

too, there is increasing hope, not merely through the elevation of the race to a higher plane of industrial efficiency, but also through the subsidence of race antagonism among the better class of Southern whites, and the recognition that it is the superior, as well as the inferior, race that suffers under a régime of injustice, violence, or neglect. Just as the best thought of America came at last, after long years, to a repudiation of slavery, why, asks Mr. Bryce, may it not in time come also to a removal of grounds of friction between the races under freedom? Doubtless such an inquiry does not sound the lowest depths of the fundamental problem of race; but it has at least the merit of holding up a rational moral ideal to be striven for, and an ideal, too, consciously pursued to-day by the men and women, North and South, who have studied the negro most attentively and impartially.

Mr. Bryce is not blind to the momentous growth of American democracy from primitive to complicated conditions, nor to the difficult problems of government and administration which such development involves. His power, however, and the permanent usefulness of his writing lie in the sureness with which he distinguishes fundamental political values in a community of rapid change. It has been said of, "The American Commonwealth" that, beyond any book ever written about us, it has revealed America to itself; and for a book which can do that there should be, as unquestionably there will be, warm welcome to a new lease of life.

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Edited by John R. Commons, Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore, Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews. Vols. III, IV, and Vol. IV, Supplement. Labor Conspiracy Cases, 1806-1842; Selected, collated, and edited by John R. Commons, Professor of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin, and Eugene A. Gilmore, Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co.

These three volumes assemble in convenient compass the records of early labor conspiracy cases, some of which—and these the more important ones—were previously not generally accessible. At the outset, these volumes present a sharp contrast to their two predecessors ("Plantation and Frontier," noticed in the *Nation*, October 13), in the use made of legal monuments to decipher industrial changes. In the two earlier volumes, the statute book and court records were conspicuous by their very infrequent citation; these later volumes contain judicial records exclusively, if we except the important prefatory essay. It is to be hoped that we

may have at some time a full history of the doctrine of conspiracy as applied to trade disputes, with an appraisal of the validity or invalidity of the doctrine as a solvent of economic ills; but nothing of the sort is attempted in the volumes under review.

These judicial records are employed by Professor Commons in his introductory study as indicative of the early relationships between industrial classes, and particularly as casting light upon the origin of a self-conscious laboring class whose interests conflict with those of the capitalist-employer. The substance of this study was embodied in an article from Mr. Commons's pen which appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November, 1909. The history of the shoe-making industry alone is here canvassed, but inasmuch as nine of the seventeen conspiracy cases prior to 1842 had occurred among shoemakers, Mr. Commons contends that the emergence of class distinctions in this industry is "interpretative," if not typical (Vol. III, p. 58). This is plausible, even probable, but confirmatory evidence upon the point is desirable.

The gist of Mr. Commons's contention is that, in the United States at least, "it is the extension of markets more than the technique of production that determines the origin of industrial classes, their form of organization, their political and industrial policies, and demands, and their fate" (Vol. III, p. 28). The Marxian doctrine that the proletariat is created by the introduction of masses of machine appliances for production fares badly in the boot and shoe industry. It stumbles over the awkward fact that "even as late as 1851, all of the labor in the manufacture of shoes was hand labor" (Vol. III, p. 51), whereas long before 1851, the organized laboring class had appeared in this industrial field.

The first, or colonial, period of industry is made by Mr. Commons to extend to the decade of the twenties in the last century. He relies rather too much upon a single instance of a shoemakers' guild in 1648 in the colony of Massachusetts Bay, as affording a picture of the conditions of handicraft manufactures for a period of one hundred and fifty years. Whatever the incorporators of this guild desired to obtain, it is certain that the itinerant cobbler was not "suppressed" throughout this period. On the other hand, the first conspiracy case, the Philadelphia cordwainers (1806), presents a picture of the situation in the trade about the opening of the nineteenth century. The master commonly booked orders in his shop, and put out the work among his journeymen. An increase in wages was rather easily shifted upon the purchaser in an enhanced price for the wares. But when some small masters began to "stock up" with standard sizes, and

even to a greater degree when stocks of low-grade shoes began to be sold in the public market for what they would bring, the easy control of price which had unified the interests of master and journeymen was threatened.

The widening of the market effected the final loss of control over prices (except for custom made shoes), by the small master. As enterprising shoe merchants sought for customers at a distance, these merchants found it necessary to quote prices that would not yield the customary wages to the cordwainers. The merchants, moreover, as they obtained their supplies eventually from widely separate sources, could regard with relative impunity the protests entered at first by both the small masters and their journeymen in any one particular locality. The small master who sided at first with the journeymen was forced to align himself with the large merchant-capitalists. Strikes followed, and the self-conscious labor organization was speedily evolved in the shoe industry.

A single comment may suffice, upon this really brilliant essay in industrial history. The extension of the market ought not to be regarded as an inert, half-automatic manifestation of impersonal economic energy—a sort of "force not ourselves that makes for production." The extension of markets is not merely a reflex of bettered means of communication, for this widening of the market was clearly in evidence before railways and canals had been built. It is an indication of enterprise, of a search for economizing expedients, for the savings of large-scale production. Moreover the comfortable torpidity of the old régime of the shop, where the customer was forced to pay an advanced price at the virtual dictate of the small master, egged on by his journeymen, was too invertebrate an industrial organism to offer very effective resistance to a virile competitor. It is true that the impersonality of modern industrial conditions has brought with it a menace in depressing some levels of work and life below what is socially or morally tolerable. It has also created the class antagonisms of to-day. But it has its advantageous side, as well as its defects, and chief among its excellences is its preferring the interest of the consumer to the lethargy of antiquated methods of production.

Peace or War East of Baikal? By E. J. Harrison. Twenty-three chapters, with illustrations and maps. Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh.

This book, the work of a journalist whose extended residence in the Far East somewhat qualifies him for his task, aims at giving the present status and future prospects of both Russia and Japan in China. The main question

treated is whether present conventional restrictions and treaty obligations can be faithfully observed; for upon this depends the prevention of a tumultuous change in the map of the Far East.

The first half of the book deals with the Russian situation; and that country is pictured as at present mainly engaged in working out the problem how to retain her Far Eastern possessions. The various schemes, by means of which Russia came into her Far Eastern heritage, are fully discussed in a style aggressive but incisive and lucid, though with more of a journalistic than a literary quality. The writer thinks that Russia's encroachment upon Manchuria opened up the whole of her Far Eastern empire to attack by removing the Manchurian screen. Due emphasis is laid on the significance of the fact that, in spite of great energy and expense in promoting various immigration schemes, Russia's East Asian empire is still very sparsely populated. Some interesting stories are given of Russian press censorship, one of which shows the punishment of an editor for publishing the report of an affair in which an officer wounded a comrade in trying to shoot a cap from his head for a wager. Numerous instances of Chinese contravention of agreements with Russia are cited to show that, since the war with Japan, China has regarded Russia as the under dog. The author insists on the assertion that it is a conviction of Russia that China and Japan have a plot for the undoing of Russia; hence the willingness of Russia, for the present, to curry favor with Japan. This is alleged to be the "yellow peril" from a Russian point of view; and the two chapters describing the position of Russia as that of the man who feels it better to "agree with thine adversary quickly while thou art in the way with him," are among the most interesting in the book.

In the section dealing with Japan in South Manchuria, extended notice is taken of the progress of the invader along all modern lines in the region occupied. The conviction is expressed that, though Japan is simply building upon the foundations laid by Russia, she is admirably avoiding much of Russia's misdirected use of energy. Port Arthur, rising amid tons of expended gold and rivers of human blood, is aptly described as a monument of human heroism and human folly. The important questions leading up to Secretary Knox's proposal for the neutralization of Manchurian railways are next considered, and the growth of an increasing ill-feeling towards the United States noted. The ground is taken that self-interest will insure peace on the Pacific. The chapters dealing with Japan at home give a full account of recent political and social progress. In discussing Japanese customs one notices a few errors: as, for example, the statement that

Japanese school children are obliged to bow daily before the portrait of the Emperor. This act of veneration is restricted to national holidays and other national occasions, the Imperial picture at other times being veiled in the sacred alcove reserved for it. In summing up the Japanese character, Mr. Harrison wisely avoids the sweeping generalizations often indulged in by writers and publicists less familiar with the people, while he corrects a good many false impressions that have gained currency abroad.

It would be a mistake to regard the book as chiefly taken up with political disquisitions; for these are largely subordinated to topographical and ethnological descriptions at once instructive and picturesque. The writer has a good working knowledge of both the Russian and Japanese languages, which lends zest to some interesting details. The value of the work is enhanced by its having as appendices all the important conventions and treaties, with notes, relevant to the Far East, as well as good maps of the countries treated.

Democracy and the Party System in the United States, A Study in Extra-Constitutional Government. By M. Ostrogorski. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.75 net.

This volume is an abridged edition of the second volume of Ostrogorski's "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties" (reviewed in the *Nation* April 30, 1903). In bulk it has been reduced about one-half, and its contents have been brought up to date. One new chapter on extra-constitutional government in the legislative assemblies has been added. The general verdict upon the original work, that it is admirable upon the historical, critical, and analytical side, but weak in its suggestions for political reconstruction, may be safely reaffirmed. Some of the earlier proposals, such as the removal of the Presidency from popular election, have disappeared. But the insistence upon temporary, single-issue organizations to replace permanent political party organizations is continued.

The new material embodied in the present volume is traceable, first, to the recent emphasis given to "predatory wealth" in control of government; and secondly, to the variety of expedients now mooted for the regulation of primaries, conventions, and elections. The question of direct primaries is discussed with fairness and ability. The agitation in their favor is "likely to do service in the fight against the machine" (p. 348); but "neither the sanguine hopes of the reformers nor the fears of the bosses have been entirely justified. . . . As a rule, the machine still makes up the slate" (p. 346). It is rather curious that in his inventory of pat-

ents taken out to improve political machinery, there is no mention of the Short-Ballot movement, particularly as Ostrogorski declares that the "first and greatest reform in the elective system is the curtailment of the system itself, the reduction of the number of elective offices to a minimum" (p. 444).

The new chapter upon extra-constitutional government in Congress and the State Legislatures is rather disappointing. In recounting the recent results of "Insurgency" in the House, the author falls into a rather notable error in saying that "the Speaker has been, at last, in March, 1910, deprived of his power to make up the committees of the House" (p. 286, note). It was only the Rules Committee which was taken out of the Speaker's power. The Speaker is excluded from membership upon this committee, and the committee itself is elected by the House. The remaining committees the Speaker appoints as hitherto.

JUVENILE BOOKS—II.

A genuine volume of sport is "Walter Camp's Book of Football" (Century); it makes appeal to the best in the athlete, it describes the technicalities, history, ethics, and personalities of the game. In these days of various inventions and profit, Francis A. Collins's "The Boys' Book of Model Aeroplanes" (Century), by its very title, suggests the service of the young aviator in solving the problem of flying. The text is explanatory and historical. "The Romance of the Ship" (Lippincott), by E. Keble Chatterton, and "The Romance of Modern Astronomy" (Lippincott), by Hector Macpherson, Jr., belong to an excellent series which will please boys of a scientific turn of mind. They are lively in their narrative and authoritative in their facts. The volumes are attractively bound. W. Dwight Burroughs's "The Wonderland of Stamps" (Stokes) describes the designs of the most important stamps in the world, grouping them according to their characteristic symbols.

We are glad to be able to mention four books of plays for amateurs, Constance D'Arcy Mackay's "The House of the Heart" (Holt) is more literary than the others, the author being particularly interested in the morality form. The title piece was given by the New York Educational Theatre for Children and Young People. "Harper's Book of Little Plays" consists of six, by various hands, modelled along conventional school lines. It is designedly educational in purpose. Marguerita Merington's "Holiday Plays" (Duffield) are five in number, covering the festivals of the year. The characters and costumes are mostly historical. In view of the Dickens Centenary, H. B. Browne's "Short Plays from Dickens" (Scribner) will be of unusual interest.

"Where the Wind Blows" (Dutton) consists of ten fairy-tales retold by Katharine Pyle; their sources are from Japanese, Russian, Norse, German, Irish, Greek, and Indian. The copyright shows that the book was first written in 1902. Each