition or policy may be the best of optimists. In the same connection he shows that some apparent negations may be in reality affirmative, while some affirmations are negative. Falsehoods may be affirmed as well as truths.

Another important point that he makes deserves special attention at the present moment, because it concerns our whole system of education. "Economic scientists," says Mr. Post, "are so deeply absorbed in the contemplation of multitudinous and multifarious minor data that they often give but scant attention to familiar and simple major data. They cannot see the forest for the trees, nor the city for the houses." Many college men and students of educational problems are beginning to see that this criticism applies to other departments of study as well as to economics. The trouble arises from an abuse of a good thing. The scientific spirit of patient work in details is good; but it must not master the man instead of being mastered by the man. In almost every department of collegiate work to-day the man is the slave and not the master of this system. Hence the barrenness, the total absence of greatness, in any of the economic publications that come out of our universities. The scientific spirit has, falsely and sadly, come to mean a perpetual doom to detail, a deadening of the power of generalization, and a blindness to the relations of great facts and dominating principles.

A chapter that comes very near the heart of the book is the one entitled "Service for Service." In this and the preceding chapter, "Justice or Sacrifice," Mr. Post points out that justice is moral equilibrium, implying both giving and getting. "The business," he says, "that does not give an equivalent in service for the service it gets, is a plundering business; the business that does not get an equivalent in service for the service it gives, is a plundered business." Service for service is the true statement of the ethics of business and indeed of the normal relations among men; sacrifice implies superiority and inferiority, and is exceptional and special.

In the rendering of service for service, Mr. Post says, "the fact that the

service in one direction was rendered long before the service in the other, makes no difference," and he illustrates by the supposition of a note given to a farmer for produce, which is from time to time renewed and is finally paid to the grandson of the original payee. In thinking of this illustration with reference to the discussion of income from an investment in land, some readers will, we suspect, find occasion to deny any important distinction between the note handed down and a piece of land handed down. True, Mr. Post reiterates "that obligations to serve are essentially of two kinds—those which certify to exchange of service, and those which certify to a legal power of extorting service;" but it would perhaps have added to the effectiveness of his argument at this point if he had continued his illustration.

In conclusion we may venture to say that to those who believe that genuine democracy is genuine ethics, as well as to those who are searching earnestly to see whither the next step in economic history is to lead, this book is the most important that has appeared in recent years. Those who agree with the author will find previous arguments variously illustrated and enforced; those who disagree will find much to answer.

The publishers have done their share to make the book attractive. The type and paper are exceptionally satisfactory. Only one lapse in proof-reading has been observed, the omission of half a set of quotation marks on p. 63.

J. H. DILLARD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Aladdin & Co. A Romance of Yankee Magic. By Herbert Quick, author of "In the Fairyland of America." New York: Henry Holt & Company. Price \$1.50. To be reviewed.

—The Mother Artist. By Jane Dearborn Mills (Mrs. James E. Mills). Introduction by Hannah Kent Schoff, President National Congress of Mothers. Boston: The Palmer company, 50 Bromfield street. Price \$1 net; postage 6 cents. To be reviewed.

—Social Progress. A Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economic, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics, 1904. (Price, \$1 net.) Josiah Strong, Editor. New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 33-37 East 17th street, Union Square North. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS.

In "A Sufficient Faith," the Rev. L. M. Powers, of Buffalo, makes a brief statement of modern Universalism. Not only does this pamphlet luckily present the dominant thought of the Universalists at the present time, but it embodies an interesting study of some of the profoundest problems of human life. Mr. Powers thinks with comprehensive mental grasp, and expresses his thought in charming literary form. Another pamphlet of his, "How to Be Happy," is a fine example of both qualities.

It is a sufficient recommendation of any pamphlet that it is from the pen of Edwin D. Mead, of Boston; and as Mr. Mead is above all things else an intelligent advocate of peace, the leaflet containing his address before the Mohawk Arbitration Conference of 1902 is no exception. His words about patriotism are especially pertinent

and suggestive. When he says that "the general public has got no further yet in this whole question of patriotism than that the gun is the natural symbol of it," he lays bare the most deplorable thing in modern national life.

PERIODICALS.

Two very attractive papers of the serious sort will be found in the Pacific Monthly (Portland, Ore.) for April. One is by William Bittle Wells. In strong phrase it utters the needed word that history, so far from being the chronicle of an ethics factory, is "simply the record of men's progress toward the complete recognition of an absolute and inherent right, first by the individual and then an acknowledgment of this right by the body politic." The other article to which we refer is by that splendid specimen of a democratic Democrat, C. E. S. Wood, who devotes it to telling the Democratic party what political parties are for and what it ought to be.

Somebody now and then writes a leading editorial in the New York Independent stating most clearly the imperative moral need of to-day. "The imperative moral need of to-day," he says, "is for an enlightened social conscience that shall see the essential wickedness of trying to suppress individualism within the sphere of private conduct, while permitting it to seize upon and to control those natural resources and those economic opportunities that rightfully belong not to individuals, but to society." Let us hope that the multitude of Independent readers have read this editorial, and that they paused to reread and inwardly digest this closing sentence.

J. H. D.

Always instructive and almost always interesting, the International Journal of Ethics is both to an unusual degree in its April issue. Felix Adler writes of the problem of teleology, J. G. James of the ethics of passive resistance, and C. S. Myers in defense of vivisection. But the most notable article of all is that on the development of a people, by W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. It is especially notable because it deals with the burning question of white race and black, broadly and masterfully, and is from the pen of a Negro. This product of a Negro's brain fairly compels a comparison of the mental qualities of the educated Negro with such educated white men as the author of "Leopard's Spots," for example—a comparison which in its results is far from flattering to those white men.

Alice Stone Blackwell writes a clever letter to the Springfield Republican anent the idea that the ballot should not be extended to women until a majority of women want it. "When a merchant in Saco," she writes, "first employed a saleswoman the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such 'publicity.' When Lucy Stone sought to secure for married women the right to their own property, women asked with scorn: 'Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?' When Elizabeth Blackwell began to study medicine, the women at her boarding house refused to sneak to her, and women passing her on the street held their skirts aside. When

AMERICAN PAUPERISM and the Abolition of Poverty, by Isador Ladoff, is a study of the last United States census from the view-point of the laborer. It is a cloth-bound volume of 240 pages, full of facts never before brought to light. Price by mail, fifty cents; still lower to those taking advantage of our co-operative plan, explained in a booklet which may be had for the asking. CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

BINDERS FOR THE PUBLIC:

Emerson Binding Covers in which THE PUBLIC may be filed away week by week, making at the end of the year a reasonably well-bound volume, may be ordered through this office. Price, 80 cents, postpaid.