

school—a school happily passing away and to receive its *coup de grâce*, it is to be hoped, by the new blue pencil of the Congressional Record so that no more shall there be given “leave to print” those speeches of which the best thing that can be said is that they were never delivered. Newton Baker is graceful, simple, convincing and courteous and at times rises to heights of pure eloquence. And, best of all in the orator’s equipment, he has that indefinable thing which in the despair of accurate expression we call “charm.” As the candidate for city solicitor he usually ran ahead of Johnson on the ticket. And it was a sad, almost tragic triumph, to him when in the last municipal election he was elected and Johnson defeated. Then Tom Johnson died and everyone devoted to the radical cause in Cleveland, and indeed in all Ohio, turned to Newton Baker as Tom Johnson’s successor.

Newton Baker was graduated from Johns Hopkins in 1892. He was educated in the law at Washington and Lee University and admitted to the West Virginia bar in 1894. He practiced in his native town of Martinsburg and then was made private secretary to the late William L. Wilson when that gentleman was Postmaster General in Grover Cleveland’s cabinet. Then he went to Cleveland, and in 1902 was appointed First Assistant Director of Law, and in 1903 was made Director of Law by Mayor Johnson. In the same year—the rurales in the Ohio Legislature having made their annual devastation in the city code—he was elected City Solicitor, and to this office he was re-elected in 1905, 1907, and 1909. And now, in all likelihood, he is to be the mayor of a city that has been trained to expect much of its mayors. He knows what difficulties beset one in that office, but he has the philosophy with which to meet them. One of the greatest of those difficulties, at the outset, will be that those who hail him as the successor of Tom Johnson will expect him to be another Tom Johnson, which is the one thing he could not and would not do. He himself is a strong personality, and his personality must tell in its own way. It is, as I have tried to suggest, a charming personality; for Newton Baker is not only a good lawyer and a good man, an able official and a wise politician, using the word in its highest, best sense, but he is a gentleman of culture, and of artistic tastes, fond of literature, fond of music, with a fine curiosity about all life, and an unselfish wish to make life better and more beautiful for all the people in those cities in which he sees, here in America, the hope of democracy.

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Willie: “Pa!”

Pa: “Yes.”

Willie: “Teacher says we’re here to help others.”

Pa: “Of course we are.”

Willie: “Well, what are the others here for?”—

Chicago News.

BOOKS

FOR A DEMOCRATIC NATIONALISM

The New Politics. By Frank Buffington Vrooman, B. S. (Oxon.), F. R. G. S., Author of Theodore Roosevelt, Dynamic Geographer. Published by Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 W. 32nd St., New York. Price, \$1.50.

In a book that is replete with fresh and catching phrases, that is scholarly and yet understandable, Frank B. Vrooman, an American with an F. R. G. S. to his name, has made a search and vivisection of our political institutions, not without offering a solution well worth the reading of every citizen of the United States. Though addressed to the Anglo-Saxon world, this book is meant particularly for America.

It reads history backward and forward in search of a first principle underlying our political and economic ideas, and finds a chaos. Blindly, gropingly, we are found to have incorporated into our national institutions certain great principles which we have not recognized as such, making one great blunder after another, assuming that the world of politics is a chance world, a field for the opportunist. Plutocratic individualism has run rampant, and now the reaction is toward democratic socialism. “The New Politics” attempts to find a middle ground between socialism and the doctrine that has prostituted power to tyranny and is registered in our multibillionaires.

Mr. Vrooman’s cry is for a national sovereignty that can deal with all national and inter-State (or extra-State) concerns, without denying to the States their proper jurisdictions. He finds the Interests entrenched in a slough of particularism, or individualism, and barricaded behind States’ rights. He finds the elements of a party of nationalism among Republicans and Democrats alike, North, South, East and West, but lost in a failure to understand the two opposing doctrines that have run through all our political life from the beginning and have caused the chaos that we live in today.

Readers may not agree with the author in his conclusions, but they cannot but be helped by him in having their notions overhauled. The book goes back, away back, to Greece and Rome, and deals with fundamentals and first principles in the philosophy of political science. Its great merit is in that. It has not to do with subsidiary things, the tariff, etc.; and if one does not learn something from it, it at least makes one think.

Perhaps for popular reading the author might have done well to have turned his book around, putting the last first and the first last, but he was too seriously intent on driving home his particular message; and he may be pardoned for his reitera-

tions, for there is no doubting his sincerity and earnestness.

Though serious, the book is not without humor. Sample: "Where George Washington carried the surveyor's compass through the pathless woods and started the advancing hosts of American conquerors over the Alleghanies, what have we today? Pittsburg."

C. F. O'BRIEN.

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HAMILTONIAN IDEALS.

The Business of Congress. By Samuel W. McCall, Member of Congress from Massachusetts. The Columbia University Press, New York, 1911. Price \$1.50.

It is to be deplored that so inviting a field and subject should be marred to an unfortunate degree by a narrow spirit of partisan egotism and handicapped by a point of view that shrinks from the present awakening of actual democracy as from an impious thing. This volume is a revised series of lectures delivered at Columbia University in the winter of 1908-1909 and, as the author states: "It was my chief purpose to portray the important processes of legislation . . . and to give a study of government with Congress as the central theme." The unquestionable value of the former has been submerged in the latter and the result, instead of being a scholarly, historical textbook which one might naturally suppose would be presented to university undergraduates, is, in the main, a cloth-bound, partisan polemic in which the special pleading of the stand-pat conservative often stands forth in naive candor.

Mr. McCall's theory seems to be that Congress should be representative of special interests, for he writes: "If we could have industrial and financial captains like Morgan and Carnegie, labor leaders like Gompers and Mitchell, railroad builders like Hill and Harriman, with a sprinkling of men chosen by the universities, as in England—our Congress would certainly not be a weaker body, and it would perhaps more fully epitomize the nation, represent its industrial and social life, and we should have representative government in even a truer sense than that in which it now exists."

Evidently Senator Guggenheim's scandalous Senatorial seat is a step in the right direction, and any objection to Lorimer's election should be based on the fact that he is at best merely a deputy and that Mr. Hines, the lumber trust's president, should assume his duties direct. How far a sprinkling of university officials from endowed universities would leaven such a collection is a nice question which probably the author alone is capable of working out. But to a mind capable of dividing capital into a multitude of representative law-making interests and retaining labor as a single consolidated voice many things are possible,

although it is doubtful if much can result of value to present and future generations in this "study of government with Congress as the central theme."

Throughout, the book is blemished with stand-pat reactionary pleadings, and in closing it devotes considerable scorn to Roosevelt, the only Republican President since the war who gave even an erratic trace of progressive thought.

The opportunity of the Columbia lectures delivered by Mr. McCall was to establish a scholarly, historical work, with as much intellectual analysis or digression as he chose; yet apparently it made no greater appeal, in the main, to the author than to attest his personal bias toward the Hamiltonian and aristocratic distrust of democracy with which the Republican party has identified itself.

C. J. P.

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COMMISSION GOVERNMENT.

City Government by Commission. By Ford H. MacGregor, B. A., Instructor in Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. Bulletin of University of Wisconsin, No. 423. Price, 40 cents.

An analysis of the commission form of government for cities which enumerates as essentials only those features that are autocratic, treating reservations of power to the people as non-essentials, is not likely to commend very highly the book which makes that kind of analysis. The essentials of commission government of which the Des Moines rather than the Galveston plan is the type, and which is called "commission government" for short, are *efficiency with democracy*. The efficiency is secured by centralization of power and responsibility; the democracy by making those in power *responsible* at all times to the people whose servants they are. Anything short of this may be called commission government, but it is not the kind of government that is most widely known by that name. To argue that the initiative, referendum and recall are not essentials, because they are adaptable to others than the commission form, is to disclose some inaptitude for analyzing civic relationships. As a report on details, however, the book will be handy for reference until its collection of facts is obsolete.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—The Passing of the Idle Rich. By Frederick Townsend Martin. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1911. Price, \$1.00 net.

—Fifty-third Annual Insurance Report of the State of Illinois. Part III—Casualty and Assessment Insurance and Fraternal Societies. 1911. By Fred W. Potter, Insurance Superintendent. Printed by the Illinois State Journal Co., Springfield, Ill.