

# TAKING THOUGHT FOR THE MORROW\*

BY FLORENCE FINCH KELLY

THE reading of these books has been a thrilling, arresting experience. For they are all concerned in one way or another, by direction or implication or inquiry, with matters that come very near the heart of all true Americans. Each one of them, in whole or in part, endeavours to take earnest thought for the morrow of this country, or deals with problems of the utmost importance to us. Each one of them endeavours to cast a searchlight ahead into the darkness of the future and by means of that illumination help to direct present progress. Two of the books are by Englishmen, but one of these is concerned with problems which we also must consider and the other points out possibilities of American action upon which we shall presently have to make decision and asks what we are going to do about them. Several of the American books deal with that question of

\*Leadership of the New America. By Archibald McClure. Illustrated. New York: George H. Doran Company.

America and the New Epoch. By Charles P. Steinmetz. New York: Harper and Bros.

Creative Intelligence: Essays in the Pragmatic Attitude. By John Dewey, Addison W. Moore, Harold Chapman Brown, George H. Mead, Boyd H. Bode, Henry Waldgrave Stuart, James Hayden Tufts, Horace M. Kallen. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

The Possible Peace: A Forecast of World Politics after the Great War. By Roland Hugins. New York: The Century Company.

Essays in War Time: Further Studies in the Task of Social Hygiene. By Havelock Ellis. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

A League to Enforce Peace. By Robert Goldsmith. Introduction by A. Lawrence Lowell. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Italy, France and Britain at War. By H. G. Wells. New York: The Macmillan Company.

American World Policies. By Walter E. Weyl. New York: The Macmillan Company.

questions that America must soon face and decide, whether or not we are willing to change that historical attitude of ours toward the rest of the world which has been bred in the bone of the belief of most of us and, if so, what new relation can we work out that will safeguard us from entanglements in European quarrels and at the same time enable us to co-operate with forward looking forces in other countries and so add the impulsive force of our great democracy to the progress of humanity. All Europe is already asking us this question and presently we shall all be asking it of one another and of ourselves.

Too few are the books of such sort that are concerned with any but material affairs, that recognise the power and the importance of the things of the spirit, the influence over action of what we believe and hope and think and feel and aspire toward. For, in the last analysis—and one does not have to go far to reach it—neither individual nor nation lives at all but by the spirit and for the spirit. Individual or nation, it is always the spirit that leads. And so it would be always the wisest of wisdom, when we take thought for to-morrow, to test the spirit which is guiding us, to ask with searching questions what kind of a morrow we desire. If one may judge by the consensus of many writers upon the immediate future what the whole world is looking forward to is an industrial to-morrow, a world which will be organised for production and filled with the whirr of machinery and peopled by machines, a world that will be one vast factory. Doubtless it would be a most efficient world and also a most unpleasant one to live in.

Most of these books are especially interesting because they do deal with our future, that future whose foundations

must be laid by present day actions and decisions, as a time in which to bring about a brighter, better, happier nation, in which to realise those ideals which every American in his heart holds to be true and fine and precious even if he does often forget them in his daily life. The volumes concerned with matters wholly or chiefly national are considered in the early part of the article which then goes on to those that deal with international affairs. All of them discuss subjects of high consequence to every American, man or woman, who feels it both his duty and his privilege to help, by thought and speech and act, to preserve and refine and better the aims and purposes of our democratic heritage. Our special national problems we have always with us and, as for the others, however long the war may continue, the day of peace will come, and so the time when we must make momentous decisions. Therefore it behoves us all to be thinking about them.

“LEADERSHIP OF THE NEW AMERICA”

Many books have been written about what we have always been pleased to call, with a certain condescension, our “immigrant problem,” but among them all there is none that more deserves reading than does this by Mr. Archibald McClure. For it deals but little with material conditions, and very much with conditions of the spirit. Without minimising in the least the very great necessity of doing everything possible to better the material conditions of newcomers to the country, it is imperative for us to recognise the fact that we have been too little concerned with the varied phases of thought and feeling among them and with the significance of these things of the spirit for us as a nation. The value of Mr. McClure’s book is that, by patient study at first hand of different national groups of immigrants, he has tried to find out about these things and to report them to the rest of us. His studies were carried on during the year 1915-1916 under the Ber-

nardine Orme Smith Fellowship of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, and included investigations in immigrant communities from the eastern to the western seaboard. It is evident that his method everywhere was to get into close personal touch with the people themselves, as individuals and as groups, and to find out what ideas are moving them and to what leadership they are looking.

One section of the book is devoted to the Slavic nationalities, in seven subdivisions; another to the non-Slavic, also in seven racial or national sections; and another to the Asiatic races. In each of these groups Mr. McClure studies the forces, racial, religious, national, intellectual, that are stirring its members, the types of men among themselves that are coming forward among them as leaders to connect them with and translate them into American life and their reaction to the influences and forces that pour upon them in their new surroundings. He considers also, but briefly, the consequent results for the contents of the melting-pot. In the introductory chapters he discusses some matters of consequence concerning the attitude of too many native Americans, especially those of long American descent, toward these newcomers. They and their children will have much to say about the spirit of the America of to-morrow and if we would have that spirit bear a bright, high, benignant countenance we must interest ourselves in their thoughts and feelings as well as in their wages and their housing. That is why Mr. McClure’s book seems to me to be of such importance. It is the humanest book the immigrant problem has given us.

“AMERICA AND THE NEW EPOCH”

Mr. Steinmetz has been known for years as one of the foremost American electro-physicists and an authority upon electrical engineering. So it is of interest and moment to learn what is the contribution to the discussion of our future of the man of science whose ob-

ervation and thought have been governed by the scientific method. Mr. Steinmetz, who is by birth and training a German—of Prussia—eliminates, both in his historical surveys and in his study of America's present conditions and future possibilities, all consideration of spiritual forces. He interprets history, and therefore of course the present situation in the United States, solely in terms of material tendencies, material forces, material results. The contribution which he brings, and it is evidently the result of profound conviction, is concerned with governmental policies and the industrial organisation of society. He is a socialist and therefore his philosophy is somewhat imbued with socialist doctrines, but his mental horizons are too wide for his speculations to be limited by its principles. An American citizen for a generation, it is evident from his book that he is a good American and wishes to see democratic America endure and grow greater and more powerful. To bring about that result he is sure that industrial co-operation to the fullest extent interlinked with governmental policy must be the goal toward which we develop. He thinks that after the war the monarchical governments of Europe will be able to destroy this country by reason of the high economic efficiency of their co-operative industrial organisation. He argues that all the governments of Europe, France, England and Germany alike, are essentially monarchical because in them all the forces that produce movement work from above downward while here they work from below upward. And since this method is slower, though surer in the long run, it is necessary for us to hasten upon this work of bringing about industrial co-operation and friendly relations between all the elements of society. He looks forward to the gradual evolution, through these means, of a dual government, somewhat analogous to that of the Roman Republic, of which one element would be a co-operative organisation of the industrial corporations, including all the industrial life of

the country, permanent and self-perpetuating, apparently an evolution from the system of control by commission. The other element would be political and democratic, having supervisory power alone and the absolute veto, but no administrative or executive power. Along these lines he thinks we must grow if the only great democracy in the world is not to be swept out of existence.

#### "CREATIVE INTELLIGENCE"

Come now the philosophers and from the high, clear realms of thought in which they dwell send forth into the darkness ahead of us a beam of penetrating light to guide our thinking—and, therefore, if not our own living that of our descendants. For one of the most important lessons of history is the surety with which systems of thought, the philosophical handling of problems of mind and life, sink down through the collective mind of a nation and colour its whole being. So now these eight American university professors, leaders in the philosophic thought and discussion of the country, offer their contribution for the guidance of our way of life. But the book is specially noteworthy for its importance as a contribution to American philosophic thought. It carries still farther the principles that William James put forward in the pragmatic philosophy which he fathered and constitutes the first endeavour to formulate it into that somewhat vague consensus known as a "school." This first definite contribution of an American school of philosophy to the philosophic thought of the world insists upon the need that philosophy should concern itself with every phase of man's life and activities, that all our thinking and doing should be made to bear the tests by which the pragmatic philosophy measures purposes, ends and values. "Philosophy," says John Dewey in the initial essay, "recovers itself when it ceases to be a device for dealing with the problems of philosophers and becomes a method, cul-

tivated by philosophers, for dealing with the problems of men." He argues for the recognition of the importance of "the pivotal position of intelligence," the enforcement of which he thinks is "the peculiar problem in the problems of life" for us here in the United States in the twentieth century. With us there is such a continuously novel situation as the national life unfolds that if we rely upon precedent we shall always find "some class interest guiding us by the nose whither it will." We cannot follow fixed rules without being false to our hopes for the future. We cannot drift, as is our tendency, into a loose and ineffective optimism, a sort of sentimentalised idealism about which we talk while we assent to the doctrine of "take who take can" without landing in a deification of power, a complete acceptance of brute force. We must put our faith in the power of intelligence to project the kind of future which we would wish our nation, our descendants, to enjoy and then train our life, in the present time, toward its realisation. And the task of American philosophy, he thinks, is to nurture and make articulate that faith.

Each of the other seven men takes up some phase of interest, some of them purely intellectual, such as "The Reformation of Logic," by Addison W. Moore, and others of daily practical application, as Henry Waldgrave Stuart's "Phases of the Economic Interest." But throughout the argument is for the freeing of life and thought from the domination of academic methods and *a priori* and the constant testing by pragmatic methods, that will prove their real value to humanity, of all purposes, ends, aims and means. For the most part the discussions take place in that high, thin air wherein most people who have not had a training in the technique of philosophic writing find more or less difficulty in breathing. Why do not the pragmatists apply some of their own tests to their phraseology? Until they do they are not likely to meet with full

success in their desire to make philosophy a matter of everyday life.

#### "THE POSSIBLE PEACE"

Mr. Hugins's book is a judicial and admirably dispassionate survey of the unfolding of recent European history, culminating in the war, with discussion of its significance for us and its possible influence upon our future. He thinks that no individual or group of individuals, no nation or group of nations, is to blame for the cataclysm, which, he holds, had its cause in the system under which all Europe lives, the combination of national rivalries, enmities and bargainings which has made up its international policy for centuries. He gives an illuminative review of what each one of the important nations at war has done in recent years in the way of exploiting, oppressing and subjugating small and helpless states. So fair-minded and impartial is he in his review of outstanding events that one regrets to find him ignoring the spirit, purposes and ideals which have guided and inspired Germany, according to the testimony of her own spokesmen, for the last generation. For no survey of recent European affairs can be either complete or just without full recognition of that spirit and its consequences—a spirit and consequences that deserve to be held up before all the nations of the world as an example and warning for all time. Mr. Hugins comments upon and deplors the ignorance and indifference of too many Americans concerning European history, even of recent years.

It is pleasant to find in a chapter on "Yankee Ethics," in the face of the cynicism and downright abuse concerning ourselves that Americans are prone to indulge in, a sober and judicial summing up of our virtues as a nation—but with frank recognition of some of our faults—a summing up that the author makes also a warning to us that we must not forget our ideals, that we must not depart hereafter, as we have some-

times done in the past, from the straight and narrow path of honesty and good faith in our international dealings. "The thing that counts in the end," he says, "is the ideals for which nations stand, and the ideals of the United States are the most respectable in the world." In the settlement of the great question of preparedness he would have us keep clearly in mind the fact that a great army with a large body of officers is likely to exert pressure in favour of a militaristic policy and to become the organ of sinister private interests. He thinks that the United States ought to make without delay a straightforward and unambiguous statement of its foreign policy—a thing which no nation has ever done before. Among his suggestions for such a statement is that if the nation enters upon any international organisation purposing to diminish war it should be with the stipulation that such a league be recruited upon so broad an international basis as would make it impossible for any group of powers to combine for the coercion of another group.

"ESSAYS IN WAR TIME"

Written from the standpoint of the scientist who would like to see the race set itself, or be set into, ways of living that would evolve, not the super-man, but super-humanity, Havelock Ellis's collection of nearly twenty essays upon a variety of subjects has as much interest for readers in the United States as for those in England. He is concerned mainly with social improvements upon those large scales that include great bodies of people, the levels of living in a whole nation, and so what he has to say upon these questions is of import in our own endeavours to look forward and direct our course with intelligence for desirable ends. He is a good deal concerned with the question of rising and falling birth-rates as they affect not only the nation itself in which the movement occurs but all of civilisation. He finds one of the causes of the world war to have been Germany's too

rapid increase of population and he insists that everywhere and in all time a high birth-rate has meant, finally, disaster of some sort, local or widely disseminated. That conviction leads him to a long consideration of the problem of birth control and the conclusion that the community or the nation that regulates its birth-rate is likely to produce better citizens, to enjoy more general prosperity and to live on a higher grade of life. He believes also that the time is approaching when the progressive nation must nationalise its health service and so co-ordinate all the immensely developed knowledge and instrumentalities for preventing and dealing with disease, largely because these have so advanced and multiplied that the private practitioner cannot possibly provide them. Several chapters deal with the effect of war upon various phases of social progress, such as war and eugenics, war and democracy, war and the birth-rate. In these studies, as well as in the others, he holds constantly to the conviction that human society has only to know what it desires and then to work for that desire if it would mould itself, the race, the civilisation it produces, into any wished for form. That we make our own social destinies, is the central message of his book, that spirit is the lord of matter.

"A LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE"

However long the war may continue and whatever may be our connection with it, the day of peace and of settlement will come, the day when the nations must decide what they are going to do to lessen the danger of such another cataclysm, and Americans are already beginning to ask themselves what share they ought to take in the measures that will be decided on. Of the plans which have been suggested for co-operation for peace among the nations that which has had the widest consideration and the most general approval is the scheme of the League to Enforce Peace, of which ex-President



Taft is the head. Of all the many ways in which we are taking thought for the morrow of America the purposes and proposals of this League are among the most important and every American who makes any pretence whatever to thinking for himself and to interest in the welfare of his country owes it to his own self-respect to know what they are.

The author of this comprehensive discussion of the subject is a working member of the League and his book has had the examination and approval of several of its officials. It has particular value and interest because it not only makes a thorough exposition and discussion of the proposals and principles of the League, but also considers with fairness, calm temper and wide information the conditions out of which the League grew, its practical workability, its significance in connection with the foreign policy of the United States and the arguments in favour of war. Throughout the book the author quotes copiously from the works of the leading philosophers, publicists and statesmen of this country and of Europe, so that his pages present a sort of review of recent influential thought upon war, peace, international morality, international co-operation and allied subjects. He takes up the criticisms that have been made of the League's plan of work and answers both those who object because they think it does not attempt enough and those who object because they think it attempts too much. An appendix contains some forty pages of endorsements of the League, including the full text of President Wilson's address to the Senate on January 22d. Nine pages of bibliography, including books and magazine articles, and a full index add much to the usefulness of the book for those who wish to obtain more than a superficial knowledge of the question. Mr. Goldsmith writes with earnestness and an optimistic outlook and he has, moreover, a pleasant gift for the turning of a neat phrase and the compact and striking statement of an idea.

"ITALY, FRANCE AND BRITAIN AT WAR"

On its face Mr. Wells's volume would appear to be a book about the war. But we all know that if Mr. Wells were to set out to write about the Stone Age, or the fashions in Timbuctoo, or the habits of coral insects he would soon be adventuring brilliantly among the thoughts with which the people of Europe and America are beginning to busy themselves and in which they are likely to be immersed by the day after to-morrow. So now, having taken a trip along the battle fronts in Europe last summer, he has a great deal to say about what the people in England and France, and himself in particular, are thinking about many questions connected with the ending of the war and what will come after the war. The particular consequence and interest of his book in connection with these volumes that deal with our own future and endeavour to throw light upon the direction in which current ideas and discussions will carry us lie in the fact that in the latter part of the work he has something to say about the possibility of America joining with Europe in certain united efforts that he thinks ought to be undertaken after the war is ended. He points out that any political co-operation to prevent war in the future, such as the League to Enforce Peace or any sort of international tribunal, political or judicial, will not be sufficient unless industrial and economic questions also are included in its jurisdiction. Therefore, as he presents the matter, if we wish to enter into political co-operation in Europe we must consider also whether or not we are willing to join the European nations in the regulating and co-ordinating of these other matters.

Mr. Wells believes that the mechanical developments and industrial organisation necessary for modern warfare have become matters of such huge consequence and cost that not more than eight of the nations of the world are capable of carrying on warfare. And he asides that our literature upon "preparedness"

shows that we have no realisation of the fundamental revolution that has taken place in military methods during the last two years. These eight powers, of which he counts the United States as one, being the only ones "capable of warfare under modern conditions" should, he insists, take over and completely control the manufacture of all munitions of war in the world. He endorses the plans of the League to Enforce Peace, but he says that it is necessary to go farther and give to some international tribunal or council the power to pass upon and revise national economic measures, such as tariffs, quarantine, alien exclusion, and other matters of serious irritation between nations. It should have some sort of control over the production and distribution of all staple products, and it should administer the sea law of the world and control and standardise international freights. He insists that the principle of common welfare in trade matters is bound up with the ideal of permanent peace, and that to attempt to leave it out in the settlement after the war will be merely laying down the sword to take up the cudgel.

In the laying of the basis for future peace on solid ground Mr. Wells sees "a supreme opportunity" for this country to help in the furthering of the hope of the world. But he is doubtful of our ability to see the importance of the opportunity and of our courage to undertake the work.

#### "AMERICAN WORLD POLICIES"

Mr. Weyl sees our present attitude and gesture as the outgrowth of what he calls "our idealistic past" and he expects us, as we step forward into the future, to be still governed by that spirit in which we had our birth and which has ruled our life and become a part of our national being. He writes of the influence of that spirit during the last few years, as inspiring our attitude toward the European war, with understanding and with lucid, judicial state-

ment. To find so fine and true and well reasoned an interpretation of that attitude, which has been so shockingly misrepresented at home and deplorably misunderstood abroad, is something to be thankful for. Moreover, it gives one confidence in the author's insight, penetration and sanity of judgment when he goes on to speak of our problems at home and our relations with the rest of the world. His treatment of these matters is noteworthy for the way in which he relates the latter with the former by means of the common basis he finds for both in the economic situation and tendency. He sees in imperialism, whether political or of that industrial kind which has its source in accumulations of capital, a danger against which we must guard. In a very interesting chapter, called "An Antidote to Imperialism," he points out or suggests a multitude of activities, betterments, evolutions of our social life, which would counteract the impulse to imperialistic ventures of either sort, create a broader economic basis by increasing the prosperity of those at the bottom of the social structure, make the life of the whole nation fuller, freer and more active and enable us to follow a disinterested foreign policy. One after another he takes up the problems of international relationships, as they concern us, which will presently be pressing for settlement and examines them in the light of their probable effect upon us according as they are settled one way or another. But he takes it for granted always that we, as a nation, will want each and all of them to be settled in accordance with our ideal of the welfare of the many rather than the wealth of the few. Finally, he shows that the United States stands now faced with the necessity of making a great decision. "Either it can cling hopelessly to the last vestiges of its policy of isolation, or it can launch out into imperialistic ventures; or, finally, it can promote, as can no other nation, a policy of internationalism, which will bind together the nations in a union of mutual interest and will

hasten the peaceful progress of the economic and political integration of the world." It is a book that will make for far-sightedness, for clarity of thought and sanity of judgment in the deciding of many of our problems, and the direct-

ing of our course. "Nor, although it is so much taken up with material concerns, is it without that insight into the heart of things, that gleam of the spirit, without which we shall surely die.

## EVENING

BY POWHATAN JOHNSON WOOLDRIDGE

BELOVED! Let us rest  
 Where the water lilies glow,  
 And idly watch the river flowing past.  
 Our day is at its best  
 For the lengthened shadows grow,  
 Sure promise that the night is near, at last.

The livelong summer day  
 We have worked and thought apart,  
 But sun-set brings an end to lonely toil;  
 A little time for play  
 Comes to ease the work-worn heart,  
 A moment that the world of care can't spoil.

We'll watch the sunset fade,  
 And, as night comes on a-pace,  
 Forget the world and all its warring art,  
 Beneath the willow shade,  
 As I gaze upon your face,  
 I'll press you close and closer to my heart.