

population of a city, should belong to a city." That is a true thought and one that should be pondered well.

We have been so solicitous to protect "mine and thine" that we have neglected "ours." If we conserve "our property" we shall make long strides toward a better protection of "mine and thine." It is not to be forgotten that the law of life is "service for service." If anyone gets something for nothing, some of us, or all of us, are robbed; and he who appears to profit, suffers most of all. When no one receives more than he gives, we shall have realized that great principle which should find a place in every program of social betterment. Upon this principle the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor is based, and it is thus expressed in the Association's platform:

When the divinely intended, opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

The prayer of faith is a mighty force, and all these things shall be added unto us when the whole Church shall pray the petition of our "Litany for Society" said to-night:

Help us and all humanity so unreservedly to acknowledge Thy social law that all society may rise to that supreme ideal which Thou didst give to earth when the Eternal Word was clothed with the life of man.

THE REAPER.

With apologies to Longfellow, recommending that he also apologize.

For The Public.

There is a Reaper whose name is Debt,
And, after plunder keen,
He gleans the farm and shop in his net,
And the fools that grope between.

"Shall I do aught that is fair," said he,
"To the toiler and grower of grain?
The clip of the coupon is sweet to me,
So I'll raise the rate again."

He gazed at the fools—poor, silly wights,
As John D. heaps their sheaves.
(It is for that Lord of Parasites
He them of their wealth relieves.)

"My Lord hath need of these fools' small pay,"
The Reaper said, and smiled;
He smiled because he saw how they
Were easily beguiled.

"They all shall go to fields of light,
When John collects his tolls.
His Sunday School shall lead them right,
And leave naught but their souls."

And mothers gave to shop and dive
The buds their love doth need,
For fools agree that some must live
As slaves to lust and greed.

It was in fear of prison locks
The Reaper fled one day,
For Demos came with ballot box
And coaxed the fools away.

C. F. HUNT.

"Harry, did you not hear your mother calling you?"

"Course I did."

"Then why don't you go to her?"

"She's nervous. If I should go too quick, she'd drop dead," and Harry went on with his playing as if nothing disturbed his mind.—Albany (N. Y.) Journal.

BOOKS

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The City the Hope of Democracy. By Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., author of "Taxation and Taxes in the United States Under the Internal Revenue System." New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, \$1.50 net. Sold by The Public Publishing Co.

The work of a scholar who is also a practical man of extensive experience in civic affairs and a fundamental democrat.

Municipal reformers usually seek only enough reform to prevent vulgar grafting. They are plutocrats, or aristocrats, not democrats. But Mr. Howe is no longer that kind of a municipal reformer. "From belief in a business man's government" he has "come to a belief in a people's government;" and "from a conviction that we have too much democracy" he has "come to the conviction that we have too little democracy." A study of history has forced him "to the realization that the progress of civilization has been a constant struggle of liberty against privilege;" and personal study of municipal conditions, both in this country and abroad together with several years of actual political experience in the administration of the city of Cleveland, has forced him to believe that democracy has not failed by its own inherent weakness so much as by virtue of the privileged interests which have taken possession of our institutions for their own enrichment."

Mr. Howe finds as a matter of fact that "we nowhere have a democratic government;" that what "we really have is government by special privileges and big business men." Our cities are really not governed even by political bosses; these "are but representatives of privileged interests." The demand of the municipal reformer for "a business men's government" is unnecessary; because "we already have a business men's government, supplied through the agency of the boss."

The city is considered by Mr. Howe in this study of democracy, not alone because he knows the city, but also because we have entered upon "an urban age." The coming of the city "has destroyed a rural society" and "turned to scrap many of our established ideas."—a revolutionary change which makes every American city a democratic ex-

periment station and the city as the type of social life the hope of democracy.

And what is a city? It is not "a lot of cross streets on which houses are built," even "though paving is laid in these streets, and sewers are made," and "people live in the houses and move through the churches and theaters." We might as well call a world's fair a city. "But when within this human group, out of its common interest and common need, conscience is born and responsibility awakened; when will power and intelligence are civic forces, focussing on a united purpose and a definite ideal; when in addition to self-consciousness and family-consciousness there arises a city-consciousness, that instinct which is willingness to struggle for the common weal, and suffer for the common woe—then, and not until then, does the city spring into life."

On the question of city functions versus individual functions, Mr. Howe correctly draws the line at necessary monopoly. "Whatever is of necessity a monopoly should be a public monopoly, especially where it offers a service of universal use." It is to disregard of this principle and to tax evasions that he traces municipal corruption. While he concedes that "franchises and tax evasions do not explain all of the corruption of our cities," he insists that they do explain "the organized, systematized corruption," the rest being "unorganized, miscellaneous, occasional."

Home rule is another subject to which Mr. Howe gives special attention. He advocates the divorce of the city from the state for all the purposes of local affairs. One phase of his argument will doubtless surprise persons who think of municipal home rule as an innovation. "Home rule," says Mr. Howe, "is but an attempt to regain those powers which the State has assumed, but which were originally enjoyed by the local community." It "aims to reclaim to the city," he continues, "those functions of government which passed into the hands of the State at a time when the city was coming into existence, or which have been assumed by the State at the demand of the boss or the party."

It is gratifying to find so profound and practical a student of city life, frankly saying what most other writers are either too dull to notice or too discreet to mention, that "the housing problem" is due not to geographical peculiarities, but to exorbitant land values forcing inordinate economy in space; and that ultimate relief can be secured by reducing land values and increasing house accommodations, through the "taxation of land values and the abandonment of all taxes upon buildings and improvements."

This method of taxation is expressly advocated in the chapter on "The City's Treasure," in which the city itself is described as a wealth producer.

"Every city in the land is built upon a treasure like unto that which underlies the Colorado town whose revenues are all derived from royalties from the mines upon which it is built. The progressive needs of the municipality have a ready-made mine of treasure, a mine which needs only to be opened to satisfy the demands of city expansion without cost to the dwellers therein. This revenue renews itself from year to year. . . . Nowhere does the advance in population, in law and order, in comfort, commerce and the opportunities which the city offers, manifest itself so palpably as in the upward movement of land values, the treasure of the city. . . . No act of the owner creates this value. Nothing which he can do will either increase or diminish it. . . . This municipal treasure, this unearned increment, may now be measured. It is colossal. . . . All other wealth is the product of human labor. This value alone is a surplus value. . . . It is this growing fund, this unearned increment, which exists by virtue of the city and could not exist without it, that offers a ready-made source of revenue for municipal purposes."

Guided by his first principle, that more and not less democracy is the need of the city, Mr. Howe dissects all the general phases of city government and produces a book that will not only enlighten the student and assist the conscientious legislator, but which in fact mirrors a changing social order whose forward motion is but just beginning to be felt. What may be expected can hardly be better expressed than in Mr. Howe's concluding words: "With home rule secured, with popular control obtained, with the city free to determine what activities it will undertake, and what shall be its sources of revenue, then the city will be consciously allied to definite ideals, and the new civilization, which is the hope as well as the problem of democracy, will be open to realization."

CONSTRUCTIVE DEMOCRACY.

Constructive Democracy; the Economics of a Square Deal. By William E. Smythe. New York and London. The Macmillans. Price \$1.50. Sold by the Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

A great deal of good-natured enthusiasm, a deluge of interesting facts, and some economic and political wisdom, but not much construction that is really democratic, characterize this book.

The author is a protectionist who thinks protectionism obsolete, and a socialist who thinks socialism unripe. He therefore proposes, while waiting for socialism to perform the feat of making monopoly democratic, to tame monopoly by statutory regulation.

For taming railroad monopoly he advocates the Senator Newland propo-

sition of a consolidation of railroad systems under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which shall regulate the rates thereof and the taxes thereon, the latter to be a percentage of gross receipts in lieu of all other taxation. He advocates this method as a step toward government ownership.

For taming the trusts, he proposes national control of corporations engaged in inter-State commerce; "fixed taxes, preferably on gross receipts; fixed dividends on present valuation; and the retention by society of the increased earnings and values to arise in the future, such increase to be applied to better service, higher wages, lower prices."

The author's protectionism pursues him through his pages, obsolete though he declares it to be. For he would have the United States conquer the markets of the world by underselling, and yet would have us import no foreign goods. Whether he is expecting us to reduce our prices on goods abroad to zero, to take foreign land grants in payment, to run up a fabulous export balance in our trade statistics, or to get our pay as Mr. McKinley said we were getting it, in "pure gold," he does not explain.

His discussion of the "surplus man" is interesting, but his remedy is not very reassuring. "For every surplus man," he says, "there is a surplus place;" and his problem is simply "to find the surplus place." In his search for this he excites hopes of his having something both practical and effective in his mind, when he observes that "while a new man comes into the world every minute, not a single new acre of land will be created in ages." This should suggest the advisability of doing something to free the millions upon millions of acres, in farming regions, mineral regions and cities, now held in the grasp of monopoly. Here there might soon be an abundance of surplus places for surplus men. But no. It never occurs to him to release these forestalled acres. He is so enamored of monopoly that the idea of abolishing it gets no lodgment in his mind. Yet he does appreciate the value of the irrigation policy in delivering "future millions from the yoke of water monopoly." But he does not appreciate it sufficiently to realize that there will be no substantial relief from that monopoly for anybody but desert land owners. It will not permanently increase wages.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

The Industrial Problem. Being the William Levi Bull Lectures for the Year 1905. By Lyman Abbott. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.

Like rich fruit cake, Lyman Abbott's writings are usually a delight-

ful mess of good things, and his recent lectures on the industrial problem are no exception. They overflow with facts, historical and contemporary, all daintily handled with the lightest of light literary touches. You could read them by the hour without weariness. But not one controlling principle, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, reveals its presence if any is present. There is so little regard for the relationship and influences of natural law, such amazing heterogeneity, that the lectures would be exasperating if the heterogeneity were not kaleidoscopically beautiful.

These lectures were delivered before the Philadelphia Divinity School under an endowment by the Rev. William L. Bull of a Lectureship on Christian Sociology. They are four in number: The Industrial Problem; The Political Solution, Regulation; The Economic Solution, Reorganization; and the Ethical Solution, Regeneration. Although Dr. Abbott disclaims socialism, his philosophy as indicated by these lectures, so far as any consistent philosophy can be inferred, is essentially that of scientific socialism plus an infusion of Christian ethics.

THE LAW OF NON-RESISTANCE.

The Freedom of Life. By Annie Payson Call. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. Price, \$1.25 net; postpaid, \$1.35.

Few there are who have not on one occasion or another felt the clarifying and compelling power of non-resistance; but the law of this wonderful force is hardly recognized by most of us, though we may have observed and experienced its magical effects. That there is such a law, as immutable as

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