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digested all that figures can tell about the matter. Next come two chapters in which are discussed the effects of the system on the personnel of the legislature and on party organization, and a final one of summary and conclusions. Here Dr. Moore is conservative, and renders what, on the whole, is a Scotch verdict. That the plan has guaranteed representation to both the leading parties from all parts of the state in pretty much the true total proportions is clearly shown—nor is that a small gain. Illinois has avoided both the sectionalism between the north and the south of the state (which was probably the main purpose in 1870) and the sharp cleavage between a city Democratic and a country Republican party from which New York, for instance, suffers. Along with these, it has much reduced gerrymandering. On the other hand, it has not raised the character of the Illinois legislature above that of other legislatures subjected to similar economic pressure. It has not made it a better picture of the mind of the state. It has (like the three-cornered constituency scheme adopted three years earlier in Great Britain) increased the power of the party machine at the expense of the voter, at least in Chicago; and on this the Chicago critic would be likely to speak much more strongly than Dr. Moore does.

In conclusion, the reader should be reminded that the Illinois plan is not one of proportional representation. It assumes and perpetuates the two-party system, in a time when it has been increasingly evident that the two national parties have no real differences in the state, when the real differences have been between city and country, wet and dry, labor and manufacturers' association. When the time comes for trying to make the structure of our legislatures correspond better to the interests of the people of the state, the teachings of the Illinois experiment will be chiefly negative. That fact does not make Dr. Moore's work any the less valuable.

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A New Municipal Program. Edited by C. R. WOODRUFF. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1919. Pp. 392.)

For a volume written by a dozen authors *A New Municipal Program* exhibits an unusual degree of unity of purpose and of consistency. The contributors are: M. N. Baker, Richard S. Childs, John A. Fairlie, Mayo Fesler, William Dudley Folke, Augustus Raymond Hutton, Herman G. James, A. Lawrence Lowell, William Bennett Munro,

Robert Treat Paine, Delos F. Wilcox and Clinton Rogers Woodruff—surely a worthy galaxy. The book is not a compilation of articles previously published; on the contrary its chapters were written specifically for this work, and are directed to the end of elucidating various aspects of a program of constitutional and charter provisions previously agreed upon by the authors acting as a committee of the National Municipal League. Most of the papers are good; some of them are excellent; inevitably, however, where there are so many contributors, there is considerable variation in the matter of interest and of value. It is difficult to measure the influence which was exerted by the first program of the league adopted twenty years ago at Columbus. Since that time there has been in the United States a prodigious growth of interest in, knowledge about, and comment upon, municipal affairs. In view of this fact it will be even more difficult to estimate the results that flow from this later program. Certainly, however, it will be of no small service to those who seek its aid.

It is no criticism of the purpose and accomplishment of this volume to say that the heart of the American municipal problem does not lie wholly, or even chiefly, in such matters as the legal relations between the city and the state or the grant of municipal powers or the organic structure of city government. Important as these are, it is unquestionable that they have been and are being overemphasized. What we really need is not so much a new program as a new attitude of mind and a better understanding of the nature of the forces that must operate our legal programs. With this other and more serious aspect of our city problem this book does not purport to deal, although special mention should doubtless be made of President Lowell's eminently commonsense chapter on experts in municipal government. He recognizes that a combination of expert and lay elements is indispensable in a democratic government such as ours, that these elements are mutually antagonistic and that ultimate power must lie with the elected laymen. The most that a charter can do is to make expertness possible, perhaps even natural. It is a case of relational adjustment that cannot be written into law. He is nevertheless sanguine to believe that the layman lion and the expert lamb can be made to stand up and pull together. They sometimes do, but also they frequently do not.

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