

man and the other is the stupidity of his commanders and owners. Taking the second point first, conceive the incredible clumsiness of every apparatus a sailor had to handle before steam came to his aid. Reflect upon the generations of sea-captains who stepped upon their quarter-decks and sailed the seas for years and died, without ever giving a single stray thought to devising something to get the work done quicker and at the cost of less killing labor. Visualize, if you can, the owners who seemed to have the mental rating of pawnbrokers and the inventiveness of a groundhog. It is the most scandalous thing in the whole history of industrialism, the wholesale sacrifice of generations of seamen of magnificent fidelity and fortitude to the aggrandisement of a class of men who lacked the intelligence to do anything with those noble virtues.

The stupidity of the average commander was less spectacular. It was revealed more in a foolish cruelty and boorishness than in anything actually wicked. Dana's Captain Thompson was unusual, but it reflects unfortunately upon a state of affairs where such vicious humbugs could reach an omnipotent position over the destinies of human beings. The old time nautical mind is very difficult to analyze.

A deep impression was made on the present writer when told by a relative, a fairly humane ship-master of the Victorian era, how he found his chief officer seizing a man up by the thumbs, so that his toes just touched the floor, as a punishment for a trivial insolence. It is hard to say which was the more striking—the brutality of the trick or the unfaltering obedience of the mate when ordered to take the man down. One is constrained to attribute a great deal of old-time cruelty on ships to low intelligence and a lack of imagination. The idea, however, that this is an indispensable concomitant of a heroic life, is rubbish.

Dana has written of a state of things gone forever, and a good riddance. The sailing ship was an expensive and troublesome makeshift and only pseudo-romantics and inland sentimentalists would ever sigh for a return to a way of life involving human beings in a round of toil compared with which a coal-mine or a chain factory afford careers of gilded leisure.

WILLIAM MCFEE.

## Ramsay MacDonald

*Ramsay MacDonald: The Man of To-morrow, by Iconoclast. Introduction by Oswald Garrison Villard. New York: Thomas Seltzer. \$2.50.*

THIS is an attempt to reach the man behind England's new prime minister, to show the political leader in the personality; and it is not a bad one. While *Iconoclast's* estimate has some of the verbosity of journalism, it is neither pat nor slick; and in successive chapters which lead from the situation in political England today, back to the boyhood of MacDonald in a little Scotch village, and forward again through MacDonald's intellectual development as a student of science, as secretary to an M. P., and as a member of the I. L. P., a fairly veracious portrait of the man emerges.

The author's emphasis upon MacDonald's Scotch ancestry is not without point; indeed it might have been pushed farther. The moral rigidity and intellectual sharpness of MacDonald is a common quality in the north:

I remember at a Labor party conference in 1920 how the speeches of the Scotch delegates clove like torpedoes through the watery medium of debate. This rigor, this concision, this willingness to act on the statements of formal logic is a quality which the Scotch have shared with the French through the course of their long historic affiliations; and it makes a little less mysterious the adroit effort at rapprochement with Poincaré that MacDonald made as soon as he stepped into office.

In the consistency and firmness of his career MacDonald is almost a paragon among statesmen; and if he is at last in power today it is because he has never once swerved from his belief in socialism as a goal and in persuasion as a means of reaching it. His career was not merely eclipsed by the war, because of his unflinching stand as a pacifist; it was also submerged by the revolution which followed the war; for he was as much opposed to the arbitrary practice of physical force in the second case as in the first. In the summer of 1920, as every observer who was on the spot knows, it looked in England as if there might be a showdown between the imperial-financial groups and their revolutionary opponents: when the Council of Action challenged Lloyd George's monstrous Russian policy, it needed only the appearance of a militant leader among the laborites actually to transfer the power of the state from the old Cabinet to the new Council. That leader was lacking; the critical moment passed; and since then the communist movement in Great Britain has waned; while the big unions, through unemployment and internal disharmonies, have lost the decisive political power which they once seemed bound to exercise.

The only socialism that carries conviction in England today is that which is bound, like Freedom, to broaden down from precedent to precedent; and this is the sort of thing for which MacDonald has always stood. MacDonald has no illusions about the possibility of transforming the economic organization of Great Britain by parliamentary edict; but he values the processes of parliamentary government as much as he values socialism—he has a deep sense of punctilio—and in taking power his main effort is to keep the whole social organization as a going concern, until the time when it can be effectually transformed from within.

With a mind less given to logical arrangement, with a mind whose emotional attitude colored its other processes there would be something false and hypocritical about a pacifist becoming the head of the vast military organization of the modern state. It is not armaments that MacDonald is afraid of, however, but the sort of human imbecility that may be tempted to use them; he has the rational, imaginative man's cold dislike for those who cannot trace the remoter consequences of their actions. This rationality, this patience, this stability are MacDonald's main assets. When Grey announced to Parliament in August, 1914, that the country was committed to war, MacDonald said quietly in rebuttal: "I think he is wrong. I think the government which he represents and for which he speaks is wrong. I think the verdict of history will be that they are wrong." MacDonald's rise to power is part of the verdict of history; and if it does not bring the glad awakening and release that the Socialists of the eighties dreamed of, it may at any rate dissolve the nightmare in which Europe has been struggling since the war.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

## Practical Americanization

*Adjusting Immigrant and Industry, by William M. Leiserson. Americanization Studies. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.*

AMERICA'S handling of the immigrant in past decades was far from a brilliant performance. We were generous, in a way. We kept our gates open and let immigrants come in and go where they pleased and live as they pleased. Or it would be more truthful to say, as their luck, good or bad, decided. Many of them fell into the hands of conscienceless exploiters, but the most, after a period of bewilderment and hardship, fared well enough to look back without regret to the lands of their birth.

The war and the restrictive immigration laws that followed it wrought an important change in the treatment of immigrant labor. As Dr. Leiserson says, we had used our immigrant labor supply much as we used our land. We worked them both wastefully on the assumption that the supply was inexhaustible. But our days of soil robbing and of hit and miss methods of labor management are over. It is now incumbent on industry to select labor carefully, train it well, look to the conditions making for health and contentment, and in other respects to apply the same kind of business intelligence to labor management as has been applied to the handling of mechanical equipment.

Dr. Leiserson's book is a record of what has been recently attempted by public and semi-public agencies, by the employers and trade unions and by national groups themselves to adjust the immigrant worker to the conditions of American economic life. It is an intensely interesting record. No one can read it without a feeling of regret that the new science of employment management did not appear on the scene until the close of the immigration epoch in our national history. It could have spared us an incredible amount of waste—waste of skill, of hopes, of happiness. It could have relieved us of a deal of futile concern over the Americanization process. For the adjustment of the immigrant to industry, as it now works out in some of our best managed industrial plants, is a far more effective method of Americanization than any worrying body of patriotic outsiders have ever been able to devise.

Although we shall probably never again have large masses of immigrants to work into our national life, there remains for industry a great deal to do in the better placing and training of the aliens who are not yet perfectly adjusted. There is still more to do in finding the right place for the American born worker and fitting him to his task. It is this need that gives permanent value to Dr. Leiserson's book.

For incidentally it is a valuable contribution to the literature on employment management. It is to be recommended to everyone who is still obsessed with the Old World conception of the laborer as an unhappy proletarian, an automaton to be set here or there as the will or whim of the capitalist determines, yielding up the commodity "labor power" as a tree yields its fruits. American industry has discovered, or is discovering, that the active coöperation of the laborer is essential to the fullest success of an enterprise. It is discovering that without a voice in the conditions of employment such coöperation of labor is not to be had. And so we have the novel phenomenon of hundreds of hard headed captains of industry talking earnestly about the benefits of "industrial democracy." To be sure, they do not use the term in the same sense as the

disciples of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. But they mean it in a sense that needs to be understood by all American students of economics.

Dr. Leiserson was unfortunate in the choice of his title. The busy student of economics and politics is likely to assume that the book would interest only those who are more or less specialists on the immigration problem. This is far from being the case. The book is worth reading from cover to cover for everyone who desires to understand the main tendencies of American economic life.

ALVIN JOHNSON.

## The Children's Claims

*The Claims of the Coming Generation: Essays arranged by Sir James Marchant. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.*

HERE England flies the signal of distress. Or, rather, some eight small flags flutter in a line, and their collective message is this: We are in a bad way; only the young can save us; but how can we save them?

The papers that compose the present symposium result from a conference lately held in London to consider the claims of children. The contributors represent the church, the medical profession, science, education and general philanthropic endeavor.

The situation seems to call for action. The urbanization of England has brought the slum and its evils. The general social system offers, on the one hand, prizes few but enormous; on the other, innumerable and inevitable blanks. The excess of women in the British Isles has been still further increased by the losses of the war, and the post-war demoralization among the young shows many painful features. War too, under modern conditions, kills off the mentally and physically fit; and contrasts begin to be drawn, as they were drawn in the later days of Rome, between viz, the fighting man, often abroad, and homo, the stay-at-home and begetter.

These papers have the inevitable variety of tone and texture. Some of them, like that of Professor J. Arthur Thomson, on Sex Instruction for the Young, show the deft and pliant hand of the popularizer. Others, written by eminent medical lights, exhibit the heavy, lumbering style that seems the peculiar prerogative of the physician, especially when British. Dean Inge, of St. Paul's, leads off with a eugenic paper on The Right to be Well Born. If he is a bit "gloomy," it is chiefly when he contemplates the indifference of the public: the nation is still asleep with regard to the danger of racial degeneracy; and while environmental reform may evoke enthusiasm, the improvement of the human stock itself arouses little interest.

For some years after Sir Francis Galton founded Eugenics, the new science seemed to be flourishing, and the intelligent public showed an increasing interest in it. Since the beginning of the war it has languished and seems to be dying, not of ridicule but of indifference. The scientific study of heredity of course goes on, and new discoveries are made every year; but the public absolutely refuses to treat it as a matter of practical importance.

Professor Thomson holds that the "bowdlerizing" of physiology should come to a speedy end. A sound biological training, he maintains, "will go far to prevent sniggering and morbid brooding." Above all, the proper education will exalt the conception of human love by linking it to the chivalrous, the poetic, and the romantic, and