that in many branches of machine industry no chance whatever is given to the creative instinct, but the solution is not a return to handcraft, but a further development and organization of machine industry so that no member of society should be exempt from some part in mechanical production, and no member have to devote himself to such work for more than a very limited number of hours each day, and that the rest of his time be given to some self-expressing activity; and, moreover, that by education every citizen be fitted to engage in such an avocation. Further, the democratic control of industry is essential to that transformation of the status of the worker which is a needful accompaniment to any new doctrine of work. The progressive elements in the British labor movement show the most hopeful signs of intelligent leadership in this direction, and the author discusses their proposals at some length.

As with commerce and work, so with freedom of opinion, the organization of voluntary associations, the theory of the state, international relations, education; on all these democracy, if it is to live, must make some fundamental changes in its mode of thinking.

We profess our belief in the need of freedom of the mind, but the war-time attitude toward dissent from the majority (manifested in conscientious objection) in England and even more in America has shown us in how precarious a state our freedom in this essential is. Yet "a society incapable of dissent or of tolerating it has entered upon its last phase."

In the matter of the State the danger to democracy is that the now discarded dynastic tradition with its shibboleths of national prestige and the honor of the flag will be rehabilitated in the form of commercial imperialism, and

patriotic sentiment be exploited in the interests of capital invested in foreign countries. It is this, together with trade-restricting tariffs and military preparedness, which will be a fruitful cause of international friction; hence the necessity for the organization of the world on the basis of reciprocity and co-operation.

Throughout the whole discussion, which touches not only on these but on many kindred topics such as the enfranchisement of women, the race problem, the treatment of criminals, our relations with Japan, the place of religion in society, Mr. Roberts realizes that the great essential in the preservation of democracy is education, and here again we need a conversion from our present doctrines and methods. In our schools to-day, "an attention is devoted to problems of discipline and order which is disproportionate to the real business of preparing for life in a democratic commonwealth."

"To-day the whole method of recruiting teachers and the conditions of the teaching profession tend to degrade teaching into a trade. If only teaching were rightly esteemed and its practitioners held in such honor as even judges, who do a much inferior work, are held," we might succeed in getting the kind of teachers needed. The teaching profession should have "the first call upon the human material in the community."

"The sum of the matter then is this, that the test of a true democratic education lies in the quality and power of the social vision it evokes in the growing child, in the measure of the power and capacity it gives to the child to share in the realization of the vision, and in this sharing to give to the child the inspiring and joyous promise of personal self-fulfilment."

J. A. MULLER.

II. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Report of the Federal Electric Railways Commission to the President, August, 1920. Pp. 30.—If the report of the Federal Electric Railways Commission is somewhat disappointing to those who lean strongly to the people's side in public utility questions, the report must be still more disappointing to the electric railway interests. The appointment of the commission was sought by the electric railways in the hope that the national government could be induced to lend its aid in obtaining higher fares all over the country, through the abrogation of local fran-

chises where rates of fare were fixed and the predominance of state regulation over local control. The electric railways, as a whole, also advocated the adoption of the service-at-cost plan as the most satisfactory of all the possible remedies for street car ills, with fares to be automatically adjusted so as to afford a liberal rate of returns on a very liberal valuation of every property.

The railways were rewarded with a strong endorsement of the service-at-cost plan, while municipal ownership was unanimously rejected

as a remedy too experimental and uncertain to be likely to succeed in the United States at the present time. But in the advocacy of the service-at-cost idea, the wishes of the electric railways were decidedly departed from in several important particulars. The commission leaned especially towards the public viewpoint in its conclusion on the subjects of valuation and capitalization, not only favoring original cost as the chief basis for determining the fair value of a property, but also recommending that companies should reduce their capital to values decidedly low if the commission's advice were followed. Indeed, the literal carrying out of the commission's recommendations might result in such a reduction of securities and such a moderate rate of return that many companies might actually prefer municipal ownership, if it meant selling out to the cities at such a liberal figure as was paid in Seattle and proposed in Detroit.

It is curious to find municipal ownership in this country termed an experiment in the report in view of the long record of successful operation of waterworks, sewerage systems, gas and electric utilities; of the enormous investment of New York, Boston and Philadelphia in municipal rapid transit lines and the decidedly successful electric railway operation in San Francisco and Seattle. The superiority of the municipal trainways of Great Britain over the privately owned

lines, as to economy, efficiency, service and progressiveness is too well established to be questioned any longer. As Dr. Wilcox has forcibly pointed out, it is service-at-cost which is the real experiment, with only ten years of trial at the longest in Cleveland and a record of ten and fifteen cent fares in Massachusetts which seems to give considerable merit to the nickname of service-at-excessive cost applied by one well known public service commission.

It was too much to expect the commission to bring out the fact that higher fares have not proved the solution of electric railway problems and that the five cent fare is paying better returns today than ever before in places like Terre Haute, Indiana, which have universally adopted one-man cars. It was also too much to expect them to recommend municipal ownership as the only outcome which can assure the public adequate facilities and service and well planned extensions which will make our cities spread out indefinitely in healthful fashion at the lowest possible fare. The report has so much good in it and might have been so much worse that even the severest critic must feel that some progress has been made towards removing the most vital factor in municipal growth from the field of speculation and manipulation.

JOHN P. FOX.