

of conflict the public interest shall prevail. "The rates fixed," says the author, "must be low enough to encourage general use of the service, or all other features of regulation will be nullified. This phase of regulation is all-important. It is only through general use that the utility service can build up the community and promote the public welfare."

After reviewing in detail the development of the "fair value" rule in the decisions of courts and commissions, he reaches the conclusion that "the aim is to determine the actual, unimpaired, reasonable investment in property used and useful in rendering the public service," and that "for this purpose the original-cost appraisal serves best."

Hartman's book will be indispensable to valuation experts and regulating authorities.

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The Non-Partisan League. By ANDREW A. BRUCE. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 284.)

In the REVIEW for August, 1920, will be found a sketch in which my colleague, Professor J. S. Young, outlined the contents of Herbert E. Gaston's book, *The Non-Partisan League*. That book was written by one who has actively supported the league; the work here under consideration is by a man who is frankly opposed to the league's leadership and to many of its policies. Judge Bruce was chief justice of the North Dakota supreme court when the league first made its bid for power in that state. He knows and describes for us the causes of the movement, its membership, its leadership, and its aims. He traces its rise from small beginnings until it dominates every branch of the state government. He follows its course during its brief period of supremacy, and he predicts the reverse in fortunes which has since overtaken it. As this brief review of his book is being written, the chief Non-Partisan officials of North Dakota have been retired to private life by means of the recall, and Mr. Townley, most potent of the Non-Partisan political leaders, has begun to serve a sentence in a Minnesota county jail for violation of the state's sedition law. Temporarily the league is in almost complete eclipse.

The author's thesis is that there is a sharp line of cleavage in thought and purposes between the leaders and the members of the league. The great body of farmer members are pictured as a conservative, land-owning class, primarily interested in buying cheaper and selling dearer,

and wedded to the institution of private property. The leaders, on the other hand, are described as "consistent socialists," forming a "socialist hierarchy" which has misled the members and is really using the league as an instrument for bringing about "state socialism in all things except in farm lands" and as "an entering wedge for the American International." The fact that many of the leaders are former Socialists is hardly a sufficient demonstration of the proposition stated; their actions and speeches since joining the league show them to be less affiliated in thought with the Socialist than with the defunct Populist party, and to be working for public-ownership and agrarian reforms patterned after the New Zealand model. On the other hand the farmer members of the league have undoubtedly been brought largely to the acceptance of the same views. While recalling the Non-Partisan officials at the recent election the voters failed to rescind the program of state-ownership legislation. "Europeans would call this [program] State Socialism," Bryce remarks in *Modern Democracies*, "but it is meant to be merely a practical attack on existing evils, and there is no sympathy, beyond that which one kind of discontent may have with another, between the Socialistic Communism of a theoretic European type and these land-owning farmers who are thinking of their own direct interests."

Judge Bruce would be the last to claim that his work is the final work on the Non-Partisan League. Properly described, his book is the spirited chronicle and critique of a man who was active in the struggle. His first-hand knowledge has enabled him to put his finger upon the greatest weakness of the league under its recent leadership, namely its almost complete lack of political morality. Urged by an irresistible impulse to accomplish its social and economic program, the league's leaders and the league-elected state officials rode rough-shod over whatever laws, institutions, private rights, or public understandings stood in their way. While feigning non-partisanship, they were most violently partisan. They practically nullified state primary laws. They denounced "boss" control in other parties, yet refused for years to give the members any real control over the Non-Partisan League. They ruled the legislature through a rigid caucus system. They dragged the courts into politics. They suppressed the opposition press, seized coal mines without color of law, and even attempted to amend the state constitution by ordinary legislative act. It is useless to give further details. Judge Bruce presents them all and it must be recognized that he has here made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of this interesting and still influential movement.

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

The Port of New York. By THOMAS E. RUSH. (Doubleday, Page and Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 358. Illustrated.)

This is a rather rambling, sketchy, gossipy account of the port of New York—its historical development, its present activities, its needs. The author's stated purpose is to make better known the national importance of the country's greatest port. A great deal is said about the indifference of various agencies—political, civic and commercial—to the promotion of the port, and particularly it criticizes business interests for failure to more effectively support the recently proposed New York and New Jersey "port treaty."

The first chapters of the book are historical, beginning with the earliest discoveries. Chapters are then devoted to such topics as piracy and smuggling; the official activities of the customs service, particularly the work of the surveyor's office; the American merchant marine; fortifications; immigration; harbor improvements; and so on. The chapter on a free zone is a summary of the tariff commission's report on that subject. Another chapter treats of the teaching of "port truths" in schools and colleges. The above will sufficiently indicate the wide range of topics touched upon. The book, confessedly, offers little that is new. The fragments of information assembled may possibly aid in creating a greater popular interest in New York's port development; but beyond this its service is limited.

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BRIEFER NOTICES

Coming as it does close to the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, *The Founding of New England*, by James Truslow Adams (Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, pp. 482), is a most timely book. Drawing upon a wealth of material much of which has come to light only in recent years, the author deals chiefly with the origins and history of New England to the close of the seventeenth century, discussing the discovery and settlement of the region; "the genesis of the religious and political ideas which there took root and flourished; the geographic and other factors which shaped its economic development; the beginnings of that English overseas empire, of which it formed a part; and the early formulation of thought—on both sides of the Atlantic—regarding imperial problems." The struggles and history of the early settlements are retold with new knowledge and a new point of view, with