

to enter the city's employ. . . . Any person running for a city office at a general election who attempts to trade support with the view of favoring certain people if elected, or who pays any man to vote for him either in money or employment, commits a penal offense punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.

"As to the practical operation of this type of municipal government we made extensive personal inquiry. The commission form of city government was first introduced in Des Moines by Mr. J. G. Berryhill, who, during a business trip to Galveston, became interested in the success of the plan in that city. He reported on the subject at the Des Moines Commercial Club. A voluntary committee of business men was organized to give publicity to this subject similar to the citizens' committee already organized in this city. In Des Moines, however, they foresaw the weakness of the Galveston plan and the result was the working out of the so-called 'Des Moines plan' with the safeguards surrounding the taxpayers and electors referred to above. After a vigorous fight the plan was adopted by the people.

"There were over forty candidates in the primaries, among whom were some of the ablest business men in Des Moines, as well as several politicians. Contrary to expectations the business men were beaten by good majorities and five of the old-time politicians were elected to the council.

"One of the first things one hears in Des Moines, if he is looking for information on municipal government, is the story of the police matter. When the matter of appointing the police marshal came up, three of the Council voted for a man who had worked to secure their election. The appointment was opposed by two of the councilmen, one of whom had charge of the department of public safety. Unwittingly one of the three above mentioned, who voted for this appointment, dropped some remark which led the public to believe there had been a promise made before election. This suspicion was furthered by the fact that the councilman in charge of the department of public safety opposed the appointment. It may be here remarked that the police come under the department of public safety. A petition for a recall on the councilman making the unfortunate remark was at once started. However, before it reached the Council, that body had had a meeting and quickly revoked the appointment and appointed a police marshal who met public favor. This little incident is simply illustrative of the fact that these politicians were not used to the new deal. In other words, they were not weaned away from the granting of favors not based on merit.

"This attempted recall opened the eyes of the Council to the new order of things and from then on all entered conscientiously into the spirit of the new 'system.' As an example of their change

of heart their appointee to the office of city attorney was a man who had been a member of the committee of twenty-five business men who had fought at every stage of the game the election of these politicians.

"Your committee endeavored to locate any opposition to this city government in Des Moines. The first opposition was met by a clerk in a cigar store, who said the commission was not popular. When asked to explain he stated that about the first thing the new Council did was to abolish slot machines. Of course it is an open question whether slot machines should be abolished, allowed to run openly, or be licensed. However, in Des Moines the City Council abolished them. Your committee interviewed about 140 people in Des Moines, and the only objection encountered was the one just stated, which of course was met with generally among cigar stores and saloons, where the abolishment of the slot machine had injured their business.

"Among the people we interviewed were business men of all classes, professional men and laborers. The universal comment was a statement of entire satisfaction. All agreed that the Council, even though they had been politicians, had given the city a magnificent administration. The bitterest opponents of the election of these men were hearty in their praise of the manner in which the city affairs were being conducted. It is the 'system' under which results can be accomplished by the elimination of partisanship. The most frequently heard comment is the expression of opinion that any abuse of public trust can be detected at once and the blame can be attached directly to the person at fault. There can be no shifting of responsibility. There is always some one person to blame and the 'system' singles him out."

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## BOOKS

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### IS PROTECTIONISM DYING?

*The Passing of the Tariff.* By Raymond L. Bridgman, Author of "World Organization," etc. Published by Sherman, French & Company, Boston. Price, \$1.20 net.

Because industrial forces are at work which tend to bring the world more and more closely together, this author believes that the palmy days of the home market theory of protectionism are "receding into the oblivion of distance," and that new ideas are tending toward the abolition of international tariffs so completely that "trade between the nations will flow as freely as it does between our sovereign States."

Although his prediction rests upon utilitarian experience, it but verifies the moral ideals of an older school of free traders, and the author seems

so to regard it. He speaks of our national mission to stimulate the ideals of freedom as higher than our dollar-making; and he asserts that the tariff is wrong, not only "financially, industrially and commercially," but as being inconsistent with moral and religious truth.

In agreeing to this view, one might perhaps be pardoned for doubting the further postulate that the reason it is wrong morally and religiously is because it is wrong financially, industrially and commercially. To turn the statement the other way about, would seem to us at any rate the better form. But either order of statement may be regarded as merely a matter of emphasis. It certainly is true, as the author contends, that "financial, commercial and religious truths are equally part of one stupendous whole;" and from that it would follow, not that the ideal sets standards for the utilitarian, nor that the utilitarian sets standards for the ideal, but that they are different phases of the same thing.

Mr. Bridgman's inspiring little book is composed in part of magazine articles that he has contributed to the New England Magazine, the Atlantic Monthly, and Moody's Magazine; and he acknowledges indebtedness for the substance of his final chapter to Garrett Droppers, professor of political economy at Williams College. One of the chapters deals with Labor's altered status, from incoherency to efficient organization, since the old days of tariff agitation; and another with Capital's altered status in the same period, from few to many inviting opportunities for investment. Others have to do with the campaign against privilege, the injustice of the tariff, international injustice, and the destructiveness of trade taxation. But all these earlier chapters of the book lead on to the climax that maintenance of barriers between nations is not only ideally but also practically unstatesmanlike. "All of the ingenuity and effort of the business world" in the presence of natural obstacles, argues the author, "attack those obstacles with magnificent spirit and hopefulness;" and all their improvements in international business "illustrate completely how obnoxious to the common sense of the entire business world is the idea that obstructions are themselves helpful to local prosperity."

In supporting the two apparently antagonistic propositions that the world has a right to low priced goods and also to good wages and profits, the author successfully assails one of the most pernicious fallacies of protectionism, by showing that the two propositions are but different forms of stating the same truth. It is indeed the fact, as he asserts and then demonstrates, that in normal conditions of trade low priced goods make it possible to get good wages and profits, and that "only upon such conditions, in a normal condition of trade, can such favorable results be obtained."

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

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—A Crime on Canvas. By Fred M. White. Published by R. F. Fenno & Co., 18 E. 17th St., New York. 1909. Price, \$1.50.

—State Insurance. A Social and Industrial Need. By Frank W. Lewis. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1909. Price, \$1.25 net.

—The Government of European Cities. By William Bennett Munro. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1909. Price, \$2.50, net.

—State and Local Taxation. Second International Conference. Addresses and Proceedings. Published by the International Tax Association, Columbus, O. 1909.

—The Teacher: Essays and Addresses on Education. By George Herbert Palmer and Alice Freeman Palmer. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1908. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City. By Robert Coit Chapin. Published by the Russell Sage Foundation, Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1909. Price \$2.00, postpaid.

—Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Conference for Good City Government and the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League, held November 16, 17, 18, 19, 1908, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, editor. Published by the National Municipal League, North American Building, Philadelphia.

—A History of the United States and Its People. From Their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In fifteen volumes. Vol. IV. Published by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio. Octavo size, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x9 $\frac{3}{4}$ , about 450 pages to the volume. Prices, cloth or buckram, \$6.25 per volume;  $\frac{3}{4}$  levant, \$12.50 per volume; full levant, \$17.50 per volume.

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## PAMPHLETS

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### Direct Legislation.

Max Burgholzer of Eugene, Oregon (R. F. D. 13), adds another to the increasing number of pamphlets giving reasons for direct legislation. They are compiled from different sources and connected and elaborated by the author.

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### Popular Home Rule in Cities.

The paper of Robert Treat Paine, Jr., of Boston, read before the National Municipal League and condensed in *The Public* (p. 110), has been printed in pamphlet form. It goes over the subject of the initiative, the referendum and the recall in American cities, their history and their practical operation.

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### The Tariff on Glass.

The proposed increase of tariff duties on glass (p. 298) gives special interest to the pamphlet address to glass consumers on "The Tariff on Glass,"