

strument of human advance is a social-psychological one completely controls the application of evolutionary principles to the ways of men. The best defense that can be urged is that war was once a necessity or a ready resort, in so far as it was in accord with the social and cultural evolution of the period; so much may be granted.

But the causes and issues of modern wars, like modern warfare, rest upon an organization of the high-grade capacities and inventions of men, upon the conjunctions and possible oppositions of far-reaching projects and ambitions, that are the issue of the forces created by the contacts and developments of peace. Had man not succeeded in curbing and directing his cruder instincts, civilization would not have arisen; the protection of the values that are at stake in modern war are the specific result of the widest regulation of all trends conflicting with the approved social aim. What men fight for is more significant than what they fight with, though it is precisely the moral and psychological anachronism of aims and means that inspires the pacific convictions of responsible men and nations. Animals have only their bodies to fight for and with, men have property and the highly artificial values of traditions and institutions, the pursuits of happiness that insist upon liberty and a democratic justice. These goods and ideals are part of a complex social system; to posit war as a crudely and blindly operative instinct in a social setting in which every other human enterprise is part of an elaborate and reflective social policy is a flagrant incongruity, psychological in expression, biological in its source. The same considerations shatter the plea that war establishes and maintains the essential virtues. Unquestionably it enlists them and quickens them, since it shares in the social expansion, the exalted enthusiasm of massive and momentous collective risings and in all that has educated and moulded the soldier as a citizen; but the debit side, writ in blood, undoes in a decade the work of ages and the security which society has painfully and laboriously, albeit imperfectly, established. The predatory instinct in its narrow or imperialistic expression is precisely the type of trait against which society makes war. As piracy is outlawed in favor of commerce, and slavery—once natural, and even necessary—gives way to laws against unfair exploitation, so war must yield to the same order of forces expressed in international regulations and tribunals.

New Paths for Cities

Our Cities Awake: Notes on Municipal Activities and Administration, by Morris L. Llewellyn Cooke. New York: Doubleday, Page and Company.

THIS is not a systematic treatise on city government done after the fashion of academic books on municipal government. The author does not march with majestic tread from section to section, citing Judge Commonplace in a long list of cases to support his predilections. The volume, as its subtitle implies, is a collection of notes on municipal activities by a trained engineer of wide experience in municipal affairs, with a genuine enthusiasm for the public service. The notes, however, are well arranged and fall under the following general heads: budgets and administration, the mechanism of municipal management, scientific management applied to municipalities, specifications and control in public contracts, promotion of a loyal personnel in the city service, finding efficient men to take leadership in mu-

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nicipal service, educating the public through skilful publicity about the work of government, utilities and their owners, the city as an ally of industrial progress, cooperation of civic agencies in municipal government, and glimpses of the city beautiful. The swiftly moving and lively text is supplemented by interesting and pertinent illustrations that help to drive home the written word.

It is difficult to sum up in a single paragraph Mr. Cooke's thesis with all of its interesting ramifications, but for the sake of the reader the task must be attempted. First of all, our author would have the mechanism of city government simple in form, concentrating power in the hands of efficient leaders who have the ability, experience and far-sightedness necessary to guide a free people in their struggle for a city decent and beautiful in which to work—leaders who are held fully responsible to their constituents under the laws and under the light of publicity. Nevertheless, Mr. Cooke does not lay too much stress on mechanisms because he knows that good administration is possible under any form of government. Even more important than the framework of government are the methods for securing and developing a loyal personnel in the city service, engaging the interest of the men and women in the work they have to do and detaching them from the parasitic politician who plays the part of the demagogue to all city employees and then gives easy jobs to favorites while penalizing the modest and quiet workers who really bear the burden. The rank and file, however, need expert leadership all along the line and any scheme of efficient government must make provision for it. Mr. Cooke knows this, and while he confesses, with regret, that many so-called "experts" are mere tinkers, he cites numerous instances of genuine services rendered to the city

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of Philadelphia by real specialists in subjects ranging from architecture and acoustics to electric lighting and sewage disposal. Records that spell information are likewise an essential part of efficient government and so Mr. Cooke devotes no small part of his book to ways and means of recording data which will enable the administrative head to know exactly what has been done under his jurisdiction. Mr. Cooke is thoroughly aware of the uselessness of an audit—the American business man's great delusion—as a measure of costs and of good work. In dealing with municipal utilities, our author avoids the way of the doctrinaire, but for the conduct of the companies in juggling accounts and watering stocks and corrupting officials he has his full measure of scorn. At the same time, he shows little respect for the demagogue opponent of utility companies who understands neither finance nor engineering, but goes about raising a dust that obscures the real issues. Mr. Cooke makes a plea for daylight on the facts of municipal utilities—capitalization, unit costs of production and operation, open accounts, sound valuations, and fair dealing—as a condition of public control or a basis for a municipal operation. It is not enough, however, for the city government to be well organized and efficiently conducted—it must make known its good works to the people by effective publicity—educate the people up to an understanding of the significance of modern administration.

Finally, and by no means the least in significance, is Mr. Cooke's plea that the city and industry should be made close allies. The industrial manager can no longer ignore his city government. The problem before him is one of securing a well-trained and efficient labor supply and escaping the disastrous influences of a high labor turnover. The city government concerns him—the effect of its market and transportation system on the cost of living, its housing conditions, its schools, its parks and recreational facilities, and its efficiency in all of the arts of providing right living conditions. City government is therefore a vital concern of organized labor and industrial leaders. How long must we wait for them to become aware of this obvious fact? Industrial and labor organizers must emancipate themselves from affiliation with the politics of utility and real estate interests and unite in creating a city that makes for decent living conditions and efficient industry.

Though there are evidences of haste in its construction and many of the notes are put together with slight regard for the amenities of polite literature, still it must be said that the book deserves well at the hands of citizens and the professed student of municipal government. No one can rise from reading its pages without assurance that he has added to his stock of general ideas and to his knowledge of the practical arts of city administration.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

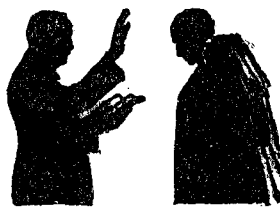
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