

peace animated extremism in Germany, but Lenin. Miliukov quotes another "fact" which is of special interest for the American reader. Colonel Raymond Robins brought with him from Russia a carload of platinum—apparently as a Bolshevik compensation for services rendered. This is the sort of "facts" given by Miliukov. Beyond any doubt, he here renders a great service to the Bolshevik cause by using "propaganda stuff" which is so easy to refute. One might expect from a man like Miliukov a sounder criticism of Bolshevism, because it can and must be criticized from an entirely different angle. The Machiavellian and Hobbesian principles of Bolshevik philosophy; the centralized, omnipotent, bureaucratic, though socialist state; the suppression of individual initiative; the almost blind devotion to mass movement which is at times bound to become the movement of a mob—all these elements are easy to criticize and easy to denounce; but Miliukov does not even mention them, much less apply to them the analysis which his hostility to Bolshevism might have suggested.

The famous Winnipeg strike, the recent American miners' strike, the general economic unrest and political instability in the New and the Old Worlds, are all interpreted alike: Bolshevik propaganda! As if national economic and political life were such a precarious thing that every propagandist, every soap-box orator could shatter the very foundation of social equilibrium! As if only propaganda were the cause of the decline of Greece or Rome and the Holy Roman Empire and of Old Europe of today, and not the weakness and wickedness of cultures and social orders!

The book is nevertheless interesting as a document which helps us to study the psychology of those of the old world who witness their own passing. Miliukov is at times very sincere. Thus he reports: "When asked by Prince Lvov, I told him that a strong power, which would necessitate a policy like that of Noske's, must be established." "I refused to agree," he confesses further, "to the so-called policy of 'peace without annexations and contributions' on the self-determination principle because I knew there was German intrigue and the spirit of Zimmerwald behind it." The same German and Zimmerwald spirit is discovered by Miliukov even among the Kerensky and Menshevik parties, because at the reception of Albert Thomas and Arthur Henderson in Petrograd their speeches were continually intercepted by queries "What about Ireland? and India? and Morocco?" To plead the cause of Egypt, Miliukov says, is to carry on the old German and Bolshevik plan of sowing revolt among the British colonial subjects. Analyzing the testimonies of "professional men in the intelligence service," Messrs. Tunney and Archibald Stevenson, Miliukov concludes: "In the United States as well as in other Allied countries, but in far larger measure than elsewhere, the Bolshevik activities, just as the Irish, the Indian, the Canadian, are closely interwoven with the previous anti-Ally and pro-German propaganda."

Mr. Walling, too, in his "Sovietism" fails to attack Bolshevism in its weakest point and repeats and emphasizes the same charges of pro-Germanism and anti-Britishism. But *quod licet Jovi non licet bovi*. What Miliukov may say Mr. Walling has hardly the right to say, because he does not possess even a fraction of the facts which Miliukov has observed. Nine-tenths of the book is made up of quotations taken chiefly from the hostile press. With bare quotations one can easily prove that Jesus Christ was a monarchist or else an anarchist. It is worthy of note that Mr. Walling seems to have found one of the clues of Bolshevik philosophy: he emphasizes the militarization of industry which took place in some parts of Russia and which is incompatible with the principle of industrial democracy. It is really a strong point, and one should begin with it; but unfortunately Mr. Walling mentions it only accidentally and then again dives into the characteristic anti-Bolshevik hysteria, which actually denounces anything but Bolshevism and renders a service to anything but democracy and reconciliation.

GREGORY ZILBOORG

## The Politician of the Middle Valley

*Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895.* By Matilda Gresham. Rand, McNally & Company.

*"Marse Henry": An Autobiography.* By Henry Watterson. George H. Doran Company.

*My Quarter Century of American Politics.* By Champ Clark. Harper & Brothers.

THESE three heroes of history, Gresham, Watterson, and Champ Clark, belong to the middle valley formed by the Ohio and Missouri rivers. They are descended from those pioneers, Scotch-Irish, German, and English, who crossed the Virginia mountains at the close of the eighteenth century and settled in Tennessee and Kentucky, whence two of the families, the Greshams and Clarks, made their way to Indiana and Missouri, respectively. This middle valley has passed through experiences that have made it less partisan and more tolerant than other sections. When the slavery issue in the middle of the last century became acute, there were not to be found here the irreconcilables of New England and Louisiana. On both sides of the Ohio and along the Missouri Valley lived men familiar with slavery in its milder aspects.

It was in the environment of this middle valley that all three of these historic figures grew up. The shadow of the "War between the States," the popular name for the struggle in this region, hung over all three of the men and darkens many pages of the narratives. Mr. Clark, being only a boy during the war, passes over the story rather lightly; but Mrs. Gresham in the life of her husband and Mr. Watterson in his autobiography devote many pages to this greatest episode in the history of the valley; and both attempt to correct popular misconceptions by a more tolerant interpretation of the attitude of both sides. Gresham was a brigadier general in the Union army and Watterson an officer in the Confederate; their boyhood and young manhood were passed under the threat and actuality of armed strife.

Although the three men differ widely in character, education, and experience, they all express the same tolerance toward their opponents, even the most partisan of them. Mr. Clark is excessive in his admiration of his Republican friends and has slight criticism of their policies. His may be the typical attitude of the politician; still he, as did the two others, breathed in the air of the Ohio Valley, where only the breadth of a river divided the land of freedom from that of slavery and where men learned by wholesome fear of the pistol shot a respect for the opinions of others.

The clause "fear of the pistol shot" is not used in a metaphorical sense, for in the middle valley it was a very real factor in forming public opinion. All three works give evidence that frontier methods of settling disputes passed only yesterday from this land, if it can be said to have passed; and all seem to take it for granted that such sudden endings of disputes belong to the natural order of things. Mrs. Gresham tells the story of a lawyer being shot down at her husband's side by "a delicate, silent young man but a thorough gentleman." "Marse Henry's" notices of such shootings are frequent, and he says that the common knowledge of his own prowess with the gun kept some of the readers of his newspaper from violent assault. Mr. Clark's memories of bloody encounters are very vivid, scenes of bloodshed having been frequent in his life almost from babyhood, and he describes them with great gusto. When still a boy he viewed with interest the swinging bodies of victims of a lynching. The Speaker of the House vouchsafes us this picture of himself in his first campaign for congressman in 1892: "We both (the candidates) went armed to the teeth, expecting a shooting match every time we met, but the very fact that we did expect it, I think, prevented it."

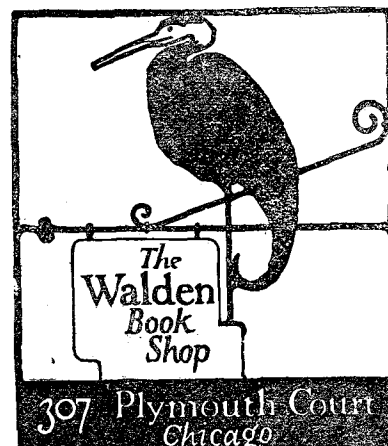
As books, these memoirs are crude and in their crudities represent the undeveloped side of the masses of this middle valley. The men have lived and lived hard; so it is thought

they have something worth saying. Unfortunately neither Mrs. Gresham nor the two men possess the literary ability to write a narrative filling two volumes. In all three cases the unity of the narrative is badly jumbled; a literary hack, hired to revise the manuscripts, would have cut them down from a third to a half and with ease have straightened out the illogical arrangements, the crudities of the paragraphs, the vain repetitions, and tiresome platitudes. Not all of the errors noticed may be explained by the garrulousness of old age. Clark's fitness for a literary career was assured by the fact that the reading of Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry" marked a turning-point in his career and by his admiration of Senator Vest's "Eulogy on the Dog"; he calls it a "gem of oratory."

It might be expected that the books would be failures as literary productions, but certainly they should be replete with political information. In this also the reader is for the most part disappointed. Mr. Watterson's judgment of most of the men he describes would not require greater familiarity with them and their careers than could be obtained at a dinner-party or at a poker game; his picture of President Cleveland engaged in the latter diversion is both interesting and enlightening; but in most of his portraits Mr. Watterson's pen has failed him. He is at his best in describing the Liberal Republican Convention that nominated Horace Greeley, and his portrait of the candidate has in it much to praise, and the account of the Tilden campaign with its aftermath is also well told. Strange to say he has little good to say of the two Democratic presidents, Cleveland and Wilson. There is in Mr. Clark's autobiography little more of real information than could be obtained in any good textbook on the history and civil government of the country. An exception should be made of his account of the fight, which he himself led, against the Speaker's usurpation of power. This portion of the book is well worth reading, and historians will also find his narration of the Baltimore convention of value. The objectivity of his story is well exhibited by the following quotation: "It was on the fourteenth ballot that William Jennings Bryan violated his instructions and by base and false insinuations—to use no uglier word—robbed me of the nomination to which I was entitled by all the rules of decency, justice, honesty, common sense, and fair dealing."

Mrs. Gresham's life of her husband is of much more value as far as political and economic information is concerned than the two other works. The greater part of her two volumes is devoted to Gresham's career in the army and on the bench, in both of which Mrs. Gresham justly takes great pride. She gives a very full and satisfactory account of Gresham's decisions in the railway cases, in particular that concerning the Wabash Railroad, and in his execution of receiverships. Still there are many pages devoted to distinctly political matters. The story of local politics in southern Indiana is illuminating; but more general interest will be found in the chapters concerned with national politics. The story grows fuller of political interest with the account of the Republican convention of 1888 at which Gresham was placed in nomination for the presidency. Mrs. Gresham relates a most interesting inside history of the convention and asserts that her husband, if he had been willing to make terms with Senators Platt and Quay, would have been nominated. Gresham's experiences at the convention drove him slowly into the opposition and prepared him to accept the appointment as Secretary of State when Cleveland was elected. The appointment did not meet the approval of Champ Clark, who writes: "The unalloyed joy of Democrats was of short duration. March the 5th President Cleveland announced his Cabinet, and thereby slapped every Democrat betwixt the two seas squarely in the face by appointing General Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago, Secretary of State. The appointment had the effect of an ice-bath upon the enthusiasm of old, battle-scarred Democrats—who believed that the election of 1892 was a Democratic triumph, pure and simple."

CLARENCE W. ALVORD.



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## Nationalization

*The Case for Nationalization.* By A. Emil Davies. London: George Allen and Unwin, Limited.

THE position of A. Emil Davies is unusual even in England.

He is general manager of the British, Foreign, and Colonial Banking Corporation, a successful "City man," an authority in financial writing, a member of the London County Council, and chairman of the Railway Nationalization Society. When he is not organizing skilful amalgamations or describing ripe plums in investment, he is pushing the mass mind on to ever-increasing areas of socialism. It was pleasant to see him at the Coal Industry Commission. The coal owners had "nothing on him"; he is an "insider" in their world. They attempted a little cross-examination and found it disastrous, and "dropped" him, as Dodson and Fogg dropped Samuel Weller. It was then that he volunteered the secret of why he, a financier, was backing British labor against high finance and big business. The reason is that, in his opinion, public ownership and democratic management mean better finance and business. With the old game played out, the old order interred, it is the job of a practical man to help in creating the new social order. To the coal owners he said: "It is quite conceivable that the miners or the railway workers might ask more than the conditions of an industry justify. But so long as you have all this capital-mongering, they feel that the industry is making millions. Let those profits be pooled over the whole industry, as they would be if it were nationalized, with their representatives on the Board of Management, so that they know that there was no hanky-panky; it would be possible to show the miners and the railway workers that there did come a point when they were asking more than the industry really could stand. I am thinking of the trade and industry of this country, which is dependent on cheap coal. If you nationalize this particular industry, you will bring the workers to what you may call a reasonable frame of mind."

This off-hand reply of Mr. Davies can be taken as the text of his published work. His latest book, "The Case for Nationalization," is an underscoring of "The Collectivist State in the Making." Alderman Davies believes in private enterprise, but he sees that with certain vital services and industries the profit-making incentive becomes a hindrance to social development. Profit-making has brought mines and railways to low efficiency. The great organized groups of workers will no longer give high production in a system which pays profits to a small group, partly non-producing. Mr. Davies wishes to avoid a class war. "Mixing as I do with men occupying leading positions in finance and business, I was appalled at the depth of class feeling that was evidenced" in the railway strike. He analyzes the "public," and finds it to be "considerably less than one-fourth of the population." From a lifetime of experience as a master in the modern business world, he has no illusions about the governing class. "This class is, on the whole, incompetent and not even educated. How is it that the man who in business may have risen to the top proves, when he assumes office in a Government department, to be just as inept as his brother at the War Office and his cousin at the Home Office? Because, directly the searchlight of publicity is thrown upon him, his weaknesses are revealed." The book is filled with illustrations of community-owned undertakings. If any responsible person differs with Mr. Davies, he has before him the material on which Mr. Davies formed an opinion. He must disprove the facts, or point to a hiatus in the induction. There are lively chapters on The Right to Strike, The Workers' Share in Management, The Press. Men like Emil Davies, Sidney Webb, Seebohm Rowntree, R. H. Tawney, Justice Sankey, Bertrand Russell, each in his kind, contribute a spirit and an intelligence which are enabling England to make a vast social change without violence and paralysis.

ARTHUR GLEASON

## A Conservative on the League

*American World Policies.* By David Jayne Hill. George H. Doran Company.

"IT is not," says Mr. Hill, "my purpose here to frame policies," and this comes much nearer describing the book than does the title. It is, to all intents and purposes, an analytical discussion—a destructive analysis—of the Covenant of the League of Nations. As such it should be welcome to all thinking Americans, whatever their attitude, for it comes near being the only pamphlet on the subject that bears comparison with the papers advocating the adoption of the Constitution which we combine under the title "The Federalist."

Mr. Hill does not, indeed, quite rise to Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. He does not avoid the tone of personal rancor that President Wilson seems always to excite. The chapter Nations and the Law is surprising in its historical statements and innocent in its logic. International law is extolled both as "natural" and "created through the treaty-making power." "Here is a process by which a complete system of world-law can eventually be created; and it can be accomplished as soon as the Great Powers are prepared to act under a rule of law." Has the learned doctor forgotten his "History of Diplomacy" and the occasional insistence by two Powers upon the existence of such a law, even while fighting vigorously over what it was? He also thinks "one simple sentence . . . would have provided all the guaranty necessary for [the Peace Treaty's] execution; . . . that any attempt to evade the obligations of the treaty . . . would be regarded as an offense to all of them." Is the doctor an impractical idealist who thinks each of the allies would have scorned a generous ransom somewhat conditioned on winking at a scanty payment to another?

What is really deep down in his heart is concern over the Constitution of the United States. This he finds endangered, first, by President Wilson's handling of the Treaty, particularly his disregard for the Senate, and, secondly, by the League itself. This negative part is well done and thoroughly worth consideration. He presents no alternative proposal, and while he expresses himself as favoring some kind of international association, there is no evidence of conviction with regard to it. His ideal of procedure apparently would have been to make peace, then to have a world conference to formulate international law—or rather to accept the American interpretation of it—and then to draw up articles of association to administer it. It is doubtful whether he is unduly optimistic or cynically pessimistic as to the outcome of such a procedure. On pages 184-190 he seems to doubt whether any form of self-government can evolve a real foreign policy; on page 90 he says: "In truth, by whatever name it may be called, whether 'League' or 'Alliance,' such an association has no value except as it is in fact an entente and continues to be one." On the other hand, he says that the world-community which he admits to exist today can, unlike other communities, maintain its peace "upon the principle of free cooperation under the regulation of accepted law," without a government. He is undoubtedly an anarchist in international affairs, but one remains in doubt whether he is a cheerful anarchist looking to the perfectibility of nations, or a doleful one advising the only perfect nation to avoid contamination from the rest.

Mr. Hill, then, opposes the Treaty from the point of view of the conservative. It is the League that disturbs him and not the Treaty of Peace, with regard to which he seems to regret chiefly that Germany was not forced to surrender unconditionally. His discussion, while at times heated and failing in logic, is thoughtful and provokes thought. It seems much in the spirit of the Republican platform. Sixty pages of appendix contain the Covenant of the League, the Senate reservations, and other documents.

C. R. FISH