

likely to seem strangely unideal. Here in America we have a different political metaphysics. Public opinion and not nationalism is our ultimate philosophical substance. We are very ready to assume that political difficulties such as the German government encounters are not only in part, but wholly due to the reaction upon the people of that rigid governmental system itself. But it is useless to quarrel with the results of historic evolution. Doubtless Germany could not have reached her present point of efficiency as an organ of civilization through a gradual development of democracy such as has occurred in England. In Prussia, especially, a timid or neutral policy cannot succeed, as history shows. The effect of such a course upon civil servants, the middle classes, the country population, the army itself, would be demoralizing. The positive, aggressive national policy, the continual hammering in of patriotism, the constant care lest the national idea fail to root deeply enough in the middle-class parties—all this, which seems curious, even repellent, to Americans—is the result of political necessity.

War upon the Social Democrats is openly declared. They are to be beaten, as they have been beaten in the past, through practical politics, through a proper grouping of parties, by so conducting the electoral campaigns that the Conservatives and Liberals may be able to unite. There is a great difference, Prince von Bülow shows, between the Social Democratic party in Germany and elsewhere. In Germany this party is radical, irreconcilable. Both the historic German virtue of capacity for discipline and organization and the ancient national vice of envy help to make the Social Democrats formidable. Their bitterness is intensified by the objectionable caste feeling so prevalent in Germany. To Americans, a state of affairs in which one whole party has to be regarded as a national weakness seems, of course, anomalous. Prince von Bülow speaks, to be sure, of the wisdom of utilizing all party forces—he would not, for example, *annihilate* the Center—but it is evidently not an easy task to secure any real unity of action. Practically there is continual obstruction.

Foreign observers profess to see forces at work in Europe—public opinion among them—which are tending to undermine the old principle of nationality. Prince von Bülow's book is a partial corrective of such views. It expresses sanely and reassuringly the point of view of conservative imperialism, encouraging the belief that the rulers of Germany will, at least for some time to come, continue to interpret rightly the meaning of her evolution. However unnatural and unideal some features of the German political system may appear to us, we cannot but perceive in Prince von Bülow's attitude a sane recognition of realities and much evolutionary wisdom.

---

THE NEW POLITICS. By WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.

The articles by the late William Garrott Brown which have been collected into a volume somewhat arbitrarily entitled *The New Politics*, were written at various times within the last decade—only one is dated as early as 1904—and are of varying degrees of substantiality. For none of them can be claimed the importance of the "special article" based on thorough investigation of one problem, or that of the essay which professes to open up a distinctly new point of view. But, on the whole, the reader will be

inclined to agree with the judgment of Lord Bryce, that these writings are worthy of preservation. They have qualities which raise them above the level of the majority of even the more philosophical journalistic summaries or criticisms. Inclusiveness of thought, tolerance, a fine sense of proportion—these are truly “literary” qualities, which, when supported by an unaffected grace of style, secure permanent freshness and value, giving pleasure and producing a superior sense of conviction.

These qualities are manifest in the opening article, to which the title *The New Politics* rightfully applies. In this the author describes the modern phase of democracy’s endless struggle with privilege, formulating with clearness and force a thought that has been gaining strength in the minds of many who are neither socialists nor extreme radicals. “Democracy’s task,” wrote Mr. Brown in 1910, “is twofold; it must secure for the State, the public, the people, some kind of effective, ultimate control over the natural sources of all wealth; and it must also secure in an industrial system no longer controlled by competition, protection and opportunity for the individual.” The change in the conditions that determine politics is thoroughgoing, epochal. Even now old issues are being reshaped, and in particular the struggle over the tariff is becoming “less and less a mere matter of conflicting sectional issues, less and less a matter of contrary economic theories, more and more a part and phase of the great struggle between democracy and privilege in industry.”

Mr. Brown was a particularly close and sympathetic student of the South, and his two articles relating to this section are genuinely informing. In “The White Peril” the position of the negro is discussed as affected by changed industrial conditions and by immigration. In “The South and the Saloon” the author, writing in 1908, pointed out the connection between the wide-spread temperance movement and the forms of religious belief most potent with the mass of the people. While somewhat skeptical regarding the permanent effect of a movement so largely inspired by a sort of camp-meeting fervor, he took the larger view that all moral progress is wavelike, and declared that whatever reaction might ensue, the saloon could never be again in the South what it had been in the past.

The articles contained in *The New Politics* are for the most part rather unambitious. In them there is little manifestation of what De Quincey called “a great combining intellect.” But they prove William Garrott Brown to have been a true critic and a writer capable of expressing in many cases with clarity and elegance, the sense and inwardness of enlightened, liberal opinion.

---

ARMS AND INDUSTRY. By NORMAN ANGELL. New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1914.

In Mr. Angell’s new book, which is largely a restatement and reinforcement of the doctrines set forth in *The Great Illusion*, there is much fundamental truth. With most of the author’s general contentions the majority of Americans, who are probably neither extreme militarists by temperament nor extreme imperialists by policy, will be little inclined to quarrel. And yet—searching as is Mr. Angell’s criticism of the assumption underlying militarism and “classical diplomacy”—the unprejudiced reader will perhaps feel the need now and then of the proverbial grain of salt.

As between Pacificists and Militarists the discussion has become a battle