

may win, community co-operation is essentially a game in which the prospect of one man's winning increases as others also win. "The chamber of commerce must steadily point the public mind toward the great fact that individual success is made possible by the advance of the world. It is the group progress that makes individual progress easy." Imagination, vision, and faith in the future and in fellow-men are inherent in successful business. With these as a basis, gradually they can be merged into genuine idealism, and the citizens of any city brought to see that the intangible forces that shape human life are the ones with which the progressive community should chiefly concern itself. "A city," says the author, "must think progress, must be guided by its optimists, must value constructive men more than destructive ones, must have a clear idea of the demands and possibilities of future city and national growth, and must have the courage to live up to its ideal. This is the foundation of a modern chamber of commerce."

In the chapters discussing the methods of chamber of commerce leadership, the necessity for planning far ahead, what the secretary must be and know, and what his relation is to the community, Mr. Wilson has included a wealth of sound guiding principles that will prove enlightening and stimulating to all who have any part in community activities.

RUSSELL RAMSEY.



MAN AND THE NEW DEMOCRACY. William A. McKeever, Ph.M., LL.D. New York: George H. Doran Company. 250 pp.

Dr. McKeever thinks of government not merely in terms of machinery, but in terms of humanity. As against a democracy that exists only on paper, he believes that men will have a free government just as soon as they create it through their personal, living experience, and he turns to the young generation for a new starting point. He examines the general inherent nature of childhood, seeking a clew to the direction along which child development may be guided to a realization of the democratic experience he describes. He analyses the child instincts of play, work, personal and group combat, and social contact with his age and kind, to learn their real significance, maintaining that if these basic human impulses are rightly studied and understood they furnish the most reliable key.

Dr. McKeever believes that the superman,

erected so laboriously, and now demolished so completely, will be replaced by the "great common man" inherent in American life. He foresees a redirection and readjustment of commercial affairs by which business will be measured in terms of service, somewhat as it was during the war. Business must be thought of primarily not for profits but for its contribution to the common human need. Labor, too, will be a means of salvation; not merely concessions of wages and hours will give laboring men the right attitude toward their work; the child impulse for creative work must be preserved and developed, so that men will find satisfaction in work as service to humanity.

The author extends his forecast in many other directions. Motherhood will have a new interpretation; instead of merely physical, it will be also spiritual and universal, as is the motherhood of Jane Addams. As part of democracy, religion will be the search for the divine, not in the abstract, but in the concrete study of men. Health will be as inherent a right as food, shelter and schooling, and as accessible. Loyalty will be man's reaction to the discovery of his unity with the life of common mankind and the resultant inner conviction of his duty to support any course of endeavor which tallies most closely with the inherent demands of the race. War will give place to physical combat for constructive social purposes, of which the building of the Panama Canal is perhaps a prototype. These examples are suggestive of the new democracy which Dr. McKeever proposes as a substitute for the superman, and for which, he contends, the time will be ripe whenever the nation's thinking makes it so.

RUSSELL RAMSEY.



A NEW MUNICIPAL PROGRAM. Edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1919. 392 pp.

One of the founders of the London Fabian Society explained the tremendous influence of that small group of individuals by the fact that they had given much study to all the important public questions of the day and always had a clear-cut and definite program ready to offer when problems reached the stage where action was necessary. The group of reformers with a well-considered program will everywhere exercise an influence far in excess of its numerical importance.

There are various ways, however, of making up programs of constructive reform. A common method is for a group of like-minded enthusiasts to organize, under the domination perhaps of a single individual, and seek by propaganda and skilful publicity to inculcate reform ideas. Another, and a contrasting method, is to bring together intelligent citizens, holding varied and independent views, and construct a reform program from the common ground of principles and methods which all can accept. This is not the procedure of the radical reformer and propagandist, but experience shows that it is the way to achieve substantial and lasting results. This was, in effect, the method adopted in 1897 by a group of municipal reformers who saw the need and opportunity for a municipal program. The National Municipal League, organized in 1894, after three years of patient work by committees, discussion and criticism, formulated and adopted in 1900 the Municipal Program, which has stimulated and guided to an incalculable degree the rapid progress achieved in the last twenty years in municipal government.

So potent was the virus of reform that by 1913 the Program had ceased adequately to represent the common ideals of forward-looking students of municipal government. The League, therefore, appointed another committee to reconsider the principles and revise the framework of an efficient municipal government.

The central feature of the New Municipal Program, formulated by the same painstaking care, through conference and discussion, that marked the original Program, is the commission manager plan of city government. Through this Program the National Municipal League indorses the commission manager type as the ideal form of city government—that is, until more experience and new discoveries result in discarding the city manager in favor of some still more efficient type.

The present volume not only contains the text of constitutional provisions or municipal home rule recommended for incorporation in state constitutions, and the revised model municipal charter, but also illuminating and authoritative chapters on each of the important features of the charter, by members of the committee. The subjects treated in this way include the following: Experts in municipal government, by President Lowell; civil service, by Mr. Foulke; home rule, by Prof. Hatton; elec-

toral provisions, by Mayo Fesler; the short ballot, by Mr. Childs; administrative organization, by Herman G. James; the council, by Prof. Munro; the initiative, referendum and recall, by Mr. Woodruff; franchise policy, by Dr. Wilcox; financial provisions, by Prof. Fairlie; city planning, by M. N. Baker; and business management of the courts, by Herbert Harley.

Wherever constitutional provisions relating to cities or city charter making are under consideration the New Municipal Program will be the most indispensable general guide to intelligent discussion. Its influence in shaping legislation and directing the evolution of municipal government in the coming decades is certain to be very marked.

C. C. WILLIAMSON.



GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By Leon Cammen. McDevitt-Wilson, N. Y., 142 pp.

For a number of years the author of this brochure on government ownership was an official of the former Russian government, traveling and studying throughout Europe, and finally coming to the United States to complete an education in engineering, and incidentally political science. Mr. Cammen, therefore, discusses his subject not only from an American point of view, but with a background of European experience and study in similar fields.

The author is strongly opposed to government ownership,—particularly of railroads. Such opposition is based upon the supposed economic and political difficulties which will arise when a great transportation industry touching the welfare of all other industries is managed from Washington. A dismal picture is portrayed in which the spirit of democracy is destroyed, state sovereignty is intruded upon, flexibility of railway construction ceases, a host of public employes is intruded into politics, courtesy ends, "pork barrel" expenditures begin, senators' sons-in-law displace capable executives, and the service goes to pot by stopping the competition that goes with private ownership.

Mr. Cammen is pessimistic, and supports his pessimism with a number of instances from the present situation, and apparently most patrons of the railroads are in the same frame of mind.

As a solution for the situation the author offers co-operative regulation by the federal