

Real Estate Board and the Civic Association of Wilmington. The Chamber of Commerce has authorized the appointment of a special committee to investigate and report on the Pittsburgh plan. This committee will probably visit Pittsburgh and go into the subject rather exhaustively.

Mr. Stirlith reports the enlistment of many influential recruits during the present legislative campaign, and much newspaper publicity has also resulted.

P. R. WILLIAMS.

BOOK REVIEWS

JUSTICE AND JUDAISM*

This is a notable essay which won the Kaufman-Kohler prize in 1917 and appears now slightly revised. The judges in awarding the prize commented on the unusual and novel character of the thesis.

And indeed it is all of this. Rabbi Silver boldly challenges Christianity on the ground that its inferiority as compared with Judaism consists in the fact that it elevates Love as the fundamental principle in human life and society, whereas Judaism in placing Justice first, establishes the necessary foundation for Love as the accompanying basis. In other words, that Justice must precede Love; that if Love alone is made to constitute the first imperative demand we are deprived of the instinct to resist oppression and the necessary coercive measures to overthrow it. Judaism in placing Justice first makes resistance—forcible resistance—to oppression incumbent upon the individual and upon society, whereas Christianity, by laying the chief emphasis upon Love, counsels the passive acceptance of injustice. Such was not the attitude of the early Hebrew Prophets in their thunderous proclamations against evil practices and the abuses of privilege, nor is it the underlying doctrine of Judaism. "Resist not evil" is a Christian, not a Hebrew slogan.

Rabbi Silver makes a striking and eloquent defence for his thesis. We wish we had room to quote many of the striking passages in this book. We cite the following from page 21:

"A sanguine struggle, forsooth, man was compelled to wage before he had acquired his liberty of person, his freedom of conscience, his political rights, *and is yet waging for his still to be acquired economic rights.*" (The Italics are ours).

And from page 27 we quote the following, the Italics in this case being Rabbi Silver's:

"We cannot, therefore, say with St. Paul that the greatest thing in the world is love, but rather, however great and necessary love is, *the greatest thing in the world is not love but justice for only justice functioning as the fundamental principle can establish for humanity what love as the fundamental principle must ever, because of its inherent weaknesses and failings, fail to achieve—the socialized State, Law, Morality, character, aye, even the universal establishment of love itself.*"

The main contention of Rabbi Silver in this finely reasoned and often eloquent little volume is not entirely new. It has received equally eloquent confirmation from Henry George. We desire to call Rabbi Silver's attention to this from "Progress and Poverty," Book X. Chap. V:

"As far as we can see, when we view things upon a large scale, justice seems to be the supreme law of the universe."

And even more explicit is the following from "Social Problems," Chap. IX. p. 86 (Memorial Edition): It might well have served Rabbi Silver as a text for his really great "sermon," and we call his attention to the fine utterance of this later Prophet. It reinforces in that wonderful diction of which Henry George was master, all that the distinguished Rabbi says so well and forcibly:

"That justice is the highest quality in the moral hierarchy I do not say; but that it is the first. That which is above justice must be based on justice, and include justice, and be reached through justice. It is not by accident that, in the Hebraic religious development which through Christianity we have inherited, the declaration, 'The Lord thy God is a just God,' precedes the sweeter revelation of a God of Love. Until the eternal justice is perceived, the eternal love must be hidden. As the individual must be just before he can be truly generous, so must human society be based upon justice before it can be based on benevolence."

J. D. M.

POOR JOHN MITCHELL!*

In these days of the "debunking" school, when biographies seem to be written with the sole purpose of raking up unsavory details in the lives of eminent men, it is a relief to turn to a life written with a loving but not indiscriminating touch and the sole desire to tell a plain unvarnished tale of a man who strove according to his lights to make a better world for his down-trodden fellow workers.

John Mitchell was the least vulnerable of labor leaders. He was the most admirable of all in devotion and self-sacrifice. He inspired friendships and loyalty in others. He was a man of his word; he impressed upon the union he called into existence the necessity of sticking to agreements and he won a wide popular adhesion to his cause. He worked though a Protestant at the time—he afterwards joined the Catholic church to which his wife belonged—the affection and cooperation of eminent Catholics like Bishop Hoban, of Scranton, Father Power of Spring Valley, and Father Curran of Wilkesbarre. It is not too much to say that these men of another religious faith loved and honored him and faithfully served his cause.

He was, as Prof. John R. Commons says in his introduction to this work, "a leader out of bondage." But despite his sacrifices and despite the fact that his life was like an open book, he did not escape charge reflecting upon his personal integrity. These he met with a courageous consciousness of his own honesty and sincerity. It is not a pleasant recital—the contemptible accusations made against one who, whatever his mistakes of judgment—and they were very few—were at least singularly free from self-seeking.

It is not, we repeat, a pleasant recital—the contemptible politics of the labor unions, their frequently despicable rivalries and insane jealousies of the groups struggling—not for liberty—but for a few more crusts from the table of Dives, a few more hours in the week for leisure and recreation. Mitchell was ever willing to compromise for some slight concession. He did not see that all compromise with monopoly in the end must gain little. He nevertheless struggled to gain that little—that pitifully little!

Did he know better? We know that Gompers did, or said he did. Miss Elsie Gluck who has written this fine and self-revealing life of the leader, tells us that Clarence Darrow, goaded by the sight of all the misery he saw, wanted to demand a new social order, but Mitchell stayed his hand. If he did he lived to regret it.

Beginning his leadership at 17, and retiring defeated at 38, this remarkable man at 41 said in his lectures that he had not solved the labor question, that it would never be solved, but that the union was the only safeguard against a return to the days of greater suffering (p. 24).

Poor John Mitchell! His life, begun amid tragic surroundings closed in a tragedy of futile achievement. Our author seems to set off Mitchell's conservatism with what she calls "the evangelising methods" of Debs or Emma Goldman. But she who has made us see so clearly the cause of John Mitchell's failure cannot herself be oblivious to it. Mitchell was fighting those in control of the monopoly of the earth. The most he could win for his fellows out of such an unequal fight was the little that he did win, something to be sure, but hardly worth the tremendous

*Justice and Judaism. By Rabbi Maxwell Silver. Clo. 73 pp. Price 1.50. Bloch Publishing Co., N. Y. City.

*John Mitchell, Miner. The Bargain with the Gilded Age. Clo. 270 pp. Price \$3.00. John Day Company, N. Y. City.

ties it had entailed. No wonder Darrow was often impatient with

Miss Gluck, however much or little she sees, has given a fine biography. We know Mitchell the man in whom there were many fine qualities. She tells many anecdotes of him, and her heroisms in stature as her story moves to its sorrowful conclusion. If he had vision, he had character; if he had no true perception of the struggle which he had entered, he had sympathy; if he did not see the true proportions of the problem he had set himself to solve, he was unselfish. We pardon him much.

Miss Gluck is in error in the statement on page 32, and indeed in the title given to the book itself. The period referred to as the "Gilded Age" were not the years described in this volume, but those beginning with the administration of President Grant, and were first so characterized by Mark Twain in a book of that title.

J. D. M.

CONTINUING THE WORK OF PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

Those who were present in 1920 at the Chicago Convention of the Committee of 48 will remember a flashing figure whose voice and presence commanded the respectful attention of audience and Chairman as she walked to the center of the aisle and in a voice rich and resonant pressed for a consideration of the motion before the house.

Others privileged to hear her on post prandial occasions have claimed her the best after-dinner speaker in the movement. The lady referred to is Mrs. Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel.

And now she comes before us with a set of three large octavo volumes, "Mason Locke Weems," an elaborate bibliography that is really more than that, left unfinished by her brother, Paul Leicester Ford, whose career as a novelist was cut short almost before it had begun at a time when he had already given to the world a number of works that had won a very wide circle of discriminating readers and whose fame was increasing with every book he wrote.

These three volumes are limited to 300 copies privately printed and are gems of the typographical art on paper of the finest quality. It is a labor of love on the part of Mrs. Skeel and very touching is the tribute rendered to the brother who gave so many years of his life to reconstruct the somewhat maligned figure of Parson Weems, whom we know better now from these pages. Weems was an engaging personality and the many biographies he wrote—that of Washington especially—are destined to outlive many more pretentious works.

In these beautifully printed and imposing volumes are preserved illustrations, letters and chronology extending through many pages all that the future will care to know of Parson Weems—probably all that can be known. And in it is enshrined the perfect prose of the introductory chapters by Mrs. Skeel to the work begun by her brother setting forth so much of unique interest concerning one of the earliest and most misunderstood characters in American letters.

J. D. M.

REGULATION VERSUS STATE CONTROL*

In this pamphlet James Malcolm compares the two hydro-electric or water power systems: New York's private development under state regulation of rates and service, and Ontario's public development by cooperating municipalities and committees supervised by a non-partisan provincial commission.

Regarding New York's system Mr. Malcolm says:

Without citing specific instances to prove that regulation has fallen far short of fulfilling the hopes of its advocates, it is enough to say that it has given little or no relief to the public so far as the larger utilities are concerned. By many who have studied the question, regulation in New York and nearly every other state has been declared a failure. More important for the present purpose is the outstanding fact that twenty-one years of state regulation of electrical rates have not resulted in substantial decrease either for domestic or industrial consumers; while across the national boundary in Ontario, under a publicly-owned and operated system, the rates are from one-quarter to one-third of those paid in New York state. After all, the service,

the rates, and the soundness of the financial structure constitute the supreme test.

He then turns his attention to Ontario's system and makes a thorough examination of the facts concerning it. He makes it clear that it is essentially different from the public ownership and operation usually visualized by the public mind, being controlled by the units of the federated cities, rural districts and not by a central government.

Then too the cheapness of the electrical power supply has encouraged its greatly increased use per capita. Our author reminds us that the Ontario system ranks among the greatest super-power enterprises in the world.

J. D. M.

A BEWILDERING POTPOURRI*

A large part of the material in this book first appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. The mental confusion, obfuscation and downright ignorance which characterize the average American mind is everywhere apparent in this volume.

One could read every page of this book without once learning how wealth is produced. In fact, the author himself does not fully perceive it. Else, how can he justify such balderdash as this:

"No one will deny that land, capital and labor, in all such senses, are sources of wealth. They are not the only sources. It is strange that economists have so seldom regarded ideas as a source of wealth. Yet it is possible to argue that ideas have created all modern wealth." (page 119).

For the benefit of our author let it be said, once and for all, that all wealth comes from one source, and one source only, and that is the Earth on which we live. It is the application of human labor to land, (or the forces of Nature), that gives us food clothing and shelter. Unemployment is nothing but the denial to Labor of access to the Earth.

The big point which our author fails to perceive is that before Labor can have access to the raw forces of Nature it must first pay Land-owners Economic Rent for the privilege of working the Earth.

Only after the landowning class in society, claiming to "own" the bare Earth has been appeased, is there anything left for Labor and Capital to divide between themselves.

Now, the landowner furnishes nothing to Capital or Labor.

He only permits them to exert themselves on the God given forces of Air, Water, Sunshine and Land to do their producing.

The people collectively because of their ignorance and stupidity, permit a small number of themselves to "Own" Land and rent it out to the others. This is the basic wrong, for it enables a limited class in society to acquire wealth without rendering service.

Now, the share this small class is yearly exacting as Rent is constantly growing bigger and bigger. This for the reason that there is a fixed quantity of land in the world while the number of human beings who are born into the world is constantly increasing and each one of these human beings must draw his food, clothing and shelter therefrom.

Unlike the Socialists, our author perceives that the interests of Labor and Capital are not in conflict. Were he to pursue this matter further, he would learn that where Labor suffers low wages or unemployment, true Capital (as distinguished from Land Monopoly) also suffers low interest return and unemployment.

It is because the third factor, namely Land, can draw the lion's share of the product that both Labor and Capital suffer. Of this our author is in utter darkness.

Now, this is inexcusable in an author of Garet Garrett's experience. For many years he has been writing on American business problems. I submit a few "Gems" from this book!

"Freedom as we know it is a condition of ego. Prosperity is a condition of things. Increase these satisfactions to any degree and there is still that knowledge of incompleteness which torments the spirit.

*The American Omen, by Garet Garrett. Clo. 249 pp. Price \$2.50. E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y. City.