

a backward view, its art becomes one of the few gleaming solids in the turbid flux of the age; and one falls readily into step with Mr. Pach as he traces its movement through the spartan solidity of David, the classic line of Ingres, watches it burst into a fever of energy with Delacroix and then follows the series of swift attacks, with Cézanne on one flank and Odilon Redon on the other, which led into the disciplined tumult of today—out of which the word Cubism singles a dominant aspect.

At intervals of twenty years Mr. Pach sees a fresh master appearing: his followers quickly occupy the territory he opens up; then there is a lull, and a new master comes forward. Mr. Pach's discussion on "After Impressionism," "Cubism" and "To-day" is the most intelligent and sympathetic interpretation of the late moderns that I have met; and since the remarks that are dropped at current exhibitions show that there are a hundred people still bewildered by the best art of our own time, to twenty who profess sympathy, and five perhaps who have any real understanding, I must cordially recommend *The Masters of Modern Art* to these people, if for nothing else than the concluding chapters. Mr. Pach has reinforced his own essay with an admirable bibliography, with thirty-six excellent half-tones, and a section of commentary on these reproductions; and to cap it all he has generously included an original etching by himself of Barye's Theseus and the Centaur. In short, this volume is all that a book on art should be; for it adds its own worth to the treasures it portrays.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

## Two Essays in Actual Government

*Politics: The Citizen's Business*, by William Allen White. New York: The MacMillan Company. \$2.00.

*Personality in Politics*, by William Bennett Munro. New York: The MacMillan Company. \$1.50.

MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE threatened to write a badly needed book—an account of the real government of the United States. With proper genuflections to respected thinkers, that government is composed not of "interests," but of professional whip-crackers and twisters of the thumbscrew of whom Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler may serve as a type, though he is by far the most powerful of the lot. These gentlemen and ladies nominally represent, and in practise usually dominate, organizations which Mr. Wheeler has called "pressure groups," and the government we actually get is the residuum of their assorted demands. These demands are discordant and often conflicting, which is the only reason that life in America remains tolerable. If ever a genius arises who can unite these oligarchies of limited scope but dominant power, he will make the machines of Mussolini and the late Lenin look as feebly innocuous as the English-Speaking Union.

Mr. White understands this, but unfortunately after he had written an introductory chapter about the pressure groups his campaign for the governorship or some other immediate exigency left him no time to finish, so he filled out his book with a rewrite of his newspaper articles during the conventions of last summer. They were good reporting at the time, but now they are too old for news and too recent for history. Such value as the general introduc-

tion might have had was seriously affected, for this reviewer, within the first three pages. Mr. White devotes these to an account of pristine America and an exegesis of the state of mind of the founding fathers which has no warrant whatever in history, or in anything else but Mr. White's need of a starting-point for a chapter which should be a starting-point for a book. The news stories amounting to only some 130 book pages, the volume is padded with appendices—the major acts and documents of the Republican and Democratic conventions. To suppose that anybody would reread these dreary platforms and nominating speeches is perhaps the supreme act of faith of even Mr. White's religious history.

Professor Munro's little volume contains three lectures delivered at the University of North Carolina on the reformer, the boss, and the political leader. Everything in them is true, and useful for young men in college; but it is not particularly exciting nor does it get us much further. The author suggests that the pressing need of the time is the reform of reform organizations, but he seems to interpret this desirable reform as a sort of co-ordination and alliance—which, as suggested above, would be the end of liberty in the United States. Yet his account of the methods by which bosses maintain their hold might suggest a useful line of research for somebody who had the time for it. The typical boss holds his power not only by giving his supporters special favors—that is, by enabling part of the people, a cohesive minority based on interest, to profit at the expense of all the people—but by giving them special immunities.

Now obviously the more laws, the more chance for special and profitable immunities to the favored group. This system has reached perfection in an extremely powerful and durable ecclesiastical organization, which can furnish fruitful inspiration to the practical politician. Fortunately for the practical politician, too, the tendency of the time is toward more and more laws. Before long almost everything that any man may do will be unlawful, hence there will be unlimited opportunity for the granting of immunities to those who are in right with the right people. These indulgences may be conferred by statute, as in the exemption of labor from the anti-trust laws and of home-brewing farmers from the Volstead Act, or by the personal favor of political leaders as in the recent operations of the "Ohio gang" in Washington. This is the way in which our actual government is actually developing, and political philosophers might profitably investigate it before investigation also is prohibited by a constitutional amendment.

ELMER DAVIS.

## Instead of Economics

*The Economics of Taxation*, by Harry Gunnison Brown. New York: Henry Holt and Company. \$3.00.

PROFESSOR Brown is one of the few contemporary economists who dares to be vigorously theoretical. He has the courage to reconstruct once more the artificial world of Labor, Capital and Land, only platonically related to the world of laborers with stubborn standards of living and fluctuating morale, of productive funds accumulated under all sorts of varying conditions, with all sorts of motives, of great agricultural areas planted with a population of mental and economic purposes still unexplored by the text writers. With his artificial conceptions of Labor, Capital

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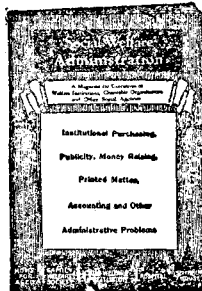
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