Constructing the Transatlantic Municipality:

The Municipal Reform Writings of Richard T. Ely, Albert Shaw, and Frederic C. Howe

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Contents

Abstract

This thesis will assess in three case studies the municipal writings of Richard T. Ely, Albert Shaw, and Frederic C. Howe. The contention here is that their work provides valuable examples of the pluralism and the transnationalism of the Progressive Era in the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. To do so, the approach of this thesis will be to deploy Daniel T. Rodgers' argument about the role of transnational narratives in the transference of transatlantic reforms. This study will thereby demonstrate the means by which the municipal writings of the three cases studies in question deployed their transnational narratives for the conveyance of foreign reform policies, measures, practices, and concepts.

Introduction

> 'I would assemble the achievements of Germany, England, Switzerland, and Denmark, and present them as a demonstration of constructive democracy, of the kind of a society we might have if we but saw the state as an agency of service.'[1]

The preceding quotation was by the Progressive Era municipal reformer Frederic C. Howe. This statement was indicative of a trend at the turn of the twentieth century that has only recently come to have been better appreciated by the scholarship of the period. What has come to be better appreciated was the transatlantic nature of the reformism. As in much other recent scholarship, the Progressive Era historiography has taken on an increasingly global turn. In line with other historiographical turns, this has reflected contemporaneous issues and concerns of the kind that have directed the attention of historians toward finding precedents, parallels and contrasts in and with the past.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the transatlantic aspects of one of the more significant strands of progressivism, that is municipal reform. In doing so, the writings of three Progressives who advocated city and municipal reform based upon the precedents found in Europe will be analyzed. These were Richard T. Ely (1854-1943), Albert Shaw (1857-1947), and Frederic C. Howe (1867-1940). This will be done with the goal of identifying how they used their accounts of cities throughout the transatlantic world with the purpose of binding together a diverse collection of concepts, reforms and policies. It will be argued that that in doing so that they constructed urban spaces reflective of distinct visions, that were additionally filtered through the lens' of their vocational and broader reformist orientations. In doing so, it will be emphasized that this will contribute to a broader and more pluralist understanding progressive

[1] Howe, F.C., *The confessions of the reformer* (New York, 1925), p. 236.

reformism at the turn of the twentieth century. To demonstrate how they pursued their agendas through their writings, this paper will make use of Daniel T. Rodgers' argument of the centrality of transnational narratives in the conveyance of foreign reform policies, measures, practices, and concepts.

There were many types of city and municipal reform measures advocated at the turn of the century in the United States. Such measures sought were home rule, more devolved city governance, municipal ownership of urban monopolies and utilities, greater regulation, city planning, alternative taxation policies, and housing reforms, among others. Each of these connected yet distinct issues produced many opinions by municipal reformers. In this, Richard Ely, Albert Shaw and Frederic Howe all represented distinctively interesting municipal reformers to analyze. For all three, the transatlantic orientation was foundational. As well, the height of each of their public advocacy coincided with a respective decade in the just over thirty years between 1880 and 1915, in which municipal reform emerged as a significant issue. Thus, their examples provide an implicit commentary upon the conventional timeline of progressive reformism. Furthermore, each of these three reformers had distinct vocational orientations through which they pursued their advocacy. These were all significant contextual factors that underpinned their municipal activities and writings.

Richard Ely, Albert Shaw, and Frederic Howe were significant because they rightfully identified the fact that the conditions of cities in the United States were not unique. Furthermore, they were open minded enough to look to other tangible examples of how the challenges, as well as opportunities, of the era were being tackled by other cities across the Atlantic. In these efforts, misunderstanding and idealization often interacted with clarity and realism in appreciating the sources and merits of the various measures they praised in their accounts. Misunderstanding and wishful thinking often colored their interpretations and writings. However, their narrative accounts served as useful vessels through which otherwise foreign, disparate, and therefore questionable, policy measures and reforms could be

made more palatable for an American political culture well-known for its insularity.

However, before this can be discussed it will be necessary to provide an overview of Progressive era historiography to better situate this thesis within the broader scholarship. Next, the issues of methodology will be discussed to qualify the approach of this thesis.

Progressive Era Historiography

The Progressive era of the United States at the turn of the century has produced vibrant and contentious historiography. This even extends to the use of the term 'progressive', an admittedly very fluid and amorphous term for an era that itself saw such a variety of trends; some even seemingly contradictory ones. This being so much so that in the 1970s Peter Filene had even argued for the abandonment of the label altogether, as an altogether empty term, one that had been cavalierly attached to so many activities of the period.[2] Yet, the term remains unavoidable as so many contemporaries, particularly by 1910, had come to identify the reform movements and the era with the term.[3] Another fundamental consideration is periodization. Historians have situated the Progressive movement as having begun by the end of the Gilded Age (itself a problematic periodization) in 1892, or even as late as 1900, and coming to an end along with the First World War in 1918. Some scholars discuss its relationship with the preceding Gilded era or Populism, while others look to it as a prelude to the New Deal of the 1930s. The biggest advocate for an extended chronology is Rebecca Edwards who argued for a 'long Progressive era' that extends from 1865 to the First World

[2] Filene, P. 'An obituary for ''The Progressive Movement''' from *American Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring, 1970), pp. 20-34
[3] Ibid.

War.[4] However, such a broad chronological framework for any social, cultural, economic, and political movement or even trend would plainly lack the coherence or analytical rigor that critics of progressivism as conceptual framework have long been charging as absent.

Even within those who accept the essential categorical and chronological framework contest essential qualities, motivations and consequences of the Progressive era. Initially, scholars accepted the claims of the partisans of progressivism as a modernizing, reformist movement in which the new challenges of industrialization and mass-society were tackled in an altruistic and inventive spirit. Contemporaneous works, such as Benjamin De Witt's treatise *The Progressive Movement* (1915), have accounted for the era as having been one primarily driven by the reaction to the ascendance of large-scale and concentrated big business that had emerged by the end of the Gilded Age. This school of thought has tended to emphasize the disparities in wealth, rural discontent and urban degradation as the prime motors of the reforming impulse.

It was not until 1955 for a new historiographical turn that challenged the received accounts of the era. Richard Hofstadter's *The age of reform: from Bryan to FDR* provided a highly influential and more cynical interpretation. Hofstadter saw Progressivism as a predominantly middle-class movement, more animated by insecurities, a so-called 'status anxiety', stemming from industrialization, fears of an increasingly foreign population and largely undemocratic in emphasis. According to Hofstadter, this had ironically caused them to pursue activities that 'brought them closer to the techniques of organization they feared.'[5]

Another interpretation that followed just over ten years later was that presented by Robert Wiebe in his book *Search for order, 1877-1920*. Here, in what became known as the greatly influential 'organizational synthesis', Wiebe too emphasized the centrality of the middle-class while arguing even

[4] Johnston, R.D., 'The possibilities of politics: democracy in America, 1877 to 1917', in Foner, E. and Mcgirr (eds.), American *history now* (Philadelphia, 2011), pp. 96-124 pp. 99-100

[5] Hofstadter, R., *The age of reform: from Bryan to FDR*, (London, 1962)

further that within them an emerging group of professionals had begun to utilize techniques of organization and bureaucracy in an attempt to assert more control and pursuit of more efficient modernization. Thus, Wiebe's account accorded little acknowledgement of those whose reformism had actual altruistic motivations.[6] Furthermore, by the 1970s these disillusioned and critical liberal interpretations of the Progressivism Era were to be built upon by New Left oriented scholars such as Gabriel Kolko, James Weinstein and Jeffrey Lustig. They argued that progressives were little more than an advance guard for the eventual ascendancy of the corporate, capitalist world.[7] It was not until the 1990s that such cynical, anti-democratic readings of progressivism were substantially contested.

Essential in doing so was satisfactorily acknowledging the Progressive Era's distinctively amorphous, fluid and contradictory qualities. For the scholarship of the 1950s, 60s and 70s had incontestably identified hypocritical, undemocratic, anti-reformist and even regressive elements throughout the period. After all, it was during this time that such developments as racial segregation and violence peaked, anti-labor measures were introduced, the ascendency of big business consolidation became plain for all to see, and even many seemingly reformist measures came to display much of the same qualities of scale, control and efficiency that they had allegedly been introduced to limit. Yet, the reformist achievements themselves were equally real. To ascribe to them solely cynical motivations on the part of progressives itself seemed equally inadequate. For there were the substantial democratic victories in the guise of direct senatorial elections, the referendum, the recall, the initiative, and, that incontestable act of greater democratization, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution that outlawed prevention of voting rights based on sex; a single act that extended voting rights to an unprecedented degree.

An innovative and compelling response to this challenge came in 1982. In Daniel Rodger's article, 'In search of Progressivism,' was presented a

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[6] Wiebe, R.H., *The search for order, 1877-1920* (New York, 1967)

[7] Johnston, R.D., 'The possibilities of politics: democracy in America, 1877 to 1917', p. 98

compelling vision of a pluralistic Progressive movement. As Rodgers argued, that only by 'discarding the assumption of a coherent reform movement could one see the progressives' world for what it really was: an era of shifting, ideologically fluid, issue-focused coalitions, all competing for the reshaping of American society.'[8] Following this article, many other scholars adopted Rodgers' premise of a pluralistic Progressivism, albeit with different frames of emphasis, trend lines, primary actors, and interpretations of motivations. Furthermore, the pluralistic vision of progressivism collapsed the assertion of mutually exclusive accounts of a positive and cynical movement(s) as unacceptably reductive.

The pluralistic Progressivism thesis has not gone uncontested. Unitary interpretations, both positive and skeptical, continue to be asserted. Needless to say, the historiography of the Progressive Era will continue to be a vibrant and contested field. This is certainly the case in the wake of contemporary developments and alternate views of the past; especially in the context of globalization and the greater and deeper movement toward international interconnectivity. The two seminal works in this trend have been the seminal works of James T. Kloppenberg's *Uncertain Victory*[9] and Daniel T. Rodgers' *Atlantic Crossings*.[10] In the case Kloppenberg, there he accounted for the philosophical and intellectual influences and connections of the transatlantic world during the period. In the case of the latter, Rodgers accounted for the more tangible personal and institutional transnational linkages of the time.

Therefore, this thesis should be thought of as situated in both the pluralistic and transnational approaches to Progressivism in the United States in the decades that bridged the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet in terms of a pluralist understanding of the Progressive Era, it is the contention of this thesis that Daniel Rodgers' notion could be taken a step

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[8] Rodgers, D.T., 'In search of Progressivism' from *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 10, No. 4, (Dec., 1982) pp. 113-132, p. 114

[9] Kloppenberg, J., *Uncertain victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York, 1986)

[10] Rodgers, D.T., *Atlantic crossings: social politics in a Progressive age* (Cambridge, 1998)

even further. That is, it is the assertion of this paper that it is necessary to assess the claims, arguments, interpretations and motivations of the individual progressive reformers themselves; in all their own unique and imperfect integrity. For there was often great diversity in how many of the reformers got to their positions. Also significant was the fact that the seeming agreement between many progressives on various issues, at first glance, often disguised the wholly distinct visions that had informed and animated many of them. For example, similar positions on monopolies could just as often have been embedded in quite different political and economic philosophies and orientations. It will be the contention of this thesis that the three distinct examples of Ely, Shaw, and Howe, for all of their similarities, will demonstrate just such distinctiveness. It will further be argued that these examples will demonstrate the necessity of respecting the individual contexts of the various progressive reformers. Only by doing so can these individual reformers be integrated into an adequately realized and nuanced picture of the Progressive Era itself. Thus, this thesis should be thought of as a modest contribution in such a direction.

Methodology

Satisfactorily identifying, demonstrating, and explaining examples of transnational interconnections and influences can be quite complicated, especially in terms of historical methodology. From a foundational standpoint, there is the fact that history as a discipline was essentially founded and largely standardized in the nineteenth century, as the nation-state emerged as the international norm. Thus, history typically took the nation-state as the essential unit of analysis.[11] Even such later historiographical turns as social history more or less took this for granted. However, from the 1960s and 70s, there emerged in the social and political

[11] Velde, H., 'Political transfer: an introduction', *European review of history: Revue europeenne d'histoire*, 12:2, (2005) pp. 205-221, p. 205.

sciences new theories and methodologies that attempted to penetrate such state barriers and complicate such single-state focused studies.[12] This work influenced historical studies that increasingly took on a more global turn. International linkages, connections and influences came into focus. Such focuses required appropriate historical approaches and suitable methodologies and theories. Pertinent examples will now be taken under consideration.

A very influential example emerging from the social sciences has been the concept of diffusion. In an important article, Doug McAdam and Dieter Rucht use the definition of diffusion adapted from Elihu Katz as ''defined as the acceptance of some specific item, over time, by adopting units … that are linked both to external channels of communication and to each other by means of both a structure of social relations and a system of values, or culture.''[13] For McAdam and Rucht, this form of diffusion involves the four elements of an emitter or transmitter, the adopter, the item diffused, and the channel for diffusion.[14] However, this model of diffusion can be criticized on the grounds that the process described is plainly binary and linear. Another aspect of McAdam and Rucht's diffusion is its overt concern for seemingly innate concepts and structures. This suggested a process involving rather static, faceless and monolithic entities and had the potential to lose much of the nuance of the phenomenon it meant to describe.

A more recent alternative has been the concept of political transfer advocated by historians such as Henk te Velde and Wolfram Kaiser. Kaiser focuses upon three main aspects of transfer. First, 'changing structural conditions for transfer'; second, 'the transfer agents and their strategies'; and third, 'the means they could employ … to enhance the legitimacy of political transfer'. [15] According to Kaiser, a significant benefit of this definition is that

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[12] Ibid.

[13]McAdam, D. and Rucht, D., 'The cross-national diffusion of movement ideas', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528, (1993) pp. 56-74, p. 59.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Kaiser, W., 'Transnational mobilization and cultural representation: political transfer in an age of proto-globalization, democratization and nationalism 1848-1914', *European review of history: revue europeene d'histoire*, 12:2, (2005) pp. 403-424, p. 405.

it allows for transfer at more local levels than the state such as in regions or municipalities. As to the actual content of political transfer itself, examples include policy goals, content, instruments, programmes, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes, and 'negative lessons'.[16] Furthermore, Henk te Velde argues that an advantage of political transfer is that it need not subscribe to a model, per se, but by analyzing points of connection between different political practices this method can bring new perspectives that are constructive in and of themselves.[17] Thus, Te Velde and Kaiser's political transfer is more open ended than that of McAdam and Rucht's diffusion.

In such a spirit the suggestions of Daniel T. Rodgers offer further valuable insight. Rodgers highlights the importance of 'issue networks' and 'policy entrepreneurs.' Additionally, Rodgers further argues that concepts, policies and reforms 'rarely moved one by one as the best fit for context and circumstances.'[18] Circumstances and contexts were typically too fluid and dynamic to allow for such convenient transfer. Rodgers argues that 'Policy ideas and innovations themselves come in baggy clusters, often more coherent in export than on the formative ground, and held together by something looser than ideological coherence or practical reason.'[19] It was only through such clustering that often seemingly incompatible, even contradictory, policies and reforms could be grouped together under that notoriously fluid category of 'Progressivism.'

Yet, stating this does not address the valid issue of by what means could such clustering be made comprehensible and appealing. Herein lies the importance that Rodgers places upon transnational narratives. As he asserts, the significance of narratives for social policy circulation is in 'the way in which stories not only construct policy clusters but give those social policies the momentum and power that cross-border movement requires.'[20] As

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Velde, H., 'Political transfer: an introduction', p. 206.

[18] Rodgers, D.T., 'Bearing tales: networks and narratives in social policy transfer', Journal *of Global* History, Vol. 9, No. 2 (July, 2014) pp. 301-313, p. 301.

[19] Ibid., p. 307

[20] Ibid., p. 302

Rodgers states 'Analogies bind distant sites together that might, under closer examination, fall apart along the seams of their dissimilarities.'[21] Therefore, narratives provide an ideal medium through which the necessary connective tissue can make such analogies convincing. Furthermore, it was through such narrative devices that policies were imbued with further meanings, symbolism, and broader compatibility than were ever likely present in their initial settings.

Thus, it is the contention of this thesis that by assessing the transnational narratives of the urban reformers in question great insight will be gained into how the various kinds of policies, reforms, concepts and ideas were able to enter into the domestic political discourse of the United States. To do so, it will be necessary to investigate the actual writings individual writings of Progressive Era reformers. Hence, it will be possible to observe the manner in which they deployed their narrative accounts of municipal governance and policy to advocate the reforms they desired. The emphasis here on Progressive Era writing too is essential. For as Otis L. Graham has stressed, for all of the tangible accomplishments of progressive reformers, 'it remains true that *ideas* were their chief product. They wrote books with high hopes of their effect, read each other's books and were moved by them, had an unbounded faith in exhortation and revelation.'[22] Hence it was as much an intellectual movement as it was a political one. Progressive reformers were nothing if not notable in their writing output and appropriately have left a wealth of material by which to assess their attitudes, ideas, and motivations. The analysis of the three case studies of the municipal writings of Richard T. Ely, Albert Shaw, and Frederic C. Howe in this thesis should be thought to be aa tentative step in such a direction in grasping the pluralism and transnationalism of the Progressive Era.

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[21] Ibid., p.307

[22] Graham, O.L., *An encore for reform: the old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York, 1967), p. 11.

Case Study I: Richard T. Ely

This case study will assess Richard T. Ely's contribution to municipal reform. Ely was one of the early and pioneering voices of municipal reform in the United States. His upbringing, education, and early professional life all coincided with crucial transformations of Gilded Age American society, economy and education. These conditions and experiences were all crucial in the formation of Ely's municipal reform ideas. Accordingly, this case study will provide this necessary background and context before directly engaging in Ely's municipal reform writing. The first section will discuss his upbringing and education. Here the importance of religion and the influence of his father in his upbringing in rural New York will be emphasized. Then will be discussed his experiences of higher learning in the United States and Germany and his educational grounding in moral philosophy historical economics.

The second section will focus on the decade of his life that coincided with the beginning of his academic career at Johns Hopkins in 1881. In this most active phase of his life Ely proved a significant partisan and catalyst in such realms as economic theory and methodology, the professionalization of economics as an academic profession, proponent of the Social Gospel and public advocate of reform. This section will discuss how the most significant lines of these activities intersected. This is essential for present purposes, for they all underpinned his municipal reform writing. To do so, this section will first discuss Ely's early years at Johns Hopkins and his influential contributions to there. Then will be discussed his outspoken advocacy of historical economics and his commitment to the Social Gospel movement. This section will conclude with a discussion of Ely's role as one of the primary instigators of the formation of the American Economic Association. It was within this broad context of institutional frameworks, ideas, experiences and activities that Ely became a visible and vocal proponent of municipal reform.

The third section will then discuss Richard Ely's actual municipal reform writings. Demonstrated here will be the centrality of his ideas on historical economics, the value of tangible examples of economic practice (especially European ones), the role of expert professional economists and the Social Gospel.

Background and education

Richard Theodore Ely was born on April 13, 1854 in Ripley, New York to Ezra and Harriet Ely.[23] Members of the Ely family line had typically pursued paths into either farming or the ministry.[24] As Richard was to later describe, his family's 'heritage and traditions built up since 1660 have been a strong and inescapable influence in my life.´[25] Ezra had hoped to continue in the tradition of the ministry but, in lacking the means necessary to attend college, instead became a more than capable civil engineer. Not long after Richard's birth the family moved to a farm near Fredonia, New York, where he was to grow up for the following sixteen years.[26] That Ezra never became particularly adept at farming was as much due to his devout religious observation as of any lack of acumen.

In spite of the lack of formal education, Ezra gained an in depth knowledge of theology, scripture and other forms of learning. According to Richard ´His thirst for knowledge was great and the disappointment must have been keen when he was unable to go to college.´[27] However, Ezra's devoutness to his Presbyterian faith caused him to often involve himself in

[23] Rader, B.G., The *academic mind and reform: the influence of Richard T. Ely in American life* (Kentucky, 1996) p. 2.
[24] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 4.
[25] Ely, R.T., *Ground under our feet: an autobiography* (New York, 1977), p. 1.
[26] Ibid., p. 2.
[27] Ely, *Ground under our feet,* p. 19.

local sectarian controversies. As Richard later described 'My father took this very seriously and it helped to make his life a rather gloomy one. He was firm in his beliefs.´[28] Such outspokenness on Ezra's part equally extended past solely religious controversies. For Ezra also had strong convictions regarding social reform and justice issues.[29] According to Richard, his father 'was alive with a desire to correct the abuses he saw about him.´[30] Richard's father plainly made a strong and lasting impression on him, especially with regard to the importance of religion and social reform. He was to later carry these influences into his approach to economics.[31] As he later claimed 'Looking back on father and the Elys who preceded him, I seem to have come honestly by this tendency to be a rebel.´[32]

Given the high value placed upon education in his family it should not come as surprising that Richard's performance at the local Fredonia grammar school was very good. Richard distinguished himself as a hardworking, if not naturally gifted, student.[33] He followed completion of grammar school with entry to Dartmouth College in the fall of 1872.[34] Richard was not to be greatly impressed with Dartmouth and following one year there then transferred to Columbia in New York.[35] Richard was to find Columbia more to his liking and much more concerned with substantial learning.[36] Yet, he did find present there some of the same limitations as at Dartmouth. As Richard later asserted, it ´is my judgement that Columbia College, even at that time, was the equal of any college in the United States … not on a university level …; but nearly every professor was an outstanding man.´[37] In actual fact, Ely's impressions and experiences of the American college system of the time were indicative of that of many others of his generation. Higher learning

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[28] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 14.
[29] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 6.
[30] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 15.
[31] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 6
[32] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 23.
[33] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 8.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., p. 9.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 33.

itself in the United States was at something of a crossroads. American colleges had typically been dominated by different religious denominational bodies.[38] From the end of the Civil War increasing numbers of formally and informally educated lay elites had taken positions in the colleges.[39] Yet the colleges themselves continued to be distinguished by rigid and routine based teaching. Students were heavily supervised and great concern was devoted to their morality. Later, Ely and many of his peers were to play a significant role in attempting to alter these factors, once they had entered into their own academic careers.

In most colleges at this time, the emerging social sciences like economics, history, and political science were taught within the framework of moral philosophy. Largely derived from eighteenth-century Scottish thinking, this was a school of thought located somewhere between theology and natural philosophy.[40] According to Dorothy Ross, moral philosophy 'was for the Presbyterian Scots a half-way house between Christian assurance and critical secular inquiry, as was the common sense realism that American colleges also imported.'[41] The imperatives of moral philosophy were the principles and duties thought to help secure the moral improvement of human affairs. Students typically took a class on moral philosophy in their senior year of college, taught in most cases by a clerical president of the institution.[42]

As Ely later described, it was to be something of an irony that, given his eventual field of expertise, 'economics made little impression on me.'[43] This appears to have been due to the inadequacy of its teaching and general curriculum throughout the country. As Richard described it, all that was required for its teaching was to 'Buy Mrs. Fawcett's ''Political Economy for Beginners''; see that your pupils do the same; … question them each week on

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[38] Ross, D. *The origins of American social science* (Cambridge, 1991) p. 35.
[39] Ibid., p. 36.
[40] Ibid., p. 36.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 35.

the chapter assigned … and not omitting the puzzles which follow'.[44] Richard instead found the lecturers in Latin, Greek, mathematics, astronomy, literature and philosophy engaging. Especially important to Ely at the time was a Professor Charles Murray Nairne, who taught the Scottish commonsense philosophy.[45] Nairne reciprocated an interest in Ely and encouraged him further. He supervised Ely in the writing of an essay that was judged the best of his graduating class. On the basis of the recognition this garnered and with Nairne's further support, Ely in his senior year applied for a $500 fellowship for three years' study abroad. Ely was awarded the fellowship in 1876 with which he chose to study philosophy in Germany.[46]

In his choice of Germany for further study, Ely was joining the ranks of the approximately 9000 American students that attended German universities between 1820 and 1920.[47] German universities had by this time become more popular among American students than the other foreign alternatives.[48] There were several reasons for this. There was fact that there was little in the way of matriculation obstacles.[49] Very appealing was the fact that successful completion of Doctor of Philosophy degree only required two years attendance at seminars, a modestly suitable thesis and the passing of an oral examination[50] German universities were also much more affordable than elsewhere.[51] Beyond such practical considerations, German universities had garnered international fame in philosophy, history, philology, and theology.[52] Their achievements and advances in the hard sciences were incomparable with elsewhere. It was especially recognized that German

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[44] Ely, R.T., 'On methods of teaching political economy' in G.S. Hall (ed.) *Methods of teaching history* (Boston, 1896) pp.61-72, p. 61.
[45]Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, pp. 9-10.
[46] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, pp. 9-11.
[47] Herbst, J., *The German historical school in American scholarship: a study in the transfer of culture* (Ithaca, 1965) p. 1.
[48] Ibid., pp. 8-9.
[49] Ibid., p. 9.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Rodgers, *Atlantic crossings*, p. 85.
[52] Ibid.

universities placed a great deal more attention on more in depth and specialized scholarship.[53]

Therefore, Richard Ely's choice of Germany was obvious enough. Yet he was unsure of where to study there. After seeking advice, the president of Yale, Noah Porter, recommended he go to Halle.[54] According to Jurgen Herbst, an American student typically chose a university and department based on the reputation and then was even more struck by the feeling of freedom there in contrast to the American colleges[55] This was precisely what occurred to Ely. As he later described: 'When I first went to Germany I seemed to breathe a new and exhilarating atmosphere of freedom.'[56] For American students the notion of academic freedom, *Lernfreiheit*, was striking.[57] For while there was all variety of resources and opportunities for students to avail of, it was entirely up to their own initiative to make use of them.[58]

In his first year Ely was more struck by this general atmosphere than anything specifically derived from his chosen field of philosophy. He found his grounding in Scottish common-sense philosophy completely inadequate for the intricacies of the work of German philosophers like Kant and Hegel.[59] Instead, through fellow American students and eventual life-long friends and colleagues Simon N. Patten and Edmund James, Ely turned to more toward economics. In doing so he came under the influence of Professor Johannes Conrad at Halle. As Ely later stated, ´I finally decided that if I did possess any speculative capacity, I would have ample room for exercising it in economics, where I could keep my feet on the ground.´[60] Following his first year of study in Germany, Ely accordingly chose to follow his friends in a

[53] Ibid., pp. 18-19.
[54] Ibid., p. 11.
[55] Herbst, *The German historical school in American scholarship*, p. 19.
[56] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 144.
[57] Herbst, *The German historical school in American scholarship*, p. 19.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Rader, *The academic mind and reform,* p. 12.
[60] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 41.

transfer from Halle to Heidelberg in April, 1878.[61] It was here that Ely chose to devote himself to the study of economics under Professor Karl Knies.

This was a propitious choice for an ambitious student in pursuit of economics study, for Knies was considered one of founders of the German Historical School of Economics.[62] The German Historical School of Economics was one of the many schools of thought throughout Germany steeped in the thoroughly distinct intellectual orientation of historicism. Something of a fluid term to define, historicism has garnered differing connotations, both positive and negative. Whereas, historicist thinking is contrasted with that of earlier, ahistorical forms of thought, that saw concepts such as human nature, existence and, indeed, even the world itself as essentially static, innate and eternal. Whereas historicist ways of thinking regard these as conditional, contextual, relative, and particular.'[63] According to Frederick Beiser 'Roughly to historicize our thinking means to recognize that everything in the human world – culture, values, institutions, practices, rationality – is made by history.'[64] Eventually such lines of thinking disseminated into the various disciplines emerging throughout the reformed disciplines in German universities.

Thus it was that Karl Knies, alongside Bruno Hildebrand and Wilhelm Roscher sought to inject the same insights into the study of economics. German historical economists themselves differed on many issues such as the focus, priorities, methods, programs and even the political orientation of their work.[65] They were nonetheless consistent on a significant number of factors. They heavily criticized and some even rejected much of classical, *laissez-faire* economic thought as an overly subscribed to orthodoxy. For historical economists, classical economics was an *a priori* and deductively constructed body of theory, reliant on an overly reductive model of human

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[61] Rader, *The academic mind and reform,* p. 12.
[62] Ibid., p. 13.
[63] Beiser, F.C., *The German historicist tradition* (Oxford, 2011) p. 1.
[64] Ibid., p. 2.
[65] Grimmer-Solem, E. and Romani, R., 'The Historical School of Economics, 1870-1900: a cross-national reassessment' from *History of European ideas*, Vol. 24, Nos. 4-5, (1998) pp. 267-299, p. 272

behavior. Historical economists did not so much reject classical economics wholesale, so much as its assertion of universality. According to them classical economic thought emerged in an historically novel context, one that was universal neither in terms of space or time. Therefore, classical economics neither should be nor could be subscribed to universally. Economic conditions were always historically determined. Thus, what was wholly rejected was the notion of timeless and universally applicable set of rules, norms, practices and theory.[66]

Such considerations nonetheless left open the question of how matters of economy in these varying contexts should be determined. In this, most historical economists emphasized inductive rather deductive methods. It was facts, both of the present and past, and in specific places, that were to be assessed. From these, limited generalizations could then be drawn. Furthermore, in these investigations the increasingly advancing methods of statistics were utilized in analysis.[67] From these past and present based investigations of economic phenomenon, comparative methods were as well to be employed to identify similarities and contrasts that were significant.[68] It was upon such a basis that hypotheses and even policy relating to economics could be developed. Therefore, in their minds, it was the historical economists who were the true empiricists in economics.

Plainly, the Historical School of Economics was open to criticism familiar to historicist thought in general. For example, that the school lent itself to indeterminate relativism and that the essential units or 'facts' of analysis in historical economic investigation were left unestablished. In response to many of these criticisms they had developed an essential baseline indicative of other contemporary notions of German thought. Most asserted the importance of man as, not so much an individual, but as a social

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[66] Ringer, F.K., *The decline of the German mandarins: The German academic community, 1890-1933* (Middletown, 1990)., p.144.

[67] Dorfman, J., 'The role of German Historical in American Economic Thought' from *American Economic Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2, Papers and proceedings of the Sixty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May, 1955), pp. 17-28, p. 18.

[68] Herbst, *The German historical school in American scholarship*, p. 134.

animal who was a part of a greater social organic whole. In this German historical economists in varying degrees asserted some tropes familiar from German oriented philosophy such as 'organic development', Romantic influenced ideas such as *Volk* spirit and the 'state' as the realization of peoples.[69] Furthermore, many had direct political and reformist motivations that were conducive with their concept of historicist economics. They typically advocated policies that would facilitate controlled and measured advancement in economy and industrialization that were, nonetheless, compatible with social harmony and even ethics and morality. For the majority of them the state played an essential role in achieving this.[70]

There was much in Ely's orientation prior to study in Germany that predisposed him to much of this kind of thinking that made him an eager student of this school of thought. Knies in particular showed Ely an approach that would allow him to balance his concerns for morality, ethics and reformism alongside his intellectual curiosity and scholarly ambitions.[71] As he later described, 'I must not fail to mention the impression produced upon my thoughts … by the ethical view of economics taught by Conrad, by Wagner, and above all by Knies, under whom I took my degree.[72] Therefore, upon his completion of study in Germany and attainment of his doctorate, Richard T. Ely had a vivid model to emulate and adapt for a prospective academic career back in the United States. It was now a matter of attaining just such an appointment upon his return in 1880.

Academic Advocacy

[69] Ringer, *The decline of the German mandarins*, p. 145.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 13.
[72] Ely, *Ground under our feet*, p. 146.

Upon arriving back in the United States, Ely spent his first year, as he later described, 'tramping the streets of New York City looking for work'[73] and getting by largely through writing articles and by tutoring in German. Upon witnessing the living conditions of many in the city at the time Ely also later claimed

> ´my heart sank within me. The city was dirty and ill-kept, the pavements poor, and there were evidences of graft and incompetence on every hand. … the painful contrast made me want to take the next boat to back to Europe …This was my home and I vowed to do whatever was in my power to bring about better conditions.´[74]

After much uncertainty in his future prospects, Ely eventually came upon an opening at the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland.[75] The timing and location of this opportunity for an German-trained, ambitious, and aspiring American academic was serendipitous. Founded in 1876, Johns Hopkins had been created from half of the country's then largest private bequest. The trustees chose to devote these resources to establishing the first higher educational institution in the United States thoroughly devoted to research and doctoral work.[76]

The man they chose to accomplish this was Daniel Coit Gilman. Gilman had himself in the 1850s travelled around Europe and had studied various European school systems before having setup Yale's scientific school and then becoming the president of the University of California.[77] Thus, European precedents and experiences too played a large part in ideas and designs that Gilman had for Johns Hopkins. With this agenda in mind and ample resources at his disposal, Gilman set out to secure as many of the world's top researchers in the various disciplines for Johns Hopkins. These efforts paid off quite promptly and by 1880, a mere four years after its opening, the

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[73] Ibid., p. 164.
[74] Ibid., p. 65.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Menand, L., *The Metaphysical Club* (London, 2001), p. 255.
[77] Hawkins, H., *Pioneer: a history of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Ithaca, 1960), p. 16.

university's faculty published nearly the same amount of research as had all the other faculties of American universities combined.[78]

By the time Gilman had successfully secured the services of six full time professors with international reputations in their respective fields, he was still short of an equivalent in history and the social sciences. Eventually, German-trained historian Herbert Baxter Adams was promoted within the university to associate in history.[79] Ely himself had little in the way obvious credentials for a position in the department outside of his doctorate. However, while in Berlin he had met and made a favorable impression on President Andrew White of Cornell, who was able to provide an approving recommendation. Also in his favor was his youth and lack of experience, meaning that he could be secured for a modest salary.[80] With this relatively modest prospects, Ely was accepted for a position on the Johns Hopkins faculty.[81]

Ely had done well in gaining a foothold in such a research oriented institution as Johns Hopkins. Given the flux which many of the emerging academic disciplines were in at the time, it was a suitable position from which to spearhead new initiatives in the contestable realm of political economy.[82] Ely was nominally under Herbert Baxter Adams in the Department of History and Political Science and had to develop a constructive working relationship with him. Never a very charismatic speaker, his lectures were known to be repetitive and often of little utility. Instead, Ely distinguished himself with the enthusiasm and idealism that he brought to the teaching political economy. Most notable was the Seminary, a meeting every Friday night in which social science students gathered. It was here that Ely and Adams would lead in the readings and discussions of various research papers. In their minds the Seminary was to the social sciences as the

[78] Menand, *The Metaphysical Club,* p. 256.
[79] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, pp. 16-17.
[80] Ibid., p. 17.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

laboratory was to the hard sciences.[83] This activity provided useful support to the University published journal ''Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science''. This periodical, edited by Adams, provided a valuable outlet through which graduate theses as well as the academic writings of Adams and Ely could be published.[84]

Ely himself was especially proactive in motivating and encouraging his students to pursue their own research and writing. Ely's efforts on behalf of his students and colleagues was remarkable. He would often secure them publishers and self-consciously promote them through prefaces, footnotes, and contents in his work as well as in personal correspondence. Ely gained quite the reputation for his ability and energy in following several activities and projects at once.[85] Indeed in the eleven years at Johns Hopkins, Ely was able to publish fifty journal articles and seven important monographs of his own. [86] In fact, according to Benjamin Rader, probably no other 'professor of political economy in the country directed or helped to direct so many of the future leaders in the social sciences.'[87] Notable students of his included Albert Shaw, Frederic Howe, John Commons and Woodrow Wilson.

If Ely gained more notice for anything, in both praise and criticism, it was in his reformist zeal, his outspokenness on controversial topics, and his passionate commitment for the need for an ethical ideal in the study and practice of economics.[88] While Ely's work during his first year at Johns Hopkins proved little noteworthy in and of itself, it did not take long for him to stir up a controversy in the emerging discipline political economy.[89] This most notably occurred in 1884 with the publication of his paper 'Past and present of political economy.' In this paper Ely laid out much of his preferred vision of political economy in terms of method, theory, vocation, and discipline. In doing so he polemically contrasted the classical, *laissez-faire*

[83] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 18.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 26.
[87] Ibid., 26.
[88] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[89] Ibid., p.19.

school of political economy with that of the new, historical economics, plainly praising the latter over the former. In doing so, according to Mary O. Furner, the paper was a 'study in exaggerated opposites.'[90] For example, Ely asserted that for most conventional economists 'the dignity of natural law is conferred upon all these hypotheses' of classical political economy.[91] Thus, Ely asserted that classical oriented economics aspired to a status of a universally applicable body of theory. Yet, in spite of their aspiration, the practice of pure *laissez-faire* political economy 'never held at any time in any country.'[92] Not even in its country of origin of England.

According to Ely, it was to necessary to turn to the 'New School', or 'Historical School' of economics. The virtue of this school resided in the fact that it 'studied the present in light of the past.'[93] Historical economists 'adopted experience as a guide and judged of what was to come by what had been.'[94] Their approach was distinctive in that 'Economic phenomena from various lands and different parts of the same land are gathered, classified, and compared and thus the name Comparative Method may be assigned to their manner of work.'[95] Thus, in true historicist fashion, 'Account is taken of time and place; historical surroundings and historical development are examined.'[96] Such an approach avoids the fallacy of regarding political economy as 'fixed and unalterable, but as a growth and development, changing with society.'[97] Ely thus asserted here that the Historical School of Economics did not rest upon misplaced static and abstract models of human motivations and activities. Instead it provided an appropriately open and evolving, more empirically grounded and adaptive approach to the economic activities of societies.

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[90] Furner, M.O., *Advocacy and objectivity*: *a crisis in the professionalization of American social science, 1865-1905* (Kentucky, 1975) p. 60.
[91] Ely, R.T., 'Past and present of political economy' from *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science: Vol. II: Institutions and Economics* (March, 1884) pp. 5-64., p. 14.
[92] Ibid., pp. 24-5.
[93] Ibid., pp.43-4
[94] Ibid., p. 44.
[95] Ibid., p. 45.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

To further punctuate the contrast between the two approaches, Ely hyperbolically asserted that the 'younger men of America are clearly abandoning the dry bones of orthodox English political economy for the live methods of the German school.'[98] Further note the contrasts running through the argumentation: classical school as static, abstract, deductive, antiquated and English while the historical school as adaptive, empirical, new and German. Ely had here engaged in a polarizing polemic as a means to pursue his vision of political economy.

In the paper, Ely also attempted to extend the mandate of the expert economist beyond solely considerations of methodology and theory. For he further asserted that the historical school practitioner 'does not acknowledge *laissez-faire* as an excuse for doing nothing while people starve, nor allow the all-sufficiency of competition as a plea for grinding the poor.'[99] Thus here Ely was asserting that their obligations should extend to concern with the effects of economic practice upon the welfare of others. Further implied here was that economists had a responsibility to help devise policy to ameliorate such conditions. The baseline upon which Ely grounded such responsibilities was in 'the grand principle of common sense and Christian precept. Love, generosity, nobility of character, self-sacrifice, and all that is best and truest in our nature have their place in economic life.'[100] Such an argument by Ely was as much derived from his religious upbringing and his earlier studies in moral philosophy as from his subsequent immersion in the German historical school. Furthermore, this assertion of common sense and Christian ethics were plainly more specific to his own views than those of other fellow American proponents of the historical school. Indeed, they were more indicative of Ely's other activities in the increasingly popular Social Gospel movement.

This paper proved a catalyst among economists regarding the nature, methods, and boundaries of political economy. It was to be of significance

[98] Ibid., p. 64.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.

that some of the most outspoken critics of Ely's work such as Simon Newcomb and William Graham Sumner happened to closer fit the mold of the archetypical classical economists that Ely had constructed in his essay. This unintentionally reinforced the idea of a hard dichotomy between two largely irreconcilable schools. Also controversial was the range and scope of additional reform activism at the time. This was especially the case of his participation in the Social Gospel movement.

The Social Gospel movement that emerged in the 1870s did so largely in reaction to the consequences of the increasing industrialization and urbanization of society.[101] A primary focus was on the neglect of the Christian churches of the needs of their respective communities. What was needed was a greater application of Christian ethics to temporal life.[102] Ely had himself emerged as a prominent proponent of the Social Gospel movement at this point in his career. Ely´s pronounced beliefs and views of the Christian religion were of a simple, ecumenical and non-dogmatic faith.[103] For him this did not conflict with the ideal of expertise and objective science that he sought. Rather, they were all parts of one greater commitment. Ely had broad notions of what 'science' and 'truth' were. He asserted that social science involved grasping the importance of the second commandment and loving one's neighbor and, thus, of the greater community itself. For a greater satisfaction emerged when one turned from 'the study of social problems to the teachings of Christ, which seem, from a scientific standpoint, to contain just what is needed.'[104]

Ely argued that it was from such a foundation that a thorough ethics must be established because a 'wider diffusion of sound ethics is an

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[101] Fine, S., *Laissez faire and the general welfare-state: a study in American thought: 1865-1901* (Ann Arbor, 1956), p. 170.

[102] Adherents of the social gospel movement themselves were made up of a diverse spectrum of conservative, moderate and radical reformers. Reflecting a leadership made up of preachers and educators, most characteristic of their repertoire was public speaking, seminaries and the written word. It was the hearts and minds of the faithful they generally sought to win over rather than pursuit of specific measures. See: Handy, R.T., 'Introduction' from *The social gospel in America: 1870-1920* (ed.) Robert T. Handy pp. 11-12.

[103] Handy, R.T., 'Richard T. Ely: Introduction' from *The social gospel in America: 1870-1920* (ed.) Robert T. Handy, p. 176.

[104] Ely, R.T., *The labor movement in America* (New York, 1886), p. 331.

economic requirement of the times.'[105] Ely further argued that history has demonstrated that a greater extension of and deepening commitment to ethical feeling has been the route through which progress has been gained.[106] For otherwise, 'It is idle to talk of about a belief that does not manifest itself in works.'[107] To achieve any success in this matter the role of the Christian Church was essential. Yet the church had largely come to content itself with 'repeating platitudes and vague generalities which have disturbed no guilty soul.'[108] The disconnection between the profession and the practice of the church has led to a situation in which 'these church leaders are so far away from the toiling masses' that they were completely incapable of genuinely identifying with them.[109] The first step to addressing this inadequacy was a greater attention to the plight of those less fortunate members of the community. For the 'Church must claim her full place as a social power existing independently of the State.'[110]

In stating this, Ely too pointed to a conception of the relationship between Christianity and the state. As Ely asserted the 'Christian ought not to view civil authority in any other light than a delegated responsibility from the Almighty.'[111] For 'if there is anything divine on this earth, it is the State, the product of the same God-given instincts which led to the establishment of the Church and the Family.'[112] Here, one may note Ely's distinctive combination of elements of his own Christian religiosity, moral philosophy and German historicist oriented economics. According to Ely, a purely negative conception of the role of the state and governance in an increasingly industrialized, urbanized, and interconnected country was wholly inadequate for priorities of the day. Instead it would only be in 'the harmonious action of the State, Church, and individual, moving in the light of true science, will

[105] Ibid., p. 310.
[106] Ibid., p. 312.
[107] Ely, R.T., *Social aspects of Christianity, and other essays* (New York, 1889), p. 200.
[108] Ibid., p. 189.
[109] Ibid., p. 206.
[110] Ely, *The labor movement in America*, p. 331.
[111] Ibid., p. 326.
[112] Ibid., pp. 325-326.

be found an escape from present and future social dangers.'[113] Thus, for Ely the state taking on more responsibilities was not some naïve ideal, but a pragmatic necessity.

As in 'Past and Present of Political Economy', Ely's emphasis on the importance of Christian Ethics and the Social Gospel could be found in his other work of the time. These writings also continued to further skirt controversy. In such books as *French and German socialism in modern times* (1883), *Recent American Socialism* (1885), and *The labor movement in America* (1886), Ely frankly engaged in such controversial topics as socialism, the condition of workers and their organizational activities. He did so without the usual sense of hysteria and fear indicative of most other related writings. Yet Ely's works often contained imprecise and hyperbolic prose and were, for all his claims to impartiality, plainly sympathetic accounts. Many of his critics highlighted this and attempted to portray him in as some kind of radical socialist or reckless agitator of class conflict. This was not an idle concern at the time with the onset of an economic downturn in 1885 and the upheaval that ensued, with the rise of the Knights of Labor and Haymarket riot of the next year.[114] Thus, for more conservatively inclined economists, Ely became a very visible example of a radical and reckless individual who masqueraded as an expert economist and gave further fuel to the fire of discontent at the time.[115]

So it was that the controversies that Ely had helped provoke in his writings proved a crucial catalyst for the formation of an effective professional body for economists. The precedent of the Political Economy Club (PEC) had amounted to little more than a social club. More in line with Ely's ideas was the Society for the Study of the National Economy proposed by fellow German trained economists Edmund James and Simon Patten. Yet its mission statement had been deemed too narrow for other economists. Ely proposed his own alternative of that was to become the American Economic

[113] Ibid., p. 332.
[114] Ross, *The origins of American social science*
[115] Furner, *Advocacy and objectivity*, p. 65.

Association.[116] What the ideas of Patten, James and Ely all had in common was the emulation of the *Verein für Sozialpolitik* (Association for Social Politics) of Germany.[117] Historian Daniel Rodgers has aptly described the *Verein* as a precedent of one of 'the critical institutions of progressive social politics: an institutional nexus of professors and state officials, academic learning and practical policy making.'[118]

The inaugural meeting was to take place at Saratoga Springs, New York on September 8, 1885.[119] At the opening of the meeting, Ely read from the platform he had earlier circulated. This platform articulated Richard Ely's vision of the association made up of expert economists who were no less concerned with policy advocacy than with more practical professional imperatives. The platform asserted the need for the association 'to promote economic inquiry and disseminate economic knowledge.'[120] To effectively accomplish this, it was necessary that this body commit to more historicist oriented views and not believe that 'the entire range of economic knowledge had been compassed.'[121] The platform then outlined some distinct positions. Notable assertions were of the need to 'regard the state as an educational and ethical agency,' that the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was 'unsafe in politics and unsound in morals, and that the social and economic problems required 'the united efforts of Church, state, and science.'[122] Thus, Ely's platform embraced some rather radical commitments from the outset regarding the

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[116] Ibid., p. 69.

[117] This was the professional body began in Eisenach in 1872 largely through the initiative of historical economist Gustav von Schmoller. While all the activities indicative of an academic professional body were priorities to the association such as research, monographic publishing, and peer interaction; actual policy advocacy was additionally as important. It was a location where professors, businessmen, civil servants and journalists could meet to discuss and trade ideas on the relevant topics of economy, industry, and government. (See Rodgers, *Atlantic crossings*, p. 93.) The association would engage in empirically-based investigations and publish its findings with the hope of policy influence and formation in a manner that avoided overt political partisanship as much as possible. (See Grimmer-Solem, E., *The rise of historical economics and social reform in Germany, 1864-1894* (Oxford, 2003), p. 179.

[118] Rodgers, *Atlantic crossings*, p. 94.

[119] Rader, The *academic mind and reform*, p. 37.

[120] Ely, R.T., 'Report of the organization of the American Economic Association,' *Publications of the American Economic Association* 1 (March, 1886) pp. 5-32, p. 5.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

role of the state, rejection of *laissez-faire*, the association's mandate of policy advocacy and even brief allusion to a role for Christian religion.

Complications immediately arose among the group of economists present. They were far from in complete agreement about such matters. A debate then began and eventually a compromise was worked out by a special committee. Some of the more controversial parts were dropped and the platform itself was made nonbinding upon AEA members.[123] For example, the assertion that the state was an 'ethical agency' was removed.[124] All that withstanding, Ely was able to maintain a satisfactory amount of the original platform to deem it a success. The meeting then established the formation of the American Economic Association.

It was decided that the presidency would go to General Francis A. Walker, with the position of association secretary given to Ely himself.[125] It was within this capacity that Ely more than any other member secured the establishment, recognition, and durability of the association via his seemingly inexhaustible energy. Ely contacted and corresponded with newspapers and periodicals, publicizing AEA activities, notices and articles. He scheduled meetings and established programs for upcoming conventions. The bulk of the fundamental issues of administrative issues fell upon him.[126] Also, as if these activities were not enough, Ely also took it upon himself to deal with the bulk of the correspondence of the association, responding to inquiries whether menial or consequent.[127]

Municipal Reform Writing

[123] Ely, R.T., 'Constitution, by-laws and resolutions of the American Economic Association' from *Publications of the American Economic Association* 1 (March, 1886) pp. 35-46, p. 36.
[124] Ibid., p. 35.
[125] Ibid., p. 38.
[126] Ibid., pp. 38- 9.
[127] Ibid., p. 40.

From the earliest of his writings Ely combined interests in municipal governance and European examples of policy and practice. One of his earliest pieces of published writings was about the city administration of Berlin. The piece was largely enamored with the efficiency and orderly conduct he had observed there.[128] When Ely later returned to the topic municipal matters they were now grounded in his ideas evolving ideas on monopolies. In this he was demonstrating the influence of fellow historical economist Henry Carter Adams.[129] Adams had argued that there were fundamental distinctions necessary to made between the differing kinds of monopolies; most notably those he termed 'natural monopolies.'[130] While Adams's assertions really only became known to a scholarly audience, Ely took it upon himself to introduce these concepts to a more general public. He sought to accomplish this by initially writing three articles on corporations in *Harper's* during the spring of 1887. He then expanded upon this during the winter of 1887-1888 in a regular series of articles for the *Baltimore Sun* under the broad title ''Problems of to-day.''[131] Furthermore, it was here that Ely most thoroughly engaged in the issues of municipal reform throughout this most active period of his life. These articles were later collected, edited and published with minor alterations in book form in 1888 as *Problems of today: a discussion of protective tariffs, taxation and monopolies.*

In these articles Ely, like Adams, emphasized the need to acknowledge that there were different kinds of monopolies in existent. As he stated, 'any effort to lamp all monopolies together … will produce confusion, both in theory and practice.'[132]To avoid this, Ely stressed the need to divide them into categories of private and public monopolies. Just as essential, though, was the need to recognize the distinctions between natural and artificial monopolies. Natural monopolies were those that emerged due to aspects inherent in their respective industries that inevitably made them so. Those of

[128] Schafer, *American progressives and German social reform*, p. 84.
[129] Rodgers, *Atlantic crossings*, p. 107.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Rader, *Academic mind and reform*, pp. 88-89.
[132] Ely, R.T., *Problems of today: a discussion of protective tariffs, taxation, and monopolies* (New York, 1888) p. 107.

which 'Legislation neither makes them monopolies nor can prevent them from becoming monopolies.'[133] On the other hand, artificial monopolies were those created by legislation. Such examples included patents, copyrights and tariffs.[134]

Ely stressed the need to recognize these distinctions in order to apprehend the appropriate measures to deal with them. For the very nature of natural monopolies demonstrated the inadequacy of subscribing to competition as a panacea and end in of itself. For competition in these kinds of industries are of a different kind and can 'scarcely be called competition.'[135] Or more aptly, 'We speak of struggles between natural monopolies as war … and has, like war, a termination of hostilities in view.'[136] This he distinguished from the more harmonious and stimulating forms of competition that existed in other industries. In recognizing these facts, Ely nevertheless emphasized that this reality should not be lamented. For natural monopolies from 'the standpoint of political economy' were 'not merely something inevitable' but 'something desirable.'[137] There were genuine benefits to be had in the more plentiful and cheaper production of goods and services via such means of scale.[138]

In acknowledging the apparent inevitability of natural monopolies, Ely then moved accordingly on to how best to address them. In doing so, Ely now directly entered into matters of municipal reform. This he did by beginning with the issue of gas supply. To explain the logic of natural monopoly Ely deployed the use of a hypothetical example of two competing gas companies. For if each had a capitalization of 1 million dollars, then in combination, naturally they would have 2 million. In combination could be further avoided was a duplication of offices, administration, distribution and servicing. This would naturally translate into a decrease in overhead and therefore an

[133] Ibid., p. 108.
[134] Ibid., pp. 108-9.
[135] Ibid., p. 117
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid., p. 121
[138] Ibid.

'increased output of gas will not be attended with a proportionate increase of cost.'[139] Thus Ely argued that it was plain to see that there was 'always a very considerable advantage in combination' in this form of industry.[140]

Given this typical result, Ely acknowledged the seeming oddity that there should continue to be so many attempts at competition in a monopolistically inclined industry like gas supply. The reason why was in fact 'very simple'; it was because most enterprises that legitimately attempted competition in this industry were in a minority and 'made by those who do not understand the business.'[141] In reality all relevant 'attempts at competition are simply raids on a company which has a good business; and the end in view is a division of the business and a participation of the spoils.'[142] Therefore the declared belief in competition by gas utility firms are either naïve or disingenuous, for the results inevitably ended in combination and consolidation.

Such considerations were not merely hypothetical or theoretical, as 'we have the testimony of experience.'[143] Thus, Ely was now making clear that in making his case that he intended to deploy two of the central methodological tenets of Historical Economics: examples of tangible experience and comparison. And in this case the results were conclusive: '*the civilized world has yet to show the first instance of permanent, successful competition in gas supply.*'[144] Ely asserted that the destructive results of misguided competition could be avoided if cities themselves were to provide their own gas. To persuasively demonstrate this Ely now appealed to a very notable and tangible example of such practice across the Atlantic Ocean. For example, it was in Birmingham, England that the 'Hon. Joseph Chamberlain' as mayor instigated the purchase of the local gas-works and 'the results were most fortunate.'[145] Furthermore, Birmingham was not alone in the United Kingdom

[139] Ibid., p. 122.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., p. 123.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid., p.125.

of benefitting from such enlightened policy. According to Ely a 'colleague of mine, who has lived in Manchester, tells me that he never paid over sixty-four cents a thousand, and yet this price yields a handsome profit and has enabled the city to carry forward improvements without burden to the tax-payers.'[146] Other towns in Scotland, as well as Belfast and Leeds, also successfully practiced city ownership of gas works and managed to derive an overall cost effectiveness from such.[147] Thus Ely here was buttressing his case against sole reliance on competition in city gas supply industry by demonstrating the alternative examples of successful municipal ownership in the U.K.

Ely then proceeded on to the issue of water supply. According to him the circumstances were similar to those of gas supply ´save that the reasons for public undertaking are still stronger.´[148] Having conducted investigations of several other towns, Ely asserted that he himself was 'yet to find one instance in which municipal self-help did not work better than the benevolent paternalism of private corporations.´[149] Here Ely was implicitly highlighting the credentials that his personal expertise as a professional economist brought to the matter.

Having done so he engaged in a discussion of the results of his investigations of the issue of water supply in New York to make his case for public ownership. According to Ely, in Fredonia, New York traditional arguments were made against public ownership of water supply. They were along such expected lines as that 'private enterprise was superior, that the public always made a fiasco with its undertakings, and the like.'.[150] Nevertheless, the water-works were built and publicly run in Fredonia and the result was that ´It would take a powerful microscope to discern that these works have introduced any corruption into village life.´[151] Rather, the

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid., pp. 127-8.
[148] Ibid., p. 134.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid., p. 137
[151] Ibid.

abuses occurred with greater regularity in the private enterprises.[152] In claiming this, Ely speaks of the personal testimony of an attorney for a private firm who had admitted to him that his ´skill had been taxed in assisting them to pump water enough into their stock.´[153] This being a measure to hide the scope of their profits.

In his assertion that private rather than public enterprises were actually more inclined towards corruption, Ely recognized that ´It may be asked, Why are these facts not generally known?'[154] To this he pointed out that many of the great newspapers were owned by corporations (he made sure to add the qualifier: 'for other cities are not so fortunate as we are in Baltimore') and 'every instance of a failure of public works is heralded abroad to the four corners of the earth, while examples of success are not discussed.´[155] The result of this disconnection between reputation and reality has misled much of the country from a more desirable courses concerning municipal utilities. Yet for Ely the essential point was not to regard either the public or private realms as all-encompassing solutions to the dilemmas of the era. Rather, that 'private enterprise generally, in its own sphere, - agriculture, commerce, manufactures, - goes far ahead of public enterprise; but in its own sphere public enterprise will in the long run go far ahead of private undertakings´[156] This position befit Ely's historicist orientation toward more empirically derived conditional and context based economic policy application that avoided universally subscribed to orthodoxy.

To further highlight the risks of over-reliance on competition in the private sphere Ely decides to deploy a cautionary example from England. For it 'is the best country to for an American to study who desires to see the legitimate effects of competition, for England started out with our theory of private competition.´[157] For in the case of telegraph system 'England tried to

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid., p. 138.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid., p. 143.

force competition, and this was the result.[158] Her telegraph system cost her nearly as much as all the other telegraph systems of Europe put together;'.[159] Thus, England's experience of private competition in development of a telegraph system should hardly inspire emulation. Here one can note that Ely could deploy a tangible example of foreign municipal practice just as much for cautionary as laudatory purposes.

In noting such considerations, Ely further discussed things that can and things that should not be done. In terms of undesirable, one should not attempt 'to introduce or compel competition between rival companies, for the result is only evil.'[160] Alternatively, a municipality could simply turn to recognition of 'the fact that an existing company has a monopoly, and to make it a legal monopoly in return for concessions.'[161] Therefore, stipulations could be placed by the city upon the granting of a utility franchise to a private company in exchange for provisions along such lines as pricing guarantees and time limits upon the franchise itself.[162] There were nonetheless drawbacks to this kind of measure, for this 'method … leads, to entanglement of public and private interests.' [163] According to Ely, the problem was that 'nothing promotes corruption like complexity in administration.'[164] Therefore, in the long run as sharp a demarcation between private and public enterprise is best, and 'this end can best be accomplished by ownership of gas-works by municipalities.'[165]

Ely stresses the benefits that could accrue from public ownership were not solely in services or cost-effectiveness. As important according to Ely was the likely result more honest local governance. For 'nothing has so corrupted and debased out political life as private corporations in control of natural

[158] Ibid., p. 144.
[159] Ibid., p. 144.
[160] Ibid., 128.
[161] Ibid., pp. 128-9.
[162] Ibid., p. 129
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.

monopolies.'[166] While acknowledging the then near ubiquitous images of inherently corrupt local governance throughout the country, Ely argues that Americans unwisely accepted a fatalistic view of 'municipal corruption' as 'inevitable.'[167] To argue against this view, Ely once again appealed to his experiences and knowledge of notable European examples. For 'I have lived in cities in which the breath of suspicion never touched the municipal government, where corruption and methods of avoiding it were not at all the questions of the day.'[168] Furthermore, Ely makes clear that this does not rest upon some notion of innate superiority of morality among different peoples. For 'It is idle for us to say ´we must wait until we become morally better.''[169] Ely finds this as nonsense since Americans 'are as moral a people to-day as the English or Germans.´[170] The source of the corruption of American municipalities is more structural and straightforward; it derives from private control of natural monopolies.[171]

Therefore, the solution to the corruption was equally straightforward: ´we must take natural monopolies out of politics.´[172] According to Ely, the irony was that a policy of the private control of natural monopolies had resulted in a more thorough involvement of industry in politics. In asserting so, Ely draws upon the example of Prussian railways. For in spite of state ownership of railways in Prussia ´I make so bold to say that to-day our American railroads are incomparably more ´in politics´ than the German railroads.´[173] Ely discusses how while in Berlin years ago he had made a report on Prussian railroads for the State Department. The sum of this research and interest has led him to the conclusion that 'those German railroads which have been bought by the state, I believe, are less ''in politics'' than they were when they were private property.'[174] In making this assertion,

[166] Ibid. p. 130
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid., p. 131.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., pp. 130-1.

one can see that Ely is here calling upon the authority he feels that should naturally derive from his expertise as a professional economist and from the personal experience he had gained of tangible examples foreign policy measures.

Following this, Ely then moves on to the issue of street railroads and the increasing movement toward public ownership of across the country.[175] However, while he did note the successful example of Brooklyn in doing so, he did not recommend the same course for Baltimore just yet. While he did still recommend an act of incorporation, what Ely really prioritized was the reduction of fares. For 'passengers could be carried in Baltimore for three cents – more than is charged in Berlin, where the companies must keep the streets paved from curb to curb, must provide each passenger with a seat, must, in laying tracks, have some respect for the rights of owners of vehicles, and a thousand and one things which an American corporation does not dream of'[176] Thus, bringing up the example of Berlin not only highlights the plausibility of reduced fares but also the general inadequacy of poorer service provided combined with the greater expense in Baltimore. Furthermore, in not recommending outright public ownership in this case, Ely was once again reflecting his historicist approach to economic policy advice by emphasizing the specific context of Baltimore not being suitable at the time for such a measure.

The reference to expenses calls attention to another connected and central issue for Ely; that of taxation. As Ely points out in the article series, taxation was absolutely essential to the functioning of a city.[177] As he stresses, taxation was a complicated issue; one neither wholly negative or positive in nature, instead merely contingent upon circumstances, implementation and use. As he emphasized ´taxation may be so contrived by the skillful hand as to give free scope to every opportunity …, or it may be so

[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid., pp. 132-3.
[177] Ibid., p. 163.

shaped by ignoramuses as to place a dead weight on Baltimore.´[178] Therefore, for Ely the applicability of taxation was solely an issue of careful and deliberate consideration as to the appropriate its uses, methods and levels. Hence, it was context based.

Ely states that by comparing the statistics among different cities can give a sense of just how great really is the burden of taxation in America.[179] As an example he compares the budgets of New York and Berlin. In doing so, he observes that the ´interest on the debt of New York was nearly sufficient to defray all the expenses of Berlin, nearly as large a city, and one more disadvantageously situated with respect to sanitation and keeping the streets clean.´[180] Yet the latter could still be ´said to be the best governed city in the world.´[181] This had been achieved there, according to Ely, because ´Berlin is governed … by those who make it their business to understand the principles of municipal administration; that is, so-called theorists.´[182] Here he was acknowledging the role of the expert trained civil service in Germany. In highlighting this, Ely acknowledged that once again many would counter presence of corruption in the United States would prohibit such possibilities. And while 'This is doubtless a partial explanation, but very incomplete and imperfect.´[183] To refute this sweeping generalization he emphasized the examples of Germany and England. For their 'municipal administration is above reproach in respect to integrity of officials' and 'whereas it may be said generally that in Europe municipal corruption is hardly one of the problems of the day.´[184] Yet upon making this statement, Ely does acknowledge that there has been a general trend toward increased tax expenditure across Europe as well the United States.[185] If not it was not due to corruption, then what accounts for this trend across the Transatlantic world?

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[178] Ibid., pp. 167-8.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid., p. 169
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid., p. 170
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.

To address this question, Ely calls upon the recent work of another fellow historical economist and AEA founder Simon Patten. Patten particularly contested the notion that increased democracy had led to increased expenditure. As the criticism ran, universal suffrage gave the vote to those without 'economic interests at stake in the community' and they would 'consequently vote away other people's money.[186] Yet as Ely and Patten pointed out European cities had much more limited rights of suffrage and yet they continued to increase their own expenditures.[187] Furthermore, Dr. Patten demonstrated that in many small Northern American towns with majority tax-payer voters, the tax rates have increased even more rapidly than even the larger cities.[188] Once again the answer must lie elsewhere. For Patten and Ely, the answer was something more fundamental. The increase of municipal expenditures was in actual fact the natural corollary to the increase in 'functions of the local political unit' that was occurring across the industrialized world.[189] Or stated in another by Ely, 'We hear a great deal about centralization. The reality is that, relatively speaking, we live in an age of decentralization.'[190] Therefore, the increase in expenditure lay in the expansion of the various necessities and obligations of cities. What is more, Ely argued that an increased era of expenditure has likely only began.

Richard Ely at this point now flips the very premise on its head of regarding increased expenditure as being a decadent, corrupt and corrosive practice and instead argues that this was an encouraging sign of modern development. For as he emphasized, the 'growth of municipal expenditure is a part of the growth of civilization … We cannot stop it without lagging behind in the march of progress. '[191] Ely was here articulating a developmental and progressive vision that regarded change, complexity and interconnectivity as all essentially inevitable in modern cities.

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[186] Ibid., p. 171.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid., p. 174.

Therefore, after stressing this reality, Ely now returned to his earlier dilemma: how to reduce taxes? To this he answers: 'The principle which should guide us is very simple, and will readily occur to those who have read the previous articles in this series. *It is to exact from every natural monopoly using public property full compensation.*'[192] Whether through strictly controlled and supervised extensions of franchise rights or outright municipal ownership.

Having made this argument, Ely emphasized that the people of Baltimore should take heart from such a prospect. Ely points out that in a recent address, President Gilman of Johns Hopkins university highlighted the fact that Baltimore's current size was about the same as London at the beginning of the century.[193] In doing so, it was plainly suggested that Baltimore had all the potential for a similar growth and development over the same amount of time. However to pursue such opportunities, one must remember 'that modern cities are to an unprecedented extent artificial products, the work of man´s genius and energy.´[194] Thus, it was necessary for people to recognize their own potential for agency in the development of their environs. What is more, the potentialities inherent in this increasingly dynamic world should be embraced as a positive development and hence be proactively engaged in.

At this point, Ely now moved on from mere matters of individual policy or structural considerations. For he asserted that there were, more fundamentally, 'human forces which produce national or municipal greatness' and that they may be divided in two: 'The first are individual; the second may be called social.'[195] While acknowledging the essential importance of the former, ultimately, the 'individual is himself powerless. Wealth is only in a community and in this community no one lives for himself alone.´[196] Whether the concern is art, business or labor; all are dependent upon the

[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid. p. 157.
[194] Ibid., p. 158.
[195] Ibid., p. 160.
[196] Ibid., p. 160.

existence of society. For 'There are certain fundamental conditions of our future prosperity … which must be provided by us in our organic capacity as a city and as an important part of a commonwealth, or not at all.'[197] Thus Ely has returned to the essential ethical baseline upon which any substantive municipal reform or economic policy must, in the end, reside upon. For the 'more closely a community follows Christian principles and its members concern themselves with the welfare of others, the more generally will its prosperity be diffused and the more rapid will be its advance in wealth.'[198] Hence the necessity of Christian ethics.

Just to stress the essential need for greater empathy and Christian ethics in modern society Ely then states: ´¨Am I my brother´s keeper?¨ If in any nation at any at any time there is a general inclination to answer that question in the negative that nation has already entered upon a course which leads to anarchy and barbarism.´[199] Ely was therefore making it clear that any civilization that rested solely upon foundations as brittle and corrosive as individualism and competition was doomed to fail. Therefore, Ely, as befit a prominent proponent of the Social Gospel movement, emphasizing the foundational importance of Christian ethics for any substantial and lasting reform.

In this case study the central aspects of Richard T. Ely's municipal reformism were readily apparent. Emphasized implicitly and explicitly throughout his writings on municipal reform was the qualification derived from his vocational expertise as a professional economist and its relevance to the topics at hand. In doing so he approached municipal topics through his historical economics orientation with a methodology that emphasized tangible examples of practice and policy, especially transatlantic ones, and

[197] Ibid., pp. 161-2.
[198] Ibid., p. 161.
[199] Ibid., p. 161.

comparison. The remedies he then recommended were context and conditionally based. The most relevant contextual variable apparent to Ely in his municipal writings was that of monopoly; hence the extent of the discussion devoted to this issue. In stressing the centrality of monopoly in urban environments, Ely emphatically rejected a *laissez faire* approach. Instead, in true historicist fashion, he advocated contextually derived measures. In this case either a private-regulatory approach or a public municipal ownership one. However, throughout his writings it was clear that Ely had an obvious preference for municipal ownership in most cases. Ely's advocacy of context and conditionally derived measures can also be seen in his discussion of other topics like taxation and expenditure. Always to be avoided for him were the fallacy of universally or holistically advocated solutions.

Yet it does become clear throughout his municipal writings that there was more than a strictly utilitarian calculus that formed the foundational baseline of his reform measures. For this ultimately lay for him with the centrality of Christian ethics. For Ely asserted that it was the lack of Christian ethics and practice that ultimately accounted for much that was wrong in society. Thus for truly substantive reform measures to take hold, due attention must be given to this imperative. Further, in accordance with Ely's Social Gospel proclivities, he predicted that a greater extension of the responsibilities and the functions of the city would, accordingly entail an expansion of greater Christian ethics and fellow feeling among the citizenry. For it was here that lay the path of civilization. What is more, Ely argued further that even greater responsibilities being entailed by municipalities would be both the means and ends of reform itself. That this would serve as a self-reinforcing tendency in society's greater developmental growth. Most succinctly then, Ely's reformist writings can best be described as optimistically historicist underpinned by a Christian ethical ethos.

Case Study II: Albert Shaw

This case study will assess Albert Shaw´s contribution to municipal reform writings. Shaw rose to prominence among municipal reformers in the mid-1890s. To better appreciate Shaw´s views and writings it will be necessary to understand both the broader and more personal contexts in which they were conditioned. This case study will do so by, first, discussing his upbringing in the late nineteenth century Midwest America. Demonstrated will be the influences there that piqued an early and abiding interest in journalism. Then will be discussed his early experiences in local journalism between. Further relevant will be his early scholarly interests that finally resulted in his pursuit of graduate study at Johns Hopkins. This section will discuss the importance of the Johns Hopkins experience in his further development.

The next section will pick up after Shaw completed his doctorate. Here will be discussed the ways in which Shaw combined both his journalistic and scholarly interests. This will be suggestive of the ways in which the lines between the two vocations were blurred at the time. This occurred in the broader context of the transformation of the newsprint in the last third of the century. Then will be discussed his research trip to Europe, his meeting of English reform journalist W.T. Stead and his eventual editorship of the *Review of Reviews*. It was in the latter that Shaw was to devote the bulk of his professional and intellectual ambitions for the remainder of his life.

Such was the context when in 1895 Albert Shaw published his two major works on municipal reform and governance: *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (1895) and *Municipal Government in Continental Europe* (1895). These works will be the topic of the third and final section of this case study. Here will be discussed the ways in which Shaw engaged in the topic of municipal government via the assessment of the examples of European practice.

Background and education

Albert Shaw was born on July 23, 1857 to parents Griffin and Susan Shaw in Paddy´s Run , Ohio, a small town in Butler County near the Indiana border.[200] Albert´s father Griffin had studied medicine and become a doctor in Ohio. As well as being a doctor, Griffin had a variety of interests in farming, the owning of a store, and real estate. He had even served a term in the Indiana state legislature and had used his home in Paddy´s Run as location for political rallies.[201] Much of Albert´s earliest memories related to the Civil War. The village itself was mostly pro-union and his father Griffin had served on the Butler County conscription board 1863. The activities greatly exasperated Griffin's health. He was then struck by an illness in the stomach, possibly appendicitis, that shortly thereafter caused his death. Thus it fell to his mother Susan to raise him. Albert was six at the time. He later preferred to think of his father as having given his life for the war.[202]

Without his father there anymore, it fell to an older friend, Roger Williams, to become something of a surrogate father figure. Of additional importance were his extended Halstead extended relation; particularly his granduncle Colonel Griffin Halstead and his son Murat. Murat especially served as a role model to Shaw with his own successful career in journalism. Murat himself had become quite well known after the Civil War for his own reporting on military and political affairs.[203] Albert was additionally fortunate that father had left Susan and Albert in very good financial circumstances..[204]

[200] Graybar, L.J., ´Albert Shaw´s Ohio youth´, *Ohio History Journal*, Ohio Historical Society 74 (1): pp. 28-34, 72-73, (Winter, 1965) p. 29.
[201] Ibid., p. 31.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., pp. 29-34.
[204] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

It would be fair to say that Albert had a well above average upbringing or a Midwesterner in the 1860s-70s.[205]

Paddy´s Run itself was largely a Welsh descended town. The local community itself was pietistic, moral and sober. It was largely Republican and temperance supporting. Albert spent much of his spare time reading usual popular fare, taking part in such typical youth activities as playing baseball, swimming, singing, and occasional work on neighboring farms.[206] Yet, further tragedy was in store for his childhood when in 1873 his closest friend Roger Williams died. The older Williams had combined the roles of best friend, mentor and role model at a crucial age for Albert. Williams further piqued Albert´s interest in journalism with his own example of purchasing a student paper while in university. By the time Albert was in high school Williams also developed a plan of study for Albert that emphasized the importance of English in clear anticipation of a career in journalism.[207] Thus, Shaw had in Roger Williams and Murat Halstead two significant early inspirations for the profession of journalism.[208]

In 1874 Albert and his mother Susan moved to Grinnell, Iowa where she had relatives. Grinnell was a similar, though larger town than Paddy´s Run, one that visibly contrasted with the latter.[209] As Shaw was to later describe Grinnell, it was the ´most typical New England community that has grown up west of the Mississippi River.´[210] In the spring of 1875 Albert enrolled in the local Iowa College. It was a modest sized college, that still provided for opportunities of collegial and informal association between faculty and students, in spite of its formally strict code.[211] Albert Shaw was to fit in very well here, taking part in such extracurricular activities as singing, debating, playing baseball and, most importantly, working on the editorial board of the college paper, the News Letter. Shaw´s academic performance at

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[205] Graybar, L.J., *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews* (Lexington, 1974), p. 5
[206] Ibid., pp. 5-7.
[207] Ibid., p. 7.
[208] Graybar, ´Albert Shaw´s Ohio youth´, p. 34.
[209] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews*, p. 8.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid., p. 9.

the college itself was outstanding.[212] The major influence from the faculty on Shaw was from a Jesse Macy. Macy would himself gain prominence as a political scientist and remain a lifelong friend of Albert.[213] Shaw graduated in 1879 and then took the opportunity for travel around the northeast of the country.

Upon returning to Grinnell in November, Shaw invested in a half-interest of the local *Grinnell Herald*.[214] He had done this partly based on the advice of Murat that if one looked to pursue a career in journalism one should first work on a local paper. Shaw joined the Herald as a junior editor. This enabled him to learn the newspaper business in greater detail under the owner Samuel A. Cravath. Shaw was also able to continue with master´s study under Jesse Macy.[215] The *Herald* newspaper was a twice a week and openly partisan Republican paper. Very typical of its time and place, it was made up of four pages of local news and advertising that accorded some coverage of state, national and foreign affairs, all of which came to be largely written by Shaw himself.[216] The paper, given its partisan identification, was largely defined by its opposition to all things Democrat. [217]

In November 1881, Shaw announced he was taking a leave of absence to enter graduate work at Johns Hopkins. The motivation behind this decision remains so somewhat unclear. Biographer Lloyd Graybar hypothesizes that maybe Albert was unsatisfied there from an intellectual standpoint and likely found the work time consuming and unrewarding.[218] Yet for all of this dissatisfaction, he did continue to be devoted to journalism as a vocation. Therefore, pursuit of further graduate study could actually serve both the desire for a change of experience and his hope to

[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid., p. 10.
[214] Ibid., p. 11.
[215] Ibid., p. 12.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid., p. 13.
[218] Ibid., p. 14.

continue developing as a journalist. Greater advanced study on topics relating to politics and economics could only benefit his career.

Thus it was that Albert became interested in the recently established Johns Hopkins University. As discussed in the previous case study, while the university had only been recently been established, it was already gaining notice for its innovations in higher learning in the United States. Shaw initially contacted historian Herbert Baxtor Adams to explain that he desired greater and more focused study on the most relevant topics of the day. Adams attempted to warn him off by stressing that original research was the imperative of his department over taught courses. In spite of this caveat Shaw enrolled at the Johns Hopkins University.[219]

In January of 1882 Shaw arrived in Baltimore to begin his doctorate at Johns Hopkins University. He enrolled in the Department of History and Political Science. He serendipitously entered the university just as Herbert B. Adams and Richard Ely were introducing their imported graduate study innovations of the seminary and monograph production. Thus he was an early and immediate beneficiary.[220] The two young professors were a direct influence on Shaw intellectually and professionally. Adams was an enthusiastic promoter of original research and writing for his students. Ely too, as earlier discussed, was an avid promoter of his students. He as well provided quite a vivid example of what the study and insights of political economy could represent beyond the confines of the university.

As Shaw was to describe himself, ´the Hopkins atmosphere of calm study, where each man was bravely and resolutely digging away in the subject matter that he had staked out for his own claim.´[221] While finding the experience challenging, Albert submerged himself with satisfaction in the courses on offer. However, most satisfying and indicative of the Johns Hopkins experience was the Friday night seminary.[222] Here students had the

[219] Ibid., pp. 16-17.
[220] Ibid., pp. 16-18.
[221] Shaw, A., quoted from Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews*, p. 20.
[222] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews*, pp. 22.

opportunity to research and present papers to influential members of the department and visitors with all the potential that suggested for individual careers.[223] It was through the seminary that Shaw received his own first ambitious and opportune assignment. The Regius professor of civil law at Oxford James Bryce had request from Adams papers on American government that he could utilize for his own work. This later developed into his very influential work *American Commonwealth*. Adams accordingly sought out students that could do so on a state by state basis. It was then that Adams assigned Shaw the task to research and write a paper on local government in Illinois. Albert managed to finish the paper in three weeks and present it to the seminary.[224] The paper was praised as being representative of the kind of research and writing being pursued at Johns Hopkins. Adams was particularly impressed and had it published in the *Johns Hopkins studies*.[225]

Yet In spite of his early progress at Johns Hopkins, Albert had to return to Grinnell after five months due to ´press of business.´[226] However, the stress of carrying on both his former duties and the ailing Cravath´s left him discontented and desirous to return to Johns Hopkins. Shaw then sold his interest on February 1, 1883.[227] Adams however discouraged Shaw from returning till the onset of the new academic year. Shaw now found himself in something of academic and professional limbo. Ely suggested that in the meantime Shaw could procure him some information on a socialist group in Iowa, the Icarians, for his own book.[228]

Despite his disheartening recent experience with the *Herald*, Shaw sought job at the *Minneapolis Tribune.* In the interview with the owner A.B. Nettleton, Shaw was requested to write an article on German socialism. Shaw, having studied this under Ely was well suited for the task. Nettleton was

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[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid., p. 22.
[225] Ibid., p.23.
[226] Ibid., p. 24
[227] Ibid., p. 24.
[228] Ibid., pp. 24-5.

impressed enough by the final result to offer Shaw the position as principal editorial assistant.[229] It was then arranged he would begin work in September while staying around Baltimore and Washington until June , during which time he would continue his doctoral work while mailing in his editorials. From that point he would come aboard the paper full-time. Hence he would continue to pursue his academic and occupational obligations simultaneously.[230]

Shaw accordingly began his new term in the fall. For his dissertation, Shaw decided to expand upon Ely´s earlier suggestion of research on the Icarian socialists. This choice was helped by the fact that he had already conducted much essential research earlier in the year. Entitled *Icaria: a chapter in the history of communism*, Shaw chose to trace the intellectual origins of the different Icarian socialist communities throughout the country. Shaw based his dissertation on research garnered from sources such as Icarian literature and pamphlets, personal interviews and actual travel to an existing colony in Iowa. As stated in the dissertation, part of his goal was to get past the typically ´abstract disquisitions about communism.´[231] For ´Too little diligence' had been 'given to searching for the facts of history and to studying with minute attention the actual experiences of men.´[232] To do the latter plainly was his goal. Furthermore, Shaw emphasized a thorough commitment to impartiality for ´I have tried scrupulously to avoid all preaching for or against communism, and it is hoped that no reader of the following pages will interpret expressions of respect … as signifying approval of particular projects.´[233] This kind of explicit statement of austere commitment to impartiality and objectivity would be a very indicative aspect of his later writing, whether journalistic or scholarly. This was especially so

[229] Ibid., p. 25.
[230] Ibid., pp. 25-6.
[231] Shaw, A., *Icaria: a chapter in the history of communism* (New York 1884), p. vi.
[232] Ibid., p. v.
[233] Ibid., pp. vi-vii.

when he addressed potentially contentious topics. This was a means by which he could manage to avoid undue controversy.[234]

According to biographer Lloyd Grabar, most notable about the dissertation was that as a ´member of America´s first generation of trained social scientists, Shaw intended to employ his knowledge in socially relevant areas and, starting with his study of the Icarians, investigated a series of topics, any one of which might have been taken from a primer of the new political economy.´[235] Shaw´s overall academic performance in the end was very strong and he achieved his doctorate with very high honors.[236]

Scholar-Journalist/Journalist-Scholar?

The position at the *Minneapolis Tribune* that Shaw returned to take up after was a full time one with a daily morning newspaper. In moving to the Minneapolis daily, Shaw had transitioned into a much larger, more professionalized and diversified operation than he had experienced in Grinnell.[237] The paper was able to utilize the most up to date technology in printing and communication Also significant was the fact that the paper was able to take advantage of the recently established Associated Press, Western Associated Press, agents in all the major cities, and about 400 special correspondents throughout the northern mid-west.[238] All such advances were indicative of the expansion and modernization of the press that Richard Hofstadter emphasized were gaining pace since the 1870s; whereby the country went from 574 daily papers in 1870 to 1,610 In 1884.[239]

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[234] Ibid.
[235] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews*., p. 28.
[236] Ibid., p. 29.
[237] Ibid., pp. 30-1.
[238] Ibid., p. 30.
[239] Hofstadter, *The age of reform*, pp. 186-7.

The *Tribune* was once again a pro-Republican. For all of Shaw's inclination toward affecting impartiality in his writing, the paper required partisan polemics and he obligingly attacked such typical targets the Democratic Party and the neighboring rival city of St. Paul.[240] Yet Shaw was still able to engage with some of the topics that more appealed to his intellectual and reformist interests such as municipal reform and foreign policy. Three particular concerns he engaged in at the time relate to the local corruption of Albert ¨Doc¨ Ames´s ring in Minneapolis, the need for introducing better modern sanitation measures and better regulation of municipal franchise rights.[241] His doctoral training only further gave him greater qualification and nuance in doing so.

Shaw throughout this time continued to maintain his contacts with the faculty and fellow graduates of Johns Hopkins, especially Richard Ely.[242] He was himself a charter member in the formation of the American Economic Association.[243] Shaw also continued to contribute some scholarly work of his own, including the well praised article ´Cooperation in the Northwest´ that he contributed to a planned volume of Ely´s. He also wrote further on labor with a moderate and tempered sympathy.[244] One notable piece he wrote was an article entitled 'The American State and the American Man.' Here Shaw discussed the current conditions of laissez faire economics and the state that demonstrated a great deal of the influence of Ely and the historical school of economics.[245] The focus of the piece was the disconnect between the pronounced belief in *laissez-faire* market conditions by most Americans and their actual practices in governance. Stating that 'The average American has an unequalled capacity for the entertainment of legal fictions and kindred delusions. He lives in one world of theory and in another world of practice, and he deludes himself into supposing that they correspond with one

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[240] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews*, pp. 34-5.
[241] Ibid., p. 36.
[242] Ibid., p.35.
[243] Ibid., pp. 35-37.
[244] Ibid., pp.35-37.
[245] Ibid., pp. 37-8.

another in the main, whereas it is generally true that they do not.'[246] In making his case, the Shaw throughout the essay points to the many examples of governmental involvement in the economy at the federal, state, and local levels such as the tariff, railroad rate regulations and public schooling. Alongside his work for the journalistic work for the *Tribune*, Shaw also contributed articles to the *Chautauquan*, the *Dial*, and participated as editor of a collection of essays, the *National Revenues*[247]

In spite of his more than respectable success as a journalist and potential scholar, Shaw grew increasingly dissatisfied again. This seems to be essentially for the same reasons as was the case at the last paper. As he wrote to a friend at the time, he felt as if in the ´constant condition of a man who is running to catch a train.´[248] Shaw briefly turned to teaching at Indiana University to alter his routine but nonetheless turned down an offer of further work there. Then in 1888, Shaw decided to do to travel to Europe for an extended period. This had been a thought of his for some time but expenses and professional obligations had prevented him from doing so. He chose to do so in the end for enjoyment, inspiration, and research. Especially curious to him were developments in European city and municipal affairs.[249] Further encouraging him was the invite of Jesse Macy who was already in the U.K., who wrote suggesting that Shaw should ´go through the country notebook in hand and take a sort of photograph of the present political and social conditions of England.´[250] So it was that set sail for Europe in the spring of 1888.[251] This trip altered the course of his life to a greater extent than he anticipated.

When Albert Shaw arrived in London, one of his initial contacts was James Bryce, whom he had met at Johns Hopkins. Bryce provided dinners through which Shaw to was afforded the opportunity to meet such notable

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[246] Shaw, A., 'The American state and the American man', *Contemporary Review* 51 (May, 1887), pp. 695-711, p. 696.
[247] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Reviews of Reviews,* p. 38.
[248] Shaw, A., quoted from Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews*, p. 39.
[249] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews*, p. 39.
[250] Macy, J., quoted from Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews,* p. 39.
[251] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews*, p. 40.

English figures as William Gladstone and Lord Acton. Yet the most significant of the contacts Shaw met there in the long term was William T. Stead.[252] By this time Stead had already become the very well-known and controversial editor of the groundbreaking English newspaper the *Pall Mall Gazette*. This paper was considered a pioneer in the so-called 'New Journalism.' A measure of Stead's approach to his vocation was that his stated ambition to practice ´government by journalism.´ Equal measures eloquent and contentious, Stead was respected and feared for press campaigns on different issues, willing even to take jail time in his efforts.´[253] Their initial meeting resulted in Shaw contributing some writing for Stead´s paper while there.[254]

Shaw´s itinerary from London continued onto to Birmingham, then Edinburgh and Glasgow. It was in Glasgow that Shaw was impressed with the advances in municipal governing practice.[255] Shaw continued onto France (especially Paris), then several cities in Germany, Italy, Egypt, Beirut, Tripoli, Athens, Constantinople and, finally, returned to England via Belgrade and Paris to prepare for a return to the United States.[256] Shaw was greatly impressed by much of what he saw in municipal governance throughout the continent. The vast majority of what he confronted in European cities he felt well outclassed American equivalents. This trip was of great importance for Shaw in that it allowed him to better and more systematically develop his thinking on cities, governance and administration.

Upon his return to the United States in the summer of 1889, Shaw began to write about many of his impressions of municipal practices in Europe in articles for different periodicals; such as notable series he did for the *Century Magazine*. Yet, in the short term, Shaw's trip did not provide an immediate breakthrough he had hope for and he had quickly tired again of his newspaper work in Minneapolis. It had become clear that Shaw intended to move on from

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[252] Ibid., p. 40.
[253] Boston, R., ´W. T. Stead and democracy by journalism´, from *Papers for the millions: the new journalism in Britain, 1850-1914* (ed.) Joel H. Wiener (New York, 1988) pp., pp. 93-5. 93.
[254] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews*, p. 40.
[255] Ibid., p. 41.
[256] Ibid., p. 41.

the *Tribune*. At this point Shaw appeared to be flirting with an academic career, taking leave from the *Tribune* in the fall of 1889 to lecture on the European cities at Cornell, Johns Hopkins, and Michigan universities. There even emerged the possibility of maybe more permanent work as a lecturer at Princeton or Cornell.[257]

When the latter appeared to have an offer coming, Shaw received another wholly unexpected one. W.T. Stead decided to offer him in 1890 the editorship of the American edition of the recently established British periodical, the *Review of Reviews*.[258] In the end Shaw likely chose to take up Stead´s offer because of the New York location, the fact that finances were not his own biggest priority, and that it was a monthly rather than daily publication and thus could accord him more time for consideration in his topic of writing.[259] In taking on the position, Shaw over time became, in the words of Daniel T. Rodgers , a valuable ´conduit between British and American reform journalism.´[260]

The essential idea of Stead's *Review of Reviews* magazine was that it serve as a monthly clearing house for regular other periodicals and magazines, hence the title.[261] To Stead's relief the initial feedback for the magazine was quite good. This encouraged Stead to pursue publishing editions for the United States and Australia. This was part of Stead's broader commitment to encourage greater unity among the English-speaking peoples of the world.[262] At first Stead hoped that the American editions would largely replicate the U.K's. It was quickly realized that this would be unacceptable to an American reading public that desired up to date and relevant news content. Therefore, Stead realized that this would require fresh and more domestically oriented content and, thus, an American editor.[263] It was in this context that Stead turned to Albert Shaw. Having personally been impressed by Shaw when he

[257] Ibid., p. 43.
[258] Ibid., p.44.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Rodgers, *Atlantic crossings*, p. 133.
[261] Graybar, *Albert Shaw of the Review of Reviews*, p. 46.
[262] Ibid., p. 47.
[263] Ibid., p. 47.

met him in London, he had seemed an ideal fit. It was also quite likely that Stead had overestimated Shaw's status as a well-known American journalist.[264] After having an interview with Stead in London, Shaw agreed to the job offer.

When Shaw returned to America, his immediate concern was building a functional newsprint organization. His most difficult issue became recruiting staff. Since the magazine had to do its own printing it would require a large skilled crew.[265] Shaw managed to get the first issue of the American *Review of Reviews* published in April, 1891. At this stage, it maintained much of the English edition's format and structure. Gradually the American editions started to alter its layout and take on more of an independent identity of its own.[266] Gradually, Shaw was able to secure greater autonomy in his editorship from Stead to run the magazine as he felt necessary and appropriate.[267]

Municipal Governance in Europe

As Shaw was establishing the American *Review of Reviews* as a credible magazine venture, municipal reform was rising to preeminence in 1890s America as a cause of great concern. Shaw's material from his trip to Europe and his earlier writing and research interests left him very well situated and versed to engage in municipal topics. Yet, ironically, having a monthly magazine to edit, in the short term hindered his opportunities to adequately address issues in the manner he desired.[268] The responsibilities were too time consuming to allow for much else. Shaw's goal had always been to develop the material he had gathered into a book on municipal government. He had written a series of articles shortly after his return from Europe that were meant as

[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid., p. 49.
[267] Ibid., p. 70-74.
[268] Ibid., p. 75.

preparation for this endeavor. In the following years Shaw intermittently found time to further develop the concept. Finally, in 1895, Shaw was able to publish his two most notable and comprehensive works on municipal governance. They were *Municipal government in Great Britain* and *Municipal government in continental Europe.* In publishing these two books Shaw secured a lasting reputation as municipal government expert as well as a journalist and editor.[269]

While Shaw published the two books separately, he plainly saw them as part of a unified work. [270] The chapters were organized around separate consideration of individual countries and their more noteworthy cities. In doing so he would begin by first providing an historical overview of their respective developments, emphasizing the importance of historical development in practices, cultures and institutions. In doing so Shaw was demonstrating the influence of the historicist approach professed by Ely. Following this, he would lay out the structure and framework of the municipal governmental regime in question. However, as he would consistently make clear throughout the books, he was more concerned with the actual *de facto* functioning of municipal government over its formal *de jure* framework.

In the two books on municipal government it was Britain, France and Germany that were particularly discussed. Shaw gave the most amount of attention was to Britain, having a full book devoted to it in the series. Shaw begins his account with an historical overview of Britain, going as far back as the Saxons, to discuss how the towns of England then were governed by bodies of freemen.[271] Over time it was 'associations of the craftsmen and merchants of a like trade' with charters of incorporation that typically came to function as the local governments.[272] Such was the case up until the late eighteenth century when the ´aggravated ills of this situation were rendered intolerable by the rise of modern industry.´ [273] It was in this context, according to Shaw,

[269] Ibid., p. 75.
[270] Ibid, p. 76.
[271] Shaw, A., *Municipal government in Great Britain* (New York, 1895), p. 20.
[272] Ibid., pp. 20-23.
[273] Ibid., p. 24.

that the 'whole political structure … had become so vicious that the alternative was reform or a revolution.´[274] After much delay, reform was finally committed to. Of the most importance was the passage of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835. With this act local government in Britain had essentially become 'an elected committee of the burgesses or citizens.´[275] For now the ´one body of mayor, aldermen, and councilors was constituted the full municipal governing authority.´[276] According to Shaw this was of great consequence, for the essentials of this structure were to remain the same for both Scotland and England. [277]

Nevertheless, as stated, as important as such matters of historical development and formal structure were to Shaw, even more essential from his point of view was their actual functioning practice. According to Shaw, the essence of the British municipal system comes down to 'investiture of all authority in a council, which has been made directly representative of a burgess body nominally composed of all the householders.´[278] Thus, it is nominally a system in which all qualified male, ratepayers select the local councils. To highlight how this works out in practice, Shaw contrasts the more restricted English municipal electorate with that of the largely universal adult male suffrage of the United States.[279] Shaw cautions against immediate condemnation of the former's practice. For as he highlighted, there was a positive tradeoff gained in the 'political effects' of these limits on the franchise. For it also 'must be borne in mind that the exploitation of the votes of the ignorant, vicious, and indifferent in English cities by demagogues or party agents is so extremely difficult that it does not account for anything at all in election results.´[280] Shaw further added that, while the British franchise in general plainly needed simplification, he could hardly justify moving from a household basis to an individual one. For no constructive basis will be served

[274] Ibid., p. 25
[275] Ibid., p. 27.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid., p. 28.
[278] Ibid., p. 38.
[279] Ibid., p. 45.
[280] Ibid.

by the participation 'of unattached or floating elements of the population.´[281] Thus, one can plainly detect early on in Shaw's work a results oriented emphasis of municipal governance that made him at the very least sympathetic with plainly undemocratic measures.

Another major contrast is in the fact that in Britain the mayor 'confers no important administrative responsibilities.´[282] Whereas, the 'typical American mayor' is not a part of the council, is individually elected and is therefore 'an independent, coordinate authority.´[283] Another aspect of the American system he highlights was the fact that it was difficult 'in practice to apportion duties and responsibilities between an American mayor and the common council.´[284] Thus, it was in the context of this 'divided responsibility' that the 'comparative failure of city government in the United States´ occurred.[285] Thus Shaw returned to the example provided by Britain with its concentration of authority in a single elective town council. For 'Infinitely superior is the English system, by which the people give the entire management of their affairs to a big committee of their own number.'[286] Therefore, one can observe Shaw highlighting two essential contrasts between the UK and US in local governance that favor the former in results. These were the limitations on suffrage and the concentration of authority and administration in one elected body.

In the case of his discussion of France and its municipal system, he prioritizes the practices and experiences of Paris. According to Shaw, the ´distinctively modern city had its birth in the French Revolution', with the case of Paris ever since standing as 'its preeminent type.´[287] It was from the Revolution on that the reconstruction of modern Paris began.[288] According to Shaw 'It is marvelous to note … the transforming energy derived from the

[281] Ibid., p. 46.
[282] Ibid., p. 59.
[283] Ibid., p. 61.
[284] Ibid., p. 62.
[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid., p. 64.
[287] Shaw, A., *Municipal government in continental Europe* (New York, 1895), p. 1.
[288] Ibid., p. 8.

Revolution.´[289] Thus, it became ´the mission of France to teach the world a lesson of order, system and logic, of emancipation and iconoclasm.´[290] Such a commitment did not end with the Revolution. This was really only the initial stage in the longer process of the development of Paris that had continued amidst the tumultuous course France's recent history. The city particularly took a great deal of its modern shape during Napoleon III´s reign with his commission to Baron Haussmann. While there was a slowdown following the Franco-Prussian War, according to Shaw, the 'period since the war with Germany has witnessed a greater fidelity in matters of detail.´[291]

In terms of the governmental municipal structure, it was from the legislation of 1789 that Paris and the other communes of France were given 'fully constituted, autonomous municipal government.´[292] However, from the period of the Directory in 1795 onward more representative emphasis has been sacrificed to the imperatives of centralization and efficiency of administration. With minor alterations, this continued to be the norm until the Third Republic. Yet, essential qualifications to popular rule remained in Paris as it is 'still actively governed, as under Louis Napoleon, by the prefect of the Seine and his colleague, the prefect of police, both of whom are appointed by the general government and are amenable directly to the Minister of the Interior.´[293]Furthermore, Paris has twenty arrondissements, each of which has an officer, a *maire* (mayor), who has three adjuncts. These positions are appointed by Prefect of the Seine and are more concerned routine and administrative issues.[294] The municipal council of Paris itself is made up of the four councilors per arrondissement that in total make up eighty members.

Shaw points out there has been a demand for greater devolution in the choice of prefect/mayor by Parisian autonomists. For Paris was the only French city without its own mayor.[295] Yet, Shaw pointed out that many of the educated

[289] Ibid., p. 4.
[290] Ibid., p. 7.
[291] Ibid., p. 11
[292] Ibid., p.13.
[293] Ibid., p. 15.
[294] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[295] Ibid., p. 18.

and propertied classes actually 'prefer that the general government should keep its strong hand upon the Parisian administration.´ [296] This was apparently due to the fact they distrust the local Parisian officials as being ´radical and socialistic in tendencies.´ [297] Furthermore, Shaw points out that Paris has always, except for the brief intervals of the first and second republics, been administered by the central authorities.´ [298] Therefore, to 'understand aright the municipal system of Paris, one must bear constantly in mind the relationship that the capital city bears to the nation.´ [299]

While, according to Shaw, ´it may be more helpful to look at the Parisian system as that of a ´dual mayoralty´ of the two prefects, this would be an inadequate description of the system. [300] For ´the most essential factor … is not the prefect who wields the executive authority, or the municipal council with its power to control policies.'[301] This instead lies with France's superb civil service.[302] For it is there that one must look they were to 'discover the real unity and continuity of administrative work of the Paris municipality.´ [303] It was via such means that much of the functioning of Paris managed to remain insulated from great deal of the political uncertainties of the era. Thus here Shaw was plainly praising the existence and abilities of France's politically insulated, expert civil service's functional capabilities in the successes of French municipal governance.

In the case of Germany, Shaw emphasized that the country had been something of a late comer in municipal development. Yet, now having finally begun they were going about it 'in a more systematic, thorough, and businesslike way than any other cities, whether in Europe, America, or Australia.´ [304] Formerly, German-speaking central Europe was made up of a

[296] Ibid., pp. 18-19.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid., p. 20.
[299] Ibid., p. 22.
[300] Ibid., p. 24.
[301] Ibid., p. 29.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid., p. 29.
[304] Ibid., p. 289.

variety of sovereignties and states within the Holy Roman Empire, each containing even greater variation in local governance. Then came the French Revolution, the ensuing wars, defeats, and dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire. It was in such a context that the regional power of Prussia responded to its own defeat by France with expansive reforms and a complete overhaul of much of the state. Local governance too played a prominent part in this Prussian Reform Movement. According to Shaw, while there have minor structural changes since then , the municipal constitutions created in 1808 remained largely the same.[305] Similarly, while other parts of the current German empire vary in different ways, they became generally uniform in most essentials.[306]

As Shaw pointed out, the municipalities 'were recognized as ancient units of government, organic entities, … and the right of entire self-government within the sphere of their strictly local and neighborhood concerns.'[307] Each of these were given elective council (*gemeinderath*) and an executive body in the form of a magistracy. The latter was to be composed of a *burgomaster* (mayor) and of an associated group of magistrates. The magistracy itself is chosen by the elected members *gemeinderath.*[308] The Prussian system instituted property qualifications that also came to be commonplace across the unified German state.[309] This took the form of a three-class voting system in which each class with in a district elects a member to the *gemeinderath.*[310] According to Shaw, this body was of essential importance for ´Everything in the life of the *gemeinde* revolves around this one central body.´[311]

Now, as Shaw points out, ´peculiar in a hundred details the German system may be' the municipal system is like the English and the French (excepting Paris) ones 'in the essential fact that the voters elect a

[305] Ibid., p. 305.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid. pp.305-6.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid., p. 307
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid., pp. 308-9.

representative common council' in whose hands lay the 'whole authority that exists in the municipality.'[312] Therefore, in all three there was a concentration of authority into a single body responsible for local affairs. Thus all three obviously contrast heavily with the United States in its distinctive divisions of responsibilities. However, in the German system, unlike the British one, it was in the delegated authority from the council to the burgomaster that the actual execution of policy is centered. For within the German system, the burgomasters were experts in municipal administration and were always surrounded by a magisterial council expert in the essential areas of finance, education, engineering and the like.[313]

Essential to the running of German municipalities, like the French, was its professional civil service. Shaw further asserted the foundational importance of the civil service in Germany by stressing that whatever form local government may take, 'that body will continue to employ experts on the principle of a permanent civil service to carry out its plans.´[314] For however much an American observer ´may deprecate German officialism,' Germans will abandon their reliance on an expert civil service at about the same time that 'American railway corporations cease to seek the best technical and expert talent.´[315] Here Shaw deploys the use of an analogy and terminology that was be quite consistent throughout his work. This was to draw attention to the fact that the equivalent to efficient European practices only existed in the United States in the business sphere. Shaw was then implicitly suggesting that if only the American private business mindset could be directed into its own local governance, then they too could achieve such great success.

Sanitation and Public Health

[312] Ibid., p. 309.
[313] Ibid. p. 313.
[314] Ibid., p. 315.
[315] Ibid., p. 315.

A central preoccupation of Shaw's municipal was on matters of sanitation and public hygiene. These issues are extensively discussed throughout the chapters to a level of detail that made it clear that among municipal governance developments these were of primary importance to him. For example, in discussing the case of Glasgow, Shaw asserted that 'Considerations of the public health have been predominant in determining the most important lines of action entered upon within the last quarter century.'[316] This fact in and of itself was significant to Shaw, for when one was looking for a 'distinct and complete municipal organism, the people of Glasgow may claim not second, but first place among the communities of Great Britain.'[317] Accordingly, based on the very high esteem in which he held Glasgow's municipal governance, he devoted a full and extensive chapter to the city.

As Shaw wrote, Glasgow's 'Sanitary Department is a model of good work and thorough organization.'[318] In terms of their public health, these concerns 'find their true center in the bureau of the medical officer of health´ whose responsibilities include issuing the necessary statistics ´which incite and direct municipal activity, and who gives … authoritative judgement as to general methods and particular cases.'[319] However, while the 'ultimate authority is the medical officer of health, … its executive head is the chief sanitary inspector.' [320] Thus, the department was in 'some sense double-headed.'[321] In their responsibilities, both were of great variety and scope in their responsibilities of inspection and oversight.[322]

According to Shaw one of the greatest of the resulting improvements has been in the condition of the lodging houses.[323] This became necessary because Glasgow contained a density of population 'which is not equaled by

[316] Shaw, *Municipal government in Great Britain*, p. 80.
[317] Ibid., p. 69.
[318] Ibid. p. 81.
[319] Ibid., pp. 80-1.
[320] Ibid. p. 81.
[321] Ibid. p. 81.
[322] Ibid., pp. 82-3.
[323] Ibid., p. 83.

that of any other city except Liverpool.'[324] This fact had produced conditions that could very well require an 'army of sanitary inspectors.' [325] The immense growth population Glasgow in large part derived from an influx of Irish and Highland workers who, in their former rural lifestyles, 'had known nothing of the revelations of cleanliness to health' and whose 'insanitary modes of life, were not a menace to thousands of other people´, as they were now.[326] Here one can note that Shaw's concern with the health of the urban poor seems more preoccupied with the sanitary risks they posed to than with any real sense of empathy for their circumstances.

Shaw then discussed how it had been necessary for the constant inspection of these 'overcrowded tenements' to root 'out cases of infectious disease.'[327] In terms of dealing with actual cases of infectious diseases, the authorities in Glasgow have developed the necessary means 'for the isolation and treatment of infectious disease.'[328] According to Shaw, this became necessary not solely from an humanitarian perspective but also because an epidemic 'also paralyzes trade and industry and causes immense pecuniary loss.'[329] Along such lines he further praised the Glasgow authorities for having 'invested more than a million dollars of capital outlay in municipal hospitals for infectious diseases' and asserted that 'no expenditure could have been more advantageous and profitable.'[330] Thus one can see that for Shaw the economic imperatives of good sanitation and public health were as important as were the strictly humanitarian ones.

Such concerns also informed his discussions on how British towns and cities had made great advances in their supply of water. In order to meet such needs, British municipalities had increasingly turned to municipal ownership in providing water supply. This had occurred because they had 'learned that a

[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid., p. 91.
[326] Ibid., pp. 84-5.
[327] Ibid., p. 85.
[328] Ibid., p. 88.
[329] Ibid., p. 90.
[330] Ibid., p. 91.

public supply is desirable because no private company can find it profitable.'[331] The result of this practice, while costly, has been a gains in 'a wonderful variety of indirect compensating advantages to their respective communities, and considered as public investments, are sound.'[332] Therefore, Shaw here emphasized that the municipal supply of water in Britain had largely accomplished what for him were two ever important priorities municipal governance: successful functioning service and financial security.

Shaw also discussed the interrelated issue of sewage. Here he emphasized that most of 'the large British towns have now executed main drainage-works of a permanent character, and it only remains for those that are still draining into rivers or the sea either to divert the intercepted sewage to irrigation farms, or else to establish works on the Manchester model for artificial precipitation and cleansing.'[333] Shaw throughout his municipal writings was to discuss in great detail and elaboration the dilemmas of filtration and sewage disposal. He actually qualified the amount of this kind of elaboration in the case of London's sewage. Here he stated that since none of the larger American cities as yet have adequately addressed this issue, they 'may yet profit… by the results of London's costly experiments and investigations.'[334] Therefore, Shaw was here making it clear here that his writings of European municipal practice could often serve as well as cautionary examples of misguided practice that to be avoided.

In terms of Germany's approach to matters of sanitation and public health, Shaw discussed how in the case of Berlin water supply, after much research, it ended with the 'result that the Berlin drainage is the most perfect in the world and is unquestionably that city's most notable achievement in municipal housekeeping.'[335] Shaw pointed out that it was considered as 'novel from an American point of view to consider a city's drainage-works as a self-

[331] Ibid., p. 195.
[332] Ibid., pp. 195-6.
[333] Ibid., p. 199.
[334] Ibid., pp. 274-5.
[335] Shaw, *Municipal government in continental Europe*, p.336.

sustaining or productive enterprise.'[336] Yet that was exactly how it was in Berlin. This was accomplished via the means of converting drain waste into usable fertilizer.[337] Such a policy was valuable because in 'a reasonable period the sewage farms will have earned profits enough to pay back all that was invested in them' and, even more, become 'a source of surplus income.'[338] Shaw here was plainly impressed with an innovative policy that turned a sanitation problem into benefit. He was also once again demonstrating the importance of financial imperatives for him in municipal practices.

Shaw discussed similar issues in the very extensive chapter he devoted to Hamburg, a city he regarded as the second city of the empire. This chapter really highlights the foundational importance of sanitation to the greater development of modern municipalities for him. According to Shaw the essential impetus for the Hamburg municipal authorities to take on greater responsibilities stemmed from a cholera epidemic in 1892. Hamburg up until then had been negligently drawing upon contaminated water from the river Elbe. In response to the epidemic Hamburg built a comprehensive filtration system for the city's water supply. In acknowledgement of the amount of attention he gave to the topic, Shaw qualifies that 'I have chosen to do so because it seems to me that this double topic of water-supply and drainage is most truly typical of that varied physical regeneration that cities must undergo in order to be the fit abode of modern communities.'[339]In the case of Hamburg it further served as a springboard for further and more sophisticated forms of municipal policy. This too was another of the central themes of Shaw's accounts of municipal governance, the interconnectivity of municipal responsibilities and that actions taken in one sphere tended to reinforce the reasoning behind doing so in others.

As Shaw pointed out, the initiatives taken on water supply throughout Germany were rooted in concerns about public health. Duly appointed were

[336] Ibid., p. 339.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid., pp. 339-340
[339] Ibid., p. 344.

the appropriate officials responsible for such matters. The importance of this issue of general public health was further demonstrated in Berlin. This could be seen in the appointment of the eminent scientist, anthropologist, and doctor Professor Virchow as member of municipal government. Furthermore, even 'the rank and file of the various sanitary services is full of skilled, highly trained officials.'[340] Thus, for Shaw 'Berlin has no further fear of inability to cope with any hitherto dreaded form of contagious or infectious disease'[341] Thus here Shaw was once again acknowledging the benefits German cities had derived from the abilities of their politically insulated and expert trained 'officialdom.'

Utilities

The issue of water supply plainly had policy implications deeply interrelated to other municipal utilities supply. Much here was familiar to debates regarding gas and electricity utilities. For example, when discussing gas supply in Great Britain, Shaw points that the 'arguments in favor of the public control of gas supplies are certainly not as strong as … the case of water.' [342] This was because gas had more strictly commercial bases and did not involve the same complicated issues of the 'source and nature of the supply' that motivates 'towns to manage their own water supply.'[343] That being the case, Shaw pointed out that as a resource provision of gas was nonetheless particularly essential in Britain. For many 'of the arguments that would apply in America' for municipal ownership 'have a greatly added force in England' due to the essential service it provides, 'for climatic reasons, of artificial light.'[344] For in this part of the world light 'is one of the foremost agencies of civilization.'[345]

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[340] Ibid., p. 363.
[341] Ibid., pp. 362-3.
[342] Shaw, *Municipal government in Great Britain*, p. 199.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid., p. 200.
[345] Ibid.

In the end it was mainly for revenue reasons that cities in England and Scotland decided to enter into the gas supply business. The result according to Shaw was: 'I can only say that it is almost universal testimony … a brilliant success.' [346] For their 'management has been as efficient and economical as that of private companies.'[347]Shaw highlights such tangible examples of successful gas supply ownership throughout. For example, 'Perhaps no other city can point to so long an experience as Manchester's in the public operation of gas-works.'[348] Glasgow too provided a notable success story of a municipally owned gas works. As Shaw asserted here, their municipally owned 'corporation works have reached a point of near perfect financial security.'[349] In making the case for the success of municipal owned gas supply in Britain, Shaw even points to an exception that will prove the rule. For in the case of London, ever his cautionary example, Shaw recounts how a 'series of private gas-companies in like fashion were supplying light, and demonstrating the axiom that competition in gas business always results in more oppressive monopoly.'[350] In making this assertion, Shaw was echoing Ely's earlier arguments against the destructive results of the misguided reliance on competition in monopolistically inclined industries.

Shaw also provided a cautionary example of an attempt to rely on private competition of gas supply in Germany. Here he stated that his intention was to present the example of Frankfurt-on-the-Main for 'the benefit of American cities entertaining the absurd delusion that there can be beneficial competition in the gas business.' [351] For in this city there was chartered a set of rival gas-companies and the result was even higher gas prices than elsewhere Germany.[352] Hence the example of Frankfurt-on-the-Main's gas supply experience plainly contradicted one of the essential benefits thought to accrue from competition, in this case notion that competitive pricing that would

[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Ibid., p. 154.
[349] Ibid., p. 119.
[350] Ibid., p. 264.
[351] Shaw, *Municipal government in continental Europe*, p. 347.
[352] Ibid., p. 347.

benefit the consumers. Shaw acknowledged that Frankfurt-on-the-Main was something of an exception among German cities. For municipal ownership of utilities, like gas and electricity, was the norm there and, as in the U.K., revenues were a large part of the motivation for haven taken them on. The municipal authorities were also typically very reluctant to grant private companies the rights to work under their street surfaces. According to Shaw, throughout Germany, 'Public control of gas- and water-supplies, and of other services requiring pipes, tubes, and wires, has resulted in so orderly and convenient a system of underground conduits that it is deemed wise to allow no private companies to disturb it.'[353] Here, Shaw was again highlighting the tendency of separate municipal responsibilities to reinforce one another due to their interconnected realities.

Shaw did nevertheless acknowledge that there were successful examples of private utilities ownership. The key to this was to abandon the sole reliance on competition and grant only strictly stipulated franchise contracts to companies. As an example, Shaw discussed electrical supply in Berlin. There the system worked on the granting of franchise contracts. Shaw in this case emphasizes how impressive the German municipal authorities were in the study of contracts and their 'first-class legal, financial, and technical ability.' [354] This he compared to the American equivalent of contracts where there one instead was impressed 'with the unlimited astuteness and ability of the gentlemen representing the private corporations.'[355] Therefore, Shaw once again highlighted the fact that the only credible equivalents in American practices really only existed in the business sphere.

Shaw also pointed out that this practice of heavily supervised and regulated private utilities contracting was the norm in France. He discusses how in Paris the gas supply had been reliant on a system of private contracting. This was one in which the different providers over time were consolidated into one supplier. This one provider, in turn, came to be heavily supervised and

[353] Ibid., p. 348.
[354] Ibid., p. 350.
[355] Ibid.

regulated. This was even included a cap on the profit levels; meaning that whatever amounts that continued to accrue beyond a point of profitability were to be diverted back to the civic authorities.[356] This provided another example of the sort of financial benefits that could derive from innovative municipal policy practice that Shaw looked upon very approvingly

Transportation and greater municipal development

Debates about utilities had a great deal of thematic parallels with those of transportation. By the 1890s on both sides of the Atlantic, urban transport and especially street car franchises had become a major topic of interest. Glasgow's example became was considered especially notable. As Daniel T. Rodgers has pointed out 'It was streetcars … that made Glasgow's municipal ambitions world famous.'[357] Shaw was no exception among municipal observers in being impressed. As he stated, of ´all of Glasgow´s municipal experiences, I find nothing so likely to interest city authorities elsewhere as that which relates to street railways.' [358] The Glasgow municipal authorities, having found the private initiatives in streetcar service inadequate, entered into the transport business themselves and 'in every detail it was determined to give Glasgow, under direct municipal operation, the best surface-transit system in Great Britain.'[359] In further praising the initiative, Shaw emphasized that this experiment should be 'observed with the greatest attention and interest by municipal authorities everywhere.'[360] Shaw also discussed the example of streetcars in Birmingham and their system of privately contracted franchise rights. While admittedly not as ambitious as Glasgow measure, Shaw nonetheless praised Birmingham for

[356] Ibid., pp. 45-55.
[357] Rodgers, D.T., *Atlantic crossings*, p. 122.
[358] Shaw, A., *Municipal government in Great Britain*, p. 127.
[359] Ibid., p.132.
[360] Ibid.

protecting, on the one hand, the ´ratepayers so handsomely,' and, on the other, for their attention to the 'guarding of the interests of the traveling public.'[361] For in their contracting, the 'minuteness of the requirements … would amaze an American community.'[362] Therefore, Shaw was acknowledging that, in spite of his preference for municipal ownership, a well-regulated private contract system could succeed when it was appropriately constructed and overseen.

Shaw pointed out that this kind of approach was also very typical of France. For in Paris, as in its other policies in utilities, maintained its own kind of heavily regulated private contracting model. [363] However, in Paris there had been certain factors inhibiting the advance urban transport there in general. One essential factor was that that every 'quarter of the city is at once a business quarter and a residence quarter´ and hence limited the demand for more transport facilities.[364] There was also the additional factor of the 'density of its population and the prevalence of high houses' which 'sufficiently explain the tardiness of this great capital in such matters.'[365] That being said, Shaw acknowledged that the situation was changing with local transit options increasingly developing. For beginning with a franchise for an ominibus line, there eventually developed by 1873 a franchise granted street railway granted to the same company. According to Shaw, the contractual arrangements here were quite similar to those by which the gas utilities in Paris were granted.[366]

In his discussion of Germany, Shaw highlighted how they have dealt with transportation as being an issue that was interconnected with those of street arrangements, accommodation and city extension. According to Shaw, they have 'recognized the significance and the value of the suburban tendency' and 'are now undertaking to control the form of their expansion.´[367] In cities such as Dresden, Munich, Cologne, and Leipzig there has very sizeable growth since

[361] Ibid., p. 192.
[362] Ibid., p. 192.
[363] Shaw, *Municipal government in continental Europe*, p. 79.
[364] Ibid., p. 84.
[365] Ibid., p. 85.
[366] Ibid., p. 86.
[367] Ibid., p. 302.

1870. As this has occurred, it became readily apparent that there was a pressing need for more ordered and controlled city development. Such means were sought to mitigate the problems associated with speculation and negligent building. One innovative method turned to was the annexation of outlying areas. Through such an anticipatory method concerns such as ´the arrangement and width of the new streets,´ the paving, the sewer system, and, in general, ´the character of the building as to materials, height, streeting, and general appearance´ could be best addressed.[368] Here Shaw was plainly demonstrating his proclivities for strictly results oriented and centrally directed policy that has little concern for more formal considerations such as process, rights, or laws.

For Shaw possibly the most sweeping and all-encompassing attempt to tackle such related issues of transport, roads and city development in general was Vienna. Formerly the inner city of Vienna had been a greatly congested and barely reachable from the outside. Surrounding it were a series of peripheral villages that awkwardly skirted the edges of the city. There were also the older inner fortifications that had posed ´a most vexatious and harmful barrier to traffic and intercourse.´[369] The city was also surrounded by a series of walls, moats, and glacis that were greater in size than the whole of the inner city. Such was the context in 1848. Beginning with this daunting context the ´whole community now rose to the height of the great occasion.´[370] The ´walls were to be removed, the moat filled up, and the space thus gained … was to be laid off in streets, building sites, and public gardens … to make intercourse between the … districts as free as possible.´[371] The whole of this development was systematically planned, combining the efforts of both the municipal and imperial authorities. The crowning achievement of this ambitious project was the Ring-Strasse.[372] For Shaw, all told, the development of Vienna over the course of the previous decades had represented a thorough

[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid., p. 419
[370] Ibid., p. 420.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Ibid.

success in the fields of planning, transportation and street design, aesthetics and even sound finances. Thus it embodied much that Shaw plainly prioritized throughout his municipal writings.

Such scope and scale of city development was plainly out of the question for the majority of European cities, not many happened to be imperial capitals after all. Yet this did not mean that responsible and far-sighted long-term planning and investment were out of the question. In this, Shaw highlighted the notable example of Joseph Chamberlain´s mayoralty of Birmingham. Chamberlain had early on engaged in a successful experiment in the purchase of municipal utilities. Having done so, Shaw asserts that Chamberlain engaged in his ´crowning achievement as a municipal statesman.´[373] This was his improvement scheme of compulsory purchase and rebuilding. It involved the forced purchases of properties and followed up by redevelopment. After initial the necessary details were attended to over the course of some years, ´Mr. Chamberlain´s project was adopted with spirit and energy, and with results that have thus far vindicated most strikingly the sagacity of his predictions.'[374] According to Shaw, the 'chief monument of the undertaking is ¨Corporation Street,¨ Birmingham´s finest public thoroughfare and business avenue, splendidly built up with new and solid structures that will become the property of the municipality when the seventy-five-year ground leases expire.´[375] Therefore, albeit on a much more modest scale than Vienna, Chamberlain´s Birmingham demonstrated the possibilities available to municipal governments if far-sighted, decisive and responsible local government took enough initiative in its own affairs. The additional benefits for the local citizenry were self-evident.

In this case study one can observe the central ways in which Albert Shaw wrote

[373] Shaw, *Municipal government in Great Britain*, p. 178.
[374] Ibid., p. 180.
[375] Ibid.

on municipal governance. Shaw wrote in a seemingly dispassionate and impartial style as befit his doctoral training. Yet this scholarly journalistic pose plainly revealed consistent themes, interpretations and arguments throughout his writings on city governance. One can delineate his positions on municipal governance quite clearly. Overall one can see that Shaw´s main concerns throughout his writings were much more function and results oriented than preoccupied with matters of the legal or structural kind. Accordingly, they typically praised such qualities as efficiency, professionalism, and sound business sense. This plainly demonstrated a dislike of divided responsibilities and authority in governance and administration of the kind so indicative of American practices. He too was greatly impressed by the accomplishments of European cities by their expert trained and politically insulated civil service. He often highlighted and praised examples of municipal practice that took account and dealt accordingly with the interconnected nature of many city functions, policies and responsibilities. Shaw´s high estimation of these practices and qualities facilitated his seeming favoring of more elitist methods in municipal practice and thus further informed an implicit indulgence in undemocratic sentiments throughout his writings. The kinds of services and issues he plainly favored throughout, such as effective sanitation policy in housing inspections and development, stressed the imperatives of the broader health and functioning of the cities, rather than an empathy for the plight of those less fortunate city residents. In this Shaw plainly contrasted with Ely´s own stress on empathetic Christian ethics, even if they were themselves to some degree paternalistic and elitist.

Case Study III: Frederic C Howe

This case study will assess Frederic C. Howe's contribution to municipal reform writing. Howe rose to prominence as a municipal reformer in the first decade of the twentieth century. To grasp the motivations and context of this work it is necessary to understand Howe's upbringing, education and professional, reformist, and political experiences. This case study will accordingly provide such context. To do so, first will be discussed the importance of Howe's modest upbringing in Meadville, Pennsylvania. This will be followed by discussion of the foundational importance of his experiences at Johns Hopkins University in pursuit of a doctorate. These experiences instilled in Howe a reformist zeal and desire to be of greater service to society.

The next section will then discuss Howe's reformist, professional and political work following the completion of his doctorate in 1892. Over the course of the following several years Howe was try his hand at journalism, attend law school, and eventually settle into a law career after moving to Cleveland, Ohio in 1896. Throughout this period, he also took part in such reformist causes as a vigilance league, settlement house movement and municipal association. Howe was to then enter into politics in 1901 when he was elected to the Cleveland City Council. It was then that Howe came under the influence of reforming mayor Tom Johnson and the single tax philosophy of Henry George. These experiences, very often disillusioning, were all to be formative for Howe's ideas on and approach to municipal reform.

Following this experience in local government, Howe was to devote much of the decade between 1905 and 1915 to the popularization of city and municipal reform, with a specific eye on European precedents. In that time Howe produced five books and several articles devoted to this effort. Howe most notably pursued his advocacy of municipal reform in such works as *The city: the hope of democracy* (1905), *The British city: the beginnings of*

democracy (1907), and *European cities at work* (1913). Hence these works will be the focus of the third and final section of this case study.

Early life and education

Frederic C. Howe was born on November 21, 1867 in Meadville, Pennsylvania. His parents were Andrew Jackson and Jane Clemson Howe. As Frederic stated himself, did not descend from any prestigious American lineage.[376] Howe's father Andrew had come to Meadville as a young man, eventually meeting and marring Jane. Andrew settled into a livelihood made from the running of a modest furniture store run.[377] Frederic was the only boy among girls. As Howe later described Meadville, it 'was a comfortable little world, Republican in politics, careful in conduct, Methodist in religion.'[378] According to Howe religion had little hold on him; it was little more than a 'matter of attending church, of listening to long and tedious sermons, of irritable, empty Sunday afternoons, church sociable, and Wednesday-evening prayer-meetings.'[379] In spite of his father being on the church's board of trustees, his family had little involvement or interest in the sectarian controversies between the Methodists and Presbyterians. In spite of their membership to the Methodist church, Howe notes how 'my mother had a gentle Quaker tolerance and kindliness and my father a quiet broadmindedness which was unusual in the community.'[380] The Howe children were free to attend church or not, as they chose. Fred nevertheless spoke of finding a general 'Methodist espionage of conduct' stifling.[381]

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[376] Howe, F.C., *The confessions of the reformer* (New York, 1925), p. 9.
[377] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[378] Ibid., p. 10.
[379] Ibid., p. 10.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid., p. 11.

Howe fondly recalled the sorts of opportunities for escape he experienced in his childhood. Of how occasionally over dinner, his dad would enter into unspoken compact with him to attend the theatre later in the evening. In spite of their supposed discretion they would typically view the performances from the seats in the top gallery. Andrew's minor examples of defiance against the general atmosphere of conformity in Meadville likely influenced a modestly rebellious tendency in Fred. Howe later recounted of how he at the time 'rebelled against espionage, hated it, chafed under it' and sought ways of escape.'[382] One of the means by which he did so was by playing with a group of Irish boys who lived in shacks along the Erie canal, with whom he was forbidden to associate with. Howe and these boys would seek adventure along the banks of this water, the prospect of journeying as far as Pittsburgh by the canal and the Allegheny always beckoning and stimulating the imagination.[383] Another of Howe's places of refuge and escape was the public library.[384] This fondness for the printed word translated into a more encompassing interest in the world of print itself. Howe describes how he often sought escape in the local printing office of the Meadville *Democrat*. Here he made friends with the pressmen and printers and was allowed to toy with the ink and typesetting. Sometimes when his family could not locate him, his father would discover him asleep at the back of the presses.[385]

In terms of education, Howe and his sisters attended the nearby Allegheny College. They did so, as he later stated, 'not because we had any love of learning but because it was the proper thing to do.'[386] Allegheny itself was 'thoroughly sectarian', with many of the professors being either ministers or missionaries and were often not greatly knowledgeable about their taught subjects. Howe skipped classes here often; as apparently did many of his fellow classmates. They got on, as Howe later described, by

[382] Ibid., p. 12.
[383] Ibid., p. 12.
[384] Ibid., p. 13.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Ibid., p. 15.

creating activities of their own. In his case it was journalism and he accordingly devoted himself to the college weekly paper.[387]

Howe got through college, but apparently just barely.[388] As he later stated the 'five years at college had been very nearly barren for me. The inflexible pattern of American collegiate life left almost no impress on my mind. It had neither variety nor inspiration; it stimulated neither revery nor inquiry.'[389] In this statement, Howe was echoing the feelings of other Gilded Age attendees of American colleges. During the summer months of his college years, Howe had taken up work in his father's factory. None of the work piqued his interest and he was easily distracted. By the time of his junior year, Howe had begun a job as a night-clerk in a hotel at Chautauqua Lake. He appreciated the experience of being away from his home town. [390] Most significant and serendipitous for Howe at Chautauqua though was a set of lectures he attended on political economy by Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins University. As he later stated, they 'made me want to know more about the big world outside of my little home town.'[391] It was there that Fred also met John H. Finley. As a student of Johns Hopkins and editor of *The Chautauquan*, Finley too made an impression upon him. According to Howe, Finley:

> 'was doing what I most wanted to do. He was writing for a newspaper. And I found that I had a definite ambition. I would become an editorial writer on a city newspaper. In order to be that I felt that I should know something about economics, history, politics. Apparently Johns Hopkins was the place where one should study these things. Therefore I would go to Johns Hopkins.[392]

This passage points to a similarity of purpose that Howe shared with Shaw; a desire for knowledge of topics of contemporary relevance, more focused

[387] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[388] Ibid., p. 19.
[389] Ibid., p. 19.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid., p. 20.
[392] Ibid.

scholarship and a vocational orientation toward journalism. Howe here also highlighted the draw of Johns Hopkins as an institution distinct in America for its emphasis on research. Hence, equipped with the modest savings he had accumulated working in the meantime, Fred enrolled at Johns Hopkins to pursue a PhD.

In the fall of 1889 Howe arrived in Baltimore to begin his PhD at Johns Hopkins. The foundational importance of the experience he was to have here can maybe best be observed in the fact that Howe was to later open his autobiography by stating that his life only truly began with his admission to Johns Hopkins. Here Howe wrote of it how it was 'Under the influence of Richard T. Ely, Albert Shaw, James Bryce, I came alive. I felt a sense of responsibility to the world. I wanted to change things … My mind found new authorities. They were intellectual rather than personal.'[393]

Initially, however, Howe found the experience of the university disorientating. In contrast to his earlier experiences of a more rigid and strictly routinized college, Johns Hopkins surprised Howe by leaving him 'to be cast on my own resources; to be permitted to come and go as I willed. Informal methods of study without recitation were new, and I was badly prepared for study.'[394] Howe eventually did settle into a more comfortable routine once he picked up some intermittent newspaper work contributing articles to Baltimore and Pittsburgh papers.[395] Howe's desire as ever remained to pursue journalism.

Howe never did excel in his scholarly pursuits. As he later described: 'I worked hard and read diligently what was assigned, but it was a good deal of a grind. Neither history, economics, nor jurisprudence gave me half the thrill that came from an assignment to write up a football game for one of the Baltimore papers.'[396] His results accorded with his lack of enthusiasm and were merely satisfactory. Nonetheless, Howe was well liked by his professors

[393] Ibid., p. 1.
[394] Ibid., p. 23.
[395] Ibid., pp. 23-4.
[396] Ibid., p. 26.

and they were to form a valuable support network for him in future years, much as they did for Shaw.[397] In fact, more than any of the subjects in particular, it was the individuals that Howe met at Johns Hopkins that were greatly important to him; both in their personalities and their examples. This applied just as well to his fellow students as well as to his lecturers. As he was to later describe: 'As I became adjusted to university life I found a companionship such as I had never known. We read widely in history and political science under the direction from our instructors. We worked together at night in our department and met in the fraternity houses on Saturday evenings.[398] Some figures in particular made great impressions upon him. This very much included Richard T. Ely and Albert Shaw. In the case of the former, as Howe said himself, 'From Professor Richard T. Ely I learned that the industrial system was not what I had assumed it to be in Meadville.'[399] Ely, with his brand of historical economics, significantly influenced Howe in breaking with much of the received truths of classical political economy. Howe responded well to Ely's more contemporaneous and empirical approach to economics. It was under his direction that Howe was to work on a thesis on the history of the American internal revenue system.[400]

In the case of Albert Shaw, according to Howe, he 'stirred my imagination as none of the other lecturers. He lectured on municipal administration and painted pictures of cities that I could visualize – cities that I wanted to take part in in America.'[401] Howe also described how he was to eagerly read Shaw's two books on European municipal governance. Also significant about the example of Shaw for Howe at the time, according to the latter's biographer Kenneth E. Miller, was the fact that 'Shaw seemed to epitomize the scholar in journalism.'[402] Additionally, clearly in great part due to the influence of such a Europhile faculty, Howe and fellow student Westel

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[397] Miller, K.E., *From progressive to New Dealer: Frederic C. Howe and American Liberalism* (University Park, 2010) p. 28.
[398] Howe, *The confessions of the reformer*, p. 30.
[399] Ibid., p. 1.
[400] Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer*, p. 22.
[401] Howe, *The confessions of the reformer*, p. 5.
[402] Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer*, p. 24

Willoughby decided to take a trip to Europe for the good part of the spring and summer of 1891.[403] They went to England, Germany, and Switzerland; also attending lectures in Berlin on history and political science.[404]

Howe was to complete his PhD at Johns Hopkins on June 14, 1892.[405] As he looked back on the experience, Howe described how 'In the nineties at Johns Hopkins I had the good fortune to be born into the world of thought,'[406] Howe further described how the experience 'freed me from many small-town limitations. It gave me new authorities, but they were still authorities outside of myself … I accepted these new authorities as quite natural.'[407] Johns Hopkins caused him to imbibe what he would later describe as a 'priesthood of service.'[408] He had witnessed this among his colleagues there, for 'Walter Page, Albert Shaw, John Finley were carrying on the Hopkins tradition in journalism – why should not I?'[409] Such was the frame of mind Howe had when he sought to pursue a career in journalism.

A Professional, Reform, and Political Education

Having finished his formal education, Howe was to spend the remainder of the decade experiencing what amounted to a representative cross-section of professional and political causes that came to be eventually identified as indicative of the Progressive Era. Much of these experiences were to challenge not only the attitudes and beliefs of his upbringing, but also those that he had imbibed during his doctorate at Johns Hopkins. The first of which was Howe's move to New York to pursue a career in journalism in 1892. Howe

[403] Ibid., p. 27.
[404] Howe, *The confessions of the reformer*, p. 32.
[405] Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer*, p. p.27.
[406] Howe, *The confessions of the reformer*, p. 33.
[407] Ibid., p. 33.
[408] Ibid., p. 41.
[409] Ibid.

initially assumed that the qualification of his doctorate would guarantee him a job at a respectable New York paper. Yet Howe could not find work at any paper. He was to come to the uncomfortable conclusion that, unlike the example of a journalist like Shaw, his doctorate came to be more a liability than a help. For unlike Shaw, who for all of his example as a scholar/journalist, Howe lacked his extensive and diverse firsthand experience newspaper work.

Thoroughly demoralized, Howe sought what he determined to be the greater security of the law. In doing so, Howe later stated, he did violence to himself, for he was pursuing a vocational route in which he had no natural feeling.[410] He rationalized this decision by highlighting that 'It opened doors to politics. Through it, too, I could get into reform work, for the lawyer speaks with authority and can devote himself to outside matters without injury to his profession.'[411] Accordingly, Howe entered the New York Law School. Howe struggled on through his law studies. His remaining desire to be of service motivated him at the time to also join his first reformist organization. Howe joined morals reformer Doctor Charles Parkhurst's Vigilance League. As Howe later described, this 'organization had agents, mostly unpaid, whose business it was to watch the saloons, to report on violations.'[412] Howe within his new role as captain of the Greenwich Village district, sought to help enforce often ignored saloon laws. Yet by this time Howe was already familiar with many of the saloons in his district due to their being sources of decent heating and affordable food and drink. His interactions with many of the barmen and locals had already given him doubt as to the merits of the moral crusade. Howe was to later write of a barman who compellingly argued that it was the laws and regulations themselves that actually forced saloon operators into more illicit means of doing business. These arguments eroded what remaining of his enthusiasm

[410] Ibid., p. 48.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid., p. 50.

for the work. As he was to later write that 'We are not on the level in our moral crusades; worse still, of their hidden effects we are crudely ignorant.'[413]

After leaving the Vigilance League, Howe also had to abandon his New York law studies, when the minimum time of completion was extended. He then had to return to his home town and get by working in his uncle's law office. Howe eventually heard of a job in Pittsburgh as secretary of the Pennsylvania Tax Conference. This he secured and then enrolled to take the bar examination there. Howe was to find both the job and Pittsburgh not to his liking. Having completed the bar, Howe decided to try his chances in Cleveland.

As Howe later described it: 'the first weeks in Cleveland were discouraging. I went from one lawyer's office to another, seeking employment, but without success.'[414] Eventually, by basically volunteering his services, Howe gained a foothold with the firm of Garfield & Garfield, itself named for the sons of the former president. From here he worked his way into a more secure place in the firm.[415] Yet, he still continued to dislike the practice of law. As he later described, 'I had tasted something at Johns Hopkins that made business commonplace.'[416] Howe remained devoted to a notion of service. Therefore, when an opportunity presented itself for him to join the local Cleveland social settlement house, he did so without hesitation.[417]

The social settlement house movement had first emerged with Toynbee Hall in London and from there had successfully spread throughout England and the United States in yet another significant example of the transatlantic nature of reform movements at the time. The social settlement houses were effectively community centers created to address the difficulties of urban life for the poor and immigrant communities.[418] Yet for Fred once

[413] Ibid., p. 55.
[414] Ibid., p. 74.
[415] Ibid., pp. 73-74.
[416] Ibid., p. 75.
[417] Ibid.
[418] Diner, S.J., *A very different age: Americans of the Progressive era* (New York, 1998) pp. 20-4.

again the actual experience of this reform movement was disillusioning. For as he later described 'My activities at the settlement, as I recall them, were anything but fruitful.'[419] He found his efforts at teaching largely out of place. Howe himself became one of the trustees of the Charity Organization Society. This society attempted to put charity on a more efficient, equitable and effective footing. Howe gave little thought to its actual efficacy until he had received a letter from a doctor that lambasted the activities of the society. As Howe later observed 'I could not forget his suggestion that organized charity was designed to get the poor out of sight, and that there would be no need of charity if the men who supported the society paid better wages and protected the workers by safety devices in the mills.'[420] Overall, this experience convinced him that most of the activities there were hypocritical and counterproductive.

Here once again one can observe Howe initially subjecting himself to a reformist cause with enthusiasm, then becoming disillusioned with its actual results, and eventually abandoning it. However, it should be cautioned that in this case, according to biographer Kenneth Miller, 'It appears that his autobiography mixes up chronology and events and overdramatizes his break with charity organizations and social settlements.'[421] Be that as it may, it was clear that his experiences with the more potentially patronizing kinds of reform activities, from experiences the Vigilance League to Charity Organization Society, did not satisfy Howe's sense of service.

In the meantime, Howe continued to devote himself to his work at the law firm with more than adequate professional success and was eventually made partner. In the fall of 1896, Howe joined Harry Garfield and other local notables in the formation of the Municipal Association. This organization was devoted to exposing the corruption in local city government. Howe was to serve as the association's secretary for a year, become a member of its

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[419] Howe, F.C., *The confessions of the reformer.*, p. 76.
[420] Ibid., p. 79.
[421] Miller, K.E., *From progressive to New Dealer*, p. 55.

Committee of Fifty between 1896 and 1899 and serve on its executive committee between 1897 and 1900.

In January 1901 a group of constituents encouraged Howe to run for city council on the Republican ticket.[422] This was a fortuitous time to enter politics for a man passionately convinced of the imperatives city reform to enter politics. For this was the year that Tom Johnson entered politics. Johnson's entry into politics coincided with the rise of reforming mayors such as Brad Whitlock of Toledo, Mark Fagan of Jersey City, and Carter Harrison of Chicago. Johnson's tenure as mayor between 1901 and 1909 was as significant a one as can be observed of an energetic and dynamic reforming mayor during the Progressive Era. Johnson was a Democrat who, according to then rising muckraker journalist Lincoln Steffens, betrayed his background as a treetcar company owner by running his administration like 'a captain of industry.'[423] However, his business style of administration achieved results. Johnson reformed the police, the water department, and increased the civil service. He adjusted the tax system so that corporations took on a greater portion of the burden. Also significant were his actions towards improving the city's sanitation and the building of parks.[424]

It was also not solely in the cities that this high tide of Progressive reformism could be witnessed. Noteworthy as well were the initiatives taken at many of the state levels. New measures such as the primary elections, anticorruption laws, limits on campaign expenditure, improved voter registration procedure, the short ballot, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall of elected officials were introduced. There was the emergence of such reforming governors like Charles Evans Hughes of New York, Albert B. Cummings of Iowa, Hiram Johnson of California, Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and future president, Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.[425] At the national level, unequivocally the most notable rise of a politician at the time was Theodore Roosevelt's ascendance to the presidency following the

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[422] Ibid., p. 61.
[423] Steffens, L., *The autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, (New York, 1965), p. 329.
[424] Diner, *A very different age* p. 207-8.
[425] Ibid

assassination of William McKinley. Roosevelt's presidency captured the imagination of most progressive reform-minded individuals.

This all lay in the coming years. For the time being, Johnson made quite an immediate impression on Howe through his speeches during the election. As he later described, 'the riddle of Tom Johnson remained.'[426] Fred's curiosity won out in the end and he decided to meet him in person. During the meeting Johnson apparently recounted the story of his abandonment of his street car business, his adoption of the Henry George single tax philosophy and his conviction, as Howe later recounted, that 'The place to begin is the city. If one city should adopt the single tax, other cities would have to follow suit.'[427] This accounted for Johnson's ambitions of becoming mayor of Cleveland. Howe became convinced of Johnson's sincerity and pledged to support him, in spite of their being in different parties.[428]

Both Howe and Johnson were able to win their elections handily. When the new city council met there was a slim Republican majority but Howe and a William J. Springborn threw their support behind Democrat mayor Johnson and upset that balance on the council.[429] The first initiative taken was on the railway franchise. As councilman, Howe introduced a bill with Johnson's support for a three-cent fare on December 9, 1901. The franchise was to be granted for twenty years with the city gaining the right to purchase at the time that Ohio law consented.[430] A struggle then ensued that was well beyond what Howe had anticipated. As he came to better appreciate, the interests of the railway franchise were connected to very powerful ones; the most significant of which was that of Senator Mark Hanna. Like Johnson, Hanna was a former street railway magnate. He had then become an Ohio Senator who, among informed circles, was attributed with the rise of William McKinley to the presidency. Thus, in the person of Hanna was embodied all the influence, corruption and power that interconnected the city of

[426] Howe, *The confessions of the reformer*, p. 93.
[427] Ibid., p. 97.
[428] Ibid., pp. 95-99.
[429] Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer.*, p. 70.
[430] Ibid., p. 71.

Cleveland, the state of Ohio and the national government itself. Hanna and his allies were able to exploit all the complexities of city, state, federal, and the courts for their benefit in a variety of spheres that significantly included railways interests. Therefore Johnson, Howe, and their supporters had a serious uphill battle against them.[431] They were to continue their struggle for control of the street railway system over the years to come with really only modest gains at best in this realm.

Another very enlightening experience for Howe at the time occurred when a natural gas ordinance proposal before the council ended up exposing a local bribery and corruption scandal. Upon its exposure, Howe spontaneously got up before the rest of the council and made a sweeping denunciation of the participants and the practice in general. However, upon leaving the council chambers, Howe was confronted by some of those he had just denounced, who revealed to him that they were a part of the interests who had approached him to run for the council in the first place. Howe was shocked by the fact it was they who felt betrayed by him for breaking an apparently unspoken agreement. They had assumed his occupation as a corporation lawyer would have guaranteed his quiet consent for their practices.[432] This was indicative of the ways in which Howe's actions on the council also began to take a toll on his personal life and lead to complications between him and his many friends and associates, who felt that their bottom lines were being threatened by his reform pursuits. As he later claimed, Howe became 'conscious of increasing social alienation.'[433]

Following these experiences on the council, Howe decided to stand for reelection as an independent, assuming that his apparent local approval would carry him to victory. However, the other private utility interests, having been once burnt by him, put all their weight behind his defeat and Fred accordingly lost.[434] To continue to avail of his support, Mayor Johnson

[431] Ibid., p. 70.
[432] Ibid., p. 72.
[433] Ibid., p. 108.
[434] Ibid., p. 76.

appointed Howe to the Board of Sinking Fund Trusts. Howe thus became increasingly associated with Johnson's so-called brain trust.[435] Following this, Johnson also in the September 1905 county Democratic convention, crucially helped Howe secure the nomination and ascent to one of the state senate seats for Cuyahoga County.[436]

City Reform Writer

Howe was able to maintain a remarkable written output throughout this time. This was especially impressive when one considers that throughout this time he was also a full time politician and part time lawyer.[437] Initially his writings were mostly scholarly work that was directed toward fellow lawyers, tax experts, and other professionals. Howe eventually began to turn his attention toward appealing to more general audiences from about 1900 onwards. Over the course of the next four years Howe published articles in major periodicals such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Harper's Weekly*.[438] Then in 1904, Howe proposed to the editors of the *Century Monthly* an idea for a series of articles devoted to the city. As he wrote to them, his intention was to 'attempt to portray the city as the center of the New Twentieth Century civilization.'[439] In contrast to many other writings on cities at the time, Fred sought to portray the modern city as an opportunity. The editors chose not to publish his proposed articles. Instead the publishing house of Charles Scribner's Sons became interested into turning this proposal into a book. The result was the publication in 1905 of *The city: the*

[435] Ibid.
[436] Ibid., p. 122.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Ibid., p. 104.
[439] Howe, F. quoted from Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer*, p. 104.

hope of democracy, the book that launched Frederic Howe as a public figure in Progressive Era reform circles and thought.[440]

Howe began his book by refuting many of the reasons typically given for the woeful conditions of cities throughout the country. These claims asserted usually fell within one of five different factors: that the 'origins may be traced to the spoils system, the party machine, the saloon, the foreign voter, and faulty charter provisions.'[441] Howe rejected these as being too narrow, personal, moralistic and inadequate. The dilemmas of modern cities were rooted in much broader, more structural and deeply systemic causes. For the 'evil is not only personal - it is industrial and economic´.[442] Howe also set out to counter the complacently accepted negative views of the urban environment. As he categorically stated, ´The city is the hope of the future.´[443]

For Howe that was why it was essential to recognize that it was not too much democracy that was at the root of the deplorable situation in many American cities. For, in fact 'we have too little.´[444] For it was to ´the city, we are to look for a rebirth of democracy, a democracy that will possess the instincts of the past along with a belief in the power of co-operative effort to relieve the costs which life entails.´[445] Therefore, here Howe was asserting that democracy should be thought of as an essential part of the solution to, rather than the cause of, the modern problems of cities.

Howe also adamantly rejected the notion that the problem solely lay with the law, for 'more than the legal framework is at fault.´[446] Experience had shown that 'we have wrought out the most admirable laws and then left the government to run itself.´[447] This has been the great mistake. For sole reliance on *de jure*, legal remedies will not solve the underlying sources of

[440] Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer*, p. 104.
[441] Howe, F., *The city: the hope of democracy* (Seattle, 1967), p. 1.
[442] Ibid., p. 2.
[443] Ibid., p. 7.
[444] Ibid., p. 2.
[445] Ibid., p. 7.
[446] Ibid., p. 2.
[447] Ibid., p. 177.

these problems; the source was more structural in nature. According to Howe, the real root of all the ills lay in the corrupting influence of privilege. He asserted that it was ´By privilege, democracy has been drugged.´[448] This privilege was most grossly located in the presence of monopoly. And, in the urban context, the presence of monopoly was most insidiously located in the franchise corporations. Further deplorable about this to Howe was the fact that the city received little to nothing in exchange for these grants. For this was ´but the price that the city is paying to privilege´ and it was 'that all our cities are paying to those who have requited this gift by overturning our institutions.´[449] Therefore, like Ely, Howe placed the presence of monopoly in the modern city at the center of his municipal writings.

Even more consequential and ultimately corrosive for Howe, was the fact that monopoly privilege was ´the contest for the possession of these privileges that breeds corruption and lures the unfit into politics.´[450] For this was at the very root of the corruption in local government. According to Howe it was this combination of business, franchises and privileges 'that has overturned our cities and brought shame to their citizens.´[451] Therefore the result of this influence of business on politics leads one to the only logical remedy. That is that ´Improvement will only come when such opportunities are removed´.[452] Therefore the only thorough means of doing so for Howe was by municipal ownership of these franchises.

Howe did pause to acknowledge that some recommended the more intermediate measure of better regulated private franchise contracting. Yet to this suggestion he responded that ´uniform experience … has demonstrated … these creatures of the law have become greater and more powerful than … the state.´[453] Accordingly, it really only in the end amounted to even greater domination of government by big business. This kind of measure only in the end confused the boundaries between the government

[448] Ibid., p. 5.
[449] Ibid., p. 66.
[450] Ibid., p. 70.
[451] Ibid., p. 73.
[452] Ibid., p. 114.
[453] Ibid., p. 115.

and business; and most often only to the benefit of the latter. According to Howe, this result was inevitable for the ´System is at work three hundred and sixty-five days in the year´ while the ´citizen arouses himself but once.´[454] Therefore, unlike Shaw and Ely, Howe did not entertain the idea of a private regulatory franchise model whatsoever. Howe's experiences in local government had plainly convinced him of its futility as a measure. Throughout his city writings Howe was unequivocal on matters of monopoly and franchise: the only measure worth considering was municipal ownership.

Howe advocated municipal ownership not strictly on the basis of coldly utilitarian imperatives. For one advantage of municipal ownership of such franchises and utilities was ´that it converts every citizen into an effective critic.´[455] Furthermore, ´municipal ownership will create a public sense, a social conscience, a belief in the city and an interest in it.´[456] Thus here, Howe emphasized the fundamental importance that a greater identification between the functions of the city and its citizens that municipalization of services and resources will instill. For ´An enlarged public spirit will only come with enlarged public activity.'[457] Throughout his city writings Howe emphasized the importance of such intangible qualities of greater identification with the city, in terms such as city sense and public spirit, that were to be gained through greater effectiveness and municipalization of city services and functions.

Given Howe's actual experience in the law and local government, he would have been remiss had he not acknowledged the legal obstructions to such policy measures. For instance, the establishment of municipal control of a local franchise would have required an alteration in the legal relationship between the city and state in question. According to Howe, this current situation had resulted, to a large degree, from the earlier ´removal of the control of local affairs from the city to the state.´[458] However, according to Howe, as of late this had begun to change with 'a countermovement for

[454] Ibid., p. 118.
[455] Ibid., p. 123.
[456] Ibid., p. 123.
[457] Ibid., p. 124.
[458] Ibid., p. 159.

decentralization.´[459] Home rule for the cities had become an increasingly disireable remedy. Such a measure, in turn, would lead to local government that was more ´responsible, as well as responsive, to the immediate community which it serves.´[460] This ´programme of municipal home rule contemplates that the city shall be as free from the state as the state is free from the nation at large.´[461] From here Howe extrapolated even further from this hypothetical development. He argued that this growth could give rise to an even more audacious and all-encompassing vision of how ´Home rule would create a city republic, a new sort of sovereignty, a republic like unto those of Athens, Rome, and the mediaeval Italian cities´[462] Howe would throughout his municipal writings demonstrate this proclivity for rather extravagant extrapolation from individual and specific developments.

Howe also argued for more concentration of authority within such home rule. 'Experience has shown,' according to Howe, ´a single executive of large powers, elected directly by the people, is more suited to our present needs than an executive commission.´[463] He emphasized the desirability of a strong mayoral system, with strong powers of appointment, less elected officers and a weaker council. Therefore, while he did argue for greater democracy, Howe, like Shaw, also advocated more concentrated executive authority in a local government, albeit an elected one. With such powers of autonomy gained, the cities could then tackle issues of even greater structural import.

Familiar to all at the time were the conditions of urban poor in housing and the slums. According to Howe, the 'housing problem is a city problem.'[464] This city problem, in turn, was a land problem. For, the housing problem 'makes its appearance as soon a land becomes sufficiently valuable to force an economy in space.'[465] Howe was stressing the point that the fundamental dilemma of the housing problem stemmed from the source of

[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid., p. 160
[461] Ibid., p. 160
[462] Ibid., p. 164.
[463] Ibid., p. 180
[464] Ibid., p. 191.
[465] Ibid., p. 191.

land valuation. According to Howe, the remedy for the problems of housing, slums and land in cities was, in actual fact, quite straightforward: taxation of all land values. In emphasizing this measure as an essential remedy to many of the modern ills, Howe was demonstrating the influence of Henry George's single tax philosophy upon his reformist ideas. [466] The importance of the Georgist single tax to Howe began, as alluded to earlier, under the influence of Mayor Tom Johnson.

In advocating George's single tax remedy, Howe argued for a measure that he felt could fundamentally address the imperatives of urban life. For he emphasized that Americans needed to recognize that the city itself was 'a wealth-producer' and 'built upon a treasure'[467] That city revenue renewed itself almost naturally solely from the land upon which it was situated upon. That 'Its growth is more rapid than the growth of the city's necessities. It is as constant as the laws of nature.'[468] For this 'treasure is the constantly increasing value of urban land through the growth of the city.'[469] Howe optimistically predicted that many other benefits would accrue from this one foundational measure of taxing land values. For if this revenue stream were

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[466] Published in 1879, Henry George's *Progress and Poverty: an inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with increase of wealth: the remedy* was one of the most well-known and debated analyses of the Gilded Age's tumultuous social and economic conditions. By the 1880s it had become the largest selling book on political economy in the United States. Largely neglected in much of the more recent scholarship of the Progressive Era, the single tax philosophy was quite an influential reformist measure among a good deal of well-known progressives at the time such as Amos Pinchot, Lincoln Steffens, Brand Whitlock, Ben Lindsay, Louis Post, and Bolton Hall. (See O'Donnell, E., *Henry George and the crisis of inequality: progress and poverty in the Gilded Age*, (New York, 2015)).

According to George, the conditions of greater poverty in the midst of greater wealth emerged due to a misallocation in distribution. To demonstrate how this occurred, George separated production into three elements: land, labor, and capital. For George, land was of a different nature than the other two due to the fact that it was of a limited and nonrenewable nature. For unlike labor or capital, land was not fundamentally a creation of man. Control of this limited resource in the midst of intensified industrialization only further concentrated wealth through raises in land values and rents. This amounted to nothing less than land monopoly. George further argued that this kind of profit produced an unproductive accumulation. It was entirely socially constructed and, thus, in George's words an 'unearned increment.' George proposed that private ownership of land continue in name but that it could no longer extract profits from that sole fact as rent. These profits would be completely extracted as taxation; with all other forms of which abolished (See O'Donnell, *Henry George and the crisis of inequality*, pp. 46-52). As George wrote, 'We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. *It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate the rent.'* (See George, H., *Progress and poverty: An enquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and increase of want with increase of wealth; the remedy* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 364).

[467] Howe, *The city*, p. 249.
[468] Ibid., p. 250.
[469] Ibid., p. 250.

properly tapped, Howe argued, then cities could finally develop in much broader and more holistic ways. Thus for Howe to truly free the cities to reach their full potential the 'remedy was Henry George's: tax land values to capture the "unearned increment."'[470]

In sum, one can observe in *The City* the central aspects of Howe's municipal reformism: the centrality deeper structural sources of issues beyond simply legal ones, the centrality of monopolies and the need for their municipalisation, the need for greater democracy, greater centralization of authority in municipal government, and the centrality of land and need for the single tax of land values.

Following the great success of *The city,* Howe then turned to Europe for further inspiration in his advocacy of greater urban reform. Howe thus looked to the broader transatlantic world for tangible examples of the practices and policies he advocated. Howe did so by first turning to British city governance. He first researched and published a report for the Bureau of Labor entitled 'Municipal Ownership in Great Britain' in 1906. Howe then followed up this report with articles on British cities based on this material and more. He then further developed and adjusted this written work into a book that would function as a natural follow up to *The city.* This book was published in 1907 as *The British city: the beginnings of democracy.*[471]

Howe opens the book by stating that in Great Britain, 'Unconsciously the city has become a commanding political agency.'[472] This development was indicative of 'Briton's boast that he cares nothing for political abstraction … and advances from point to point with his hand ever resting on the past.'[473] In Britain, Howe asserted, its 'organization is simple, direct, democratic … Town Councils are responsible and responsive.'[474] For the powers of local governance there were concentrated in the form of the town councils.[475]

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[470] Ibid., p. 109.
[471] Miller, *From progressive to New Dealer*, pp. 115.
[472] Howe, F., *The British city: the beginnings of democracy* (New York, 1907), p. 6.
[473] Ibid., p. 19.
[474] Ibid., p. x.
[475] Ibid., p. 24.

There was none of the division between councils, mayors or commissions that Americans were accustomed to. In terms of British mayors, they were chosen by the council and had little stipulated powers.[476] Thus 'The actual administrative work of the city is performed by the Town Council.'[477] This they performed through their committees.[478] Thus British local government contained the sort of concentrated authority that Howe advocated, albeit here in the form of their town councils instead of the mayoralty.

One of the striking virtues of city government in Great Britain for Howe was its honesty. As he stated 'the British city is free from corruption.'[479] Yet this was for reasons other than the legal framework of government.[480] For one thing, in terms of managers, their 'aim is to find the man for the place, rather than to make a place for a man.'[481] Yet even given this imperative, in Britain there remained no actual civil service laws. Rather, according to Howe, 'Merit is enforced by public opinion.'[482] Also aiding this was the fact that officials in Great Britain carry greater respect and status than in the United States. The benefit of this was the 'sense of permanence in city work, as well as the better pay … has given dignity to municipal employment.' Thus there was established a great deal of '*esprit de corps*' among city officials.[483] Further beneficial was the fact that 'politics do not determine the question of the choice of a man.' [484] Instead, theirs was a merits based system.[485] This could also be seen as a benefit of having less directly elected officials in local government.[486] Thus here one can see aspects supporting Howe's arguments for greater concentration of authority with local municipalities, as well as the

[476] Ibid., p. 26.
[477] Ibid., p. 27.
[478] Ibid.
[479] Ibid., p. x.
[480] Ibid., p. 30.
[481] Ibid., p. 31.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.
[484] Ibid.
[485] Ibid.
[486] Ibid., p. 34.

greater identification with their services and functions that develops from their effective practice.

Nonetheless, as important as any of these reasons, to understand municipal government in Britain, according to Howe, one had to understand its electorate.[487] For British voters in Town Council elections were, according to Howe, 'before all else, ratepayers.'[488] Hence all relevant municipal issues were viewed in this light. Priority was given to matters such as how such measures will effect their rates and what were the potential returns of such investments in terms of services and revenues. Therefore, 'this makes for responsible government. For the citizen watches the council meetings and its expenditures' since in such circumstances his 'vote directly affects his purse.'[489]

Howe notes how in actual fact it was concerns about rates that motivated municipal ownership in the first place. And that it was this 'same pecuniary interest' that 'keeps the rate-payer alert after an enterprise has been acquired.'[490] Thus, rather than increasing expenses, this trend has resulted in 'relief of taxation.'[491] It has been the 'very financial success of municipal ownership that has endeared the movement to the rate-payers.'[492] An additional benefit of municipal trading has been the 'fact that a man is a joint owner in the tram line makes him critical and appreciative of the tram line.'[493] Hence, just as important as the material benefits of municipal ownership has been the resulting civic values. According to Howe, for 'the man in the street, the case for municipal ownership has been made.'[494]

Another benefit of municipal ownership was that it eliminates the source of most municipal corruption. For corruption had emerged in

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[487] Ibid., p. 41.
[488] Ibid.
[489] Ibid., p. 45.
[490] Ibid., p. 47.
[491] Ibid., p. 59.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid., p. 61.
[494] Ibid., p. 73.

American cities through the entanglement of the boss, party, and machine with the franchise corporations.[495] In Great Britain instead 'Municipal ownership thus identifies all classes with the city rather than against it.'[496] Howe was here once again arguing that municipal ownership creates a greater sense of identification by the citizenry with its local governance. In turn, the benefit of municipal ownership was that without the corrosive appeal of franchise contracts to compete for, 'the talent of the community seeks expression through those channels which are open to it.'[497] It was here that one should look to for an 'explanation of the British city and the British citizen.'[498] It was via such foundational conditions that city governance throughout Great Britain had attained its most essential achievements.

Yet with all these factors considered, according to Howe, all was not completely admirable in British cities. Even the very aspect of rate paying-suffrage had its serious limitations. That he was critical of this practice should hardly be surprising given his democratic sensibilities. As he stated the 'tyranny of the rate-paying classes' had serious drawbacks.[499] For according to him most priorities were typically 'sacrificed to the sordid ideal of the rate-payer.'[500] Therefore, according to Howe, rate-paying suffrage seriously inhibited the scope, vision and practice of local governance to merely mundane and uninspiring considerations.

Even more fundamental a problem, according to Howe, was the fact that the powers of the councils were actually much more limited than appeared the case on first impression. For 'there is little home rule in the sense that is demanded in America.'[501] Instead, the authority of Parliament on issues of finance, taxation, and regulation, fundamentally limits the hands of the councils throughout Britain.[502] In this regard, British cities were actually

[495] Ibid., pp. 51-53.
[496] Ibid., p. 53.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid., p. 47.
[500] Ibid., p. 47.
[501] Ibid., p. 37.
[502] Ibid., pp. 37-38.

even more limited in powers than American ones.[503] If anything the 'British city is under the servitude of an economic master.'[504] This was largely in the form of the House of Lords. For ultimately, the ´ Parliament is supreme' and the 'cities are but pawns.' [505] The latter were merely free to do what they could as long as it did not interfere with the vested interests of the privileged members as represented, in the end, by the House of Lords' veto power over parliamentary legislation. Therefore, whatever the desires of the local rate-paying voters, anything touching upon issues like land, tenements, or franchise corporations, required the Town Councils to get approval from Parliament. Hence it was that ´Parliament is the real Town Council for all of Great Britain.´ [506]

According to Howe the ´aristocracy has given the people all of the appearance of without the substance of power.´ [507] And this means that the ´sovereignty of the city is really the sovereignty of the landlord.´ [508] Since for Howe land touched so fundamentally upon all other matters of governance, here too he found it at the root of all problems as well. According to Howe, this ´explains the unwillingness of those who rule to concede any large measure of home rule to the cities. For the aggressive democracy of the Town Councils would make short work of the age-long abuses which are hung about their necks.´ [509] Thus, as far as Howe was concerned, to truly and thoroughly deal with all that was still dysfunctional and deplorable in Great Britain, both the issues of home rule for cities and control of land taxation were essential. For were 'the towns endowed with home rule, home rule in the matter of taxation, in the matter of the ownership and control of its trading enterprises, the British city would become in a very short time the most interesting experiment station of industrial democracy in the world.´ [510]

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[503] Ibid., p. 38.
[504] Ibid., p. xi.
[505] Ibid., p. 145.
[506] Ibid., p. 146.
[507] Ibid., pp. 145-146
[508] Ibid.
[509] Ibid., p. 156.
[510] Ibid., p. 160.

Therefore, in typical single tax philosophy fashion, Howe returned to the foundational issue of land and taxation as the fundamental measures needed for true reform of the British cities.

Following his book on British cities, Howe gathered more research on European cities during a six-month trip in the summer of 1909. Based on the recommendation of journalist and friend Lincoln Steffens, Howe was hired by E. A. Filene and other Boston notables to do so with the purpose of developing a reform plan for their city.[511] The material gathered on the trip formed the basis for a series of five articles for the periodical *Outlook* between January and April 1910. According to Howe in the articles, ´Impending change … is the impression of six months in Europe.'[512] The term Howe accorded this emerging peaceful revolution was 'industrial democracy.'[513] The countries that Howe specifically identified in this trend were Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, and Germany. An article was devoted to each country and a specific reform measure. For example, Howe was very impressed with the exercise in direct democracy of Switzerland, cooperative farming in Denmark, and the cooperative movement in general in Belgium.[514]

In the case of Howe's of the article on Germany, it was mainly devoted to the provisions there provided for the welfare of the working classes.[515] As he further described, ´Germany more than any other country in Europe has entered on a comprehensive programme of human salvage. She is devoting her thought and her energy to the making of people as well as of things.´[516] Howe's praise of Germany in this article was, according to Axel Schafer, indicative of Howe's increasing focus on the achievements of Germany in municipal governance.[517] This became especially clear shortly thereafter with the publication of his more expansive *European cities at work* in 1913.

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[511] Schafer, *American progressives and German social reform*, p. 116.
[512] Howe, ´The peaceful revolution´, *The outlook*, January 15, 1910. (pp. 115-118), p. 115.
[513] Ibid., p. 119.
[514] See Howe, F., ´A Commonwealth Ruled by Farmers´, *The outlook,* February 26, 1910, (pp. 441-449), Howe, F., ´Conquering a Nation with Bread´, *The outlook,* March 26, 1910, (pp. 682-689), and Howe, F, ´The white coal of Switzerland´, *The outlook*, January 22, 1910, (pp. 151-157)
[515] Howe, F., ´How Germany Cares for her Working People´, *The outlook,* April 23, pp. (939-947)
[516] Ibid., p. 946.
[517] Schafer, *American progressives and German social reform*, p. 116

Regarding Germany, Howe was particularly impressed with the fact that they had ´worked out a programme of human conservation.´[518] This was particularly exemplified by their insurance provisions. These provisions included old age, sickness and injury insurance.[519] According to Howe, Germany succeeded in implementing these measures by placing 'the cost of human accidents onto society itself.´[520] This they did by making insurance compulsory.[521] In doing so the ´cost of the invalidity and old-age insurance is shared by the wage-earner, the employer, and the state, while insurance against accident is borne by the employer.´[522] It was via such means, according to Howe, that the burdens of such costs were distributed as equitably as possible across German society. This, to his mind, was indicative of a broader social vision in their policy.

Just as striking for Howe was Germany's practice of city planning. According to Howe, up until recently German cities had met the challenges of their urban environments in piecemeal fashion. Yet the German authorities eventually came to face the reality of the challenges that increasing industrialization and urbanization had presented them. Hence it was that the 'art of town planning had its birth in these necessities.'[523] The results of such efforts were for all to see for there was now 'order and completeness.'[524] According to Howe, German cities accomplished their planning controls through three different means: land-ownership, regulation, and taxation.[525]

The first was often the result of the fact that German cities were historically already some of the largest landholders. This facilitated a policy through which cities could 'anticipate future needs by buying land for … public uses before the territory has been opened for sale.'[526] This method of public purchase inhibited speculation. The second case was regulation, in

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[518] Howe, F.C., *European cities at work* (New York, 1913), pp. 126-127.
[519] Ibid., p. 127.
[520] Ibid., p. 128.
[521] Ibid.
[522] Ibid., p. 129.
[523] Ibid., p. 87.
[524] Ibid., p. 88.
[525] Ibid., p. 96.
[526] Ibid., pp. 99-100.

which cities could ´determine the uses to which land can be put by the owners.´[527] This regulatory impulse gave rise to zoning policies. It was through this means that the ´council divides the city into districts in which the building regulations are fixed in advance of local development.´[528] Both in terms of aesthetic appeal and more practical considerations, for Howe the benefits of such a policy were plain to see.[529] These first two of planning measures were thus the sorts of thoughtful, creative, proactive and centrally directed kinds of municipal policy that Howe, as well as Ely and Shaw, were very supportive of.

The third measure of taxation touched upon another related and central issue in city planning: housing. According to Howe, Germany had attempted to deal with the interconnected issues of housing and land issues in part through land taxation. The form of taxation practiced was one that taxed vacant land at a higher rate than improved land. This was thought to encourage owners to build and improve housing.[530] As Howe stated, 'If we compel owners to build, the housing problem will take care of itself … Competition will take care of this.´[531] Hence this policy was of the structural variety that Howe favored, that sought to coerce and incentivize more productive behavior on the part of the relevant actors involved.

Howe further emphasized the centrality of taxation to effective policy with the example in Germany known as the *wertzuwachssteur.* According to Howe the *wertzuwachssteur* 'disclosed to the authorities the increasing value of city land.´[532] Howe saw in this measure evidence of the successful implementation of the unearned increment tax he become an advocate of. Yet even at that, Howe did acknowledge that 'It is not the single tax of Henry George, … For the single tax would collect all the needed revenue of city, state, and nation from the land, irrespective of any increase in value.´[533] This

[527] Ibid., p. 100.
[528] Ibid., p. 101.
[529] Ibid.
[530] Ibid., p. 161.
[531] Ibid., p. 176.
[532] Ibid., p. 193.
[533] Ibid.

caveat aside, Howe nonetheless, extrapolated from this taxation measure that it was in fact a part of a universal trend around the world toward the adoption of the single-tax. For he asserted that it had inspired further efforts along similar lines with 'the Lloyd George budget of 1909 being in large part inspired by German experience. It has been adopted or is being officially considered in Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, and Belgium.´[534] Therefore, here one can see that Howe was ascribing quite holistic, universal and profound intents, vision, implications and scope to the German example of the *werzuwachssteur.* Certainly much more than was ever likely present at the time of its introduction. Howe's assertions here were all part of the case he had been trying to make that the single tax was an irresistible and all-encompassing policy and philosophy whose time had come.

According to Howe, the introduction of such innovative and visionary policy was a product of the fact that ´German cities have great freedom in local matters and wide latitude in the matter of taxation.´[535] This brought Howe to the matters of the actual structure, framework and functioning of German local government. He emphasized that this was a structure in which 'the *burgomaster* is the central figure' that worked alongside the 'expert advisors of the *magistrat.*'[536] Together, they 'form the executive branch of city government.´[537] They benefitted from the fact that there was no checks and balances inhibiting them. In sum, according to Howe, this results in the German city being 'the most generously endowed political agency.´[538] Once again, here he was demonstrating his preference for decentralized and concentrated authority in local government.

Yet for all of these structural features, more notable to Howe was the fact that German municipal government amounted to government by businessmen. Howe discussed how it was curious that the largely constructive results of this circumstance were contrary to his own experiences of a similar fact in American municipal government. For in

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[534] Ibid., p. 201.
[535] Ibid., p. 193.
[536] Ibid., pp. 220-221.
[537] Ibid., p. 228.
[538] Ibid., p. 221.

Germany, in spite of 'the political power of the business men, they do not legislate in the interest of their class.' [539] As proof of this, Howe notes how they have shifted the burden of taxation more upon themselves than the less wealthy.[540] Howe attempted to account for this seemingly novel situation. The explanation he settled upon was 'in the psychology of the people, and that psychology, in turn, is traceable to home rule, to the freedom of the city to do as it wills in almost all matters which affect its life.'[541]

According to Howe, this created a greater sense of identification by the German people with their respective cities. In this sense, then, Howe posited there was an interconnected and interlocking form of identification abounding throughout Germany. That was, one in which the 'citizen is a subject of a city, just as he is the subject of the state and the empire. And his devotion to his city is very much like his devotion to his fatherland.´ [542] Hence it was greatly due to this greater 'city sense' among the German people that had ultimately produced these achievements.

Yet for all of his idealized descriptions and explanations of German cities, Howe also alluded here to a sense of uncertainty about his assertions. For in spite of the undeniable accomplishments of German cities, Howe acknowledged that it was difficult to know the extent of this 'city sense' that he claimed underpinned German municipalities. He confessed that he was unsure 'as to how universally it is felt by the working classes who participate so little in the actual control of the city.´ [543] Yet, in spite of the recognition of this uncertainty, Howe made no attempt adequately address this gap in his analysis.

More fundamentally problematic in his sweeping praise city governance throughout Germany was the fact that Howe avoided further discussion of what had been elsewhere in his work one of the essential means and results of city reform. That was greater democracy. For all of the features that could be praised about city governance in Kaiser Wilhelm II's

[539] Ibid., p. 248.
[540] Ibid., p. 249.
[541] Ibid., p. 253.
[542] Ibid., p. 253.
[543] Ibid., p. 261.

Germany, great and extensive democracy was plainly not one of them. Howe in his German writings made no attempt to reconcile his desire for more representative governance alongside a greater result oriented functionality. This itself pointed to a foundational problem that was present throughout Howe's writings in which the means and ends of his reformism often existed in awkward relation to one another.

In this case study one can observe the central preoccupations of Howe's municipal writings. Howe's upbringing and education, as he repeatedly emphasized throughout his autobiography, were foundational in stimulating his moral convictions, reformist zeal and overall desire to be of greater service to society. In the decade following the attainment of his doctorate from Johns Hopkins Howe's experiences constituted a representative cross-section of Progressive Era professional, reformist and political causes and activities. These largely disillusioned Howe of much of his earlier idealism. Yet he never lost his desire to be of service. Howe's reformist orientation took on a more structural emphasis. This all became clear throughout his municipal reform writings. Howe throughout his writings denigrated the role that individual pieces of legislation or that greater paternalistic moralization could play in sustainable municipal policy. He also contested much of the overall pessimism expressed about cities in general.

Instead Howe emphasized the potential that was lying complacently dormant in emerging urban settings. This was a potential that merely needed to be encouraged to be realized. This was especially the case the issue of democracy for municipal governance. In contrast to municipal reformers such as Albert Shaw, Howe had little regard for suffrage limitations in the name of good government. Rather, it was in fact greater democracy that was to be both the source and result of more effective municipal reform. For it was via such means that Howe argued, often in quite hyperbolic prose, that a greater identification with the city, a ''city sense'', would grow. This emphasis on democracy and the resulting greater city identification calls to mind Ely's emphasis on Christian ethics and its apparent benefits. In the case of each,

the respective importance of greater democracy and of Christian ethics was that each would apparently serve as the cement that would bind the disparate individuals of the modern cities together. Throughout his writings, Howe would find evidence of this greater city identification being present throughout European cities, whether they were in Britain or Germany, and often in the most unexpected places.

In terms of specific mechanisms by which to secure this greater democracy, Howe, plainly based on his own experiences in local government, advocated greater home rule for the cities themselves. He also stressed a preference for a system with an elected mayor empowered with more concentrated authorities over the councils or courts. In terms of the role of a politically insulated expert civil service, as was clear in his writings on German cities, he was ambiguous and inconsistent. Certainly more so than the unhesitatingly enthusiastic Shaw in such matters. The readily apparent benefits in the execution of policy plainly here conflicted with Howe's desire for greater democracy.

In terms of the policy preferences to pursue through which to pursue such concentration of local authority, Howe argued for a focus on the more deeply rooted structural and economic foundations of urban dysfunction. Of which, none were more important than those of utilities franchises abuses and misguided taxation policies. Therefore, Howe's emphasis upon the centrality of taxation policy was something he shared in common with Ely. In the case of the importance of monopolies he shared this in common with both Shaw and Ely. Yet he was distinct in his proposed remedies. In contrast to both on monopolies, Howe was unequivocal about his advocacy of municipal ownership. His experiences in local government had convinced him of the futility of the regulatory approach. In the case of taxation, he too was unequivocally distinct: the only measure worth advocating was the single tax. Throughout his discussions on European cities, Howe constantly found evidence of the centrality of these concerns. Ultimately it was via the means of greater democracy, of municipal ownership of monopolies and of the implementation of the single tax that Howe optimistically, and often hyperbolically, predicted would result in the greater development of modern

cities, which themselves would serve as the vanguard of the progress of civilization itself.

Conclusion

This thesis assessed in three case studies the municipal writings of Richard T. Ely, Albert Shaw, and Frederic C. Howe. It was the contention of this paper that their work provided valuable examples of how more pluralist and transnational approaches to Progressive Era reformism could be conducted. In doing so, the approach of this thesis has to been to make use of Daniel T. Rodgers' argument about the role of transnational narratives in the transference of transatlantic reforms. In this, the municipal writings of Ely, Shaw, and Howe were ideal examples of such. This study contended that to adequately appreciate the motivations and character of the Progressive Era one needed to better appreciate the diversity of the responses to the great changes of the time. Therefore, it has been the argument of this study the need to assess the writings of progressive reformers with all due consideration to their diversity and individuality.

As to the content of the three case studies, as discussed throughout the thesis, the municipal writings of Ely, Shaw, and Howe demonstrated great insights into the nature of the pluralism and transnationalism of progressive reformism. For all three the transatlantic orientation was central. Each had distinct vocational orientations toward their reformist advocacy. The height of each of their reformist activities took place in the context of separate decades. All three demonstrated the importance of the changes of higher education in the United States. This most embodied in the institution of Johns Hopkins University. These factors all had notable influence upon their activities and writings.

Richard T. Ely combined the activities of being a practicing academic economist, a proponent of the Social Gospel movement, and an outspoken reformer and activist. All the while, as well, he was a significant contributor to the professionalization of economics as an academic discipline. The very diversity of Ely's activities at the time thoroughly personified the vocational, institutional, and intellectual flux of the 1880s. On the other hand, Albert

Shaw's combination of a scholarly acumen with his more practical grounding in journalism gave vivid testimony as well to the alterations of the time. Best seen here in the increasing scale, scope, and professionalization of newsprint itself by the 1890s. In the case of Frederic C. Howe, his experiences in such a variety of progressive professional, reformist, and political vocations and causes embodied so much of the variety, interconnections, hopes, and disillusions present at the height of the Progressive Era in the decades bridging the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All of these experiences, influences and contexts were foundational to their municipal writings and, hence, essential to adequately assessing their work.

In the case study of Richard T. Ely's municipal reform writings, the foundational contexts of his reformism were clear. Ely's religious upbringing and education, especially in Germany, were foundational for him. His vocational expertise as a professional economist informed his approach to reform. In doing so he approached municipal topics through his historical economics orientation with an historicist methodology that emphasized tangible examples of practice and policy, especially transatlantic ones, and comparison. Ely rejected *laissez-faire* as an approach to economic policy. He instead emphasized context based remedies. For him the baseline of all measures was as to whether they were a product of and contributed to a greater Christian ethics. This was rooted in Ely's beliefs and participation in the Social Gospel movement.

This background greatly informed and conditioned his specific municipal writings. One of the central issues here for him was monopoly. In historicist fashion, Ely recommended contextually derived measures here of either a private-regulatory model or of outright public municipal ownership; his preference was clearly for the latter in most cases. Ely's positions on taxation and expenditure were similarly contextually based. Of these issues, Ely accounted for several examples of ideal practice in Europe, especially in Germany. In the long run, Ely stressed the need for policies and measures that would aid in cultivating a greater Christian ethics. For him a truly lasting

and substantive reformism could only come through such an imperative. Such a Christian ethics would be both the means and ends of reform.

In the case study of Albert Shaw, the foundational contexts of his writings were clear too. Shaw's comfortable Midwestern upbringing and his early influential role models in journalism were greatly important for his development. Shaw's diverse newspaper experience from a young age situated him very well in the then transforming and expanding scene of journalism at the end of the nineteenth century. Also crucial in his development was his education and training for a doctorate at Johns Hopkins University. On the basis of this background, Shaw came to cultivate a seemingly dispassionate and impartial style in his writing. Finally, a vital European trip resulted in an editorship of a monthly periodical and a wealth of research material on European municipal governance.

These factors informed his popular writings on municipal governance. Shaw consistently placed more emphasis on a functions and results focused account of municipal governance in Europe. He typically then applauded such qualities like efficiency, professionalism, and sound business sense. Shaw made clear his disapproval of divided authority in governance and administration. He greatly praised the expertly trained and politically insulated civil services of European cities. He was greatly impressed with broad policy that proactively addressed the interconnected nature of cities in their many functions, policies and responsibilities. However, Shaw with his emphasis on results oriented practice did betray a partiality for the undemocratic suffrage limitations of the kind that were pronounced throughout Europe at the time. Shaw certainly at the very least entertained an attitude toward municipal reform that was to some degree elitist.

In the case study of Frederic Howe, the background contexts of his municipal writings were clear. Howe's upbringing in Meadville and his education at Johns Hopkins were fundamental in inspiring his reformist convictions. Following completion of his doctorate, Howe's professional, reformist and political experience ranged across a great variety of causes and

activities. These informed, as well as disillusioned, his reformism. Howe's reformist orientation took on a more structural emphasis in his municipal reform writings.

Howe repeatedly stressed the dormant potential of cities that simply awaited greater release and expression. For Howe, an essential potentiality that was, as yet, unrealized was that of democracy. A greater democracy was to be both the source and result of more effective and thorough municipal reform. According to Howe, it was through such means that a that a greater city identification would grow. Throughout his writings, Howe found evidence of this greater city identification being present in various European cities. In terms of political structure, Howe advocated greater home rule for the cities; each ideally with a system of an elected mayor empowered with more concentrated authority. Howe's preference for more concentrated local authority was informed by his preference for a system of that could facilitate actions on the much deeper structural and economic issues that he stressed lay at the root of all major city problems. No factors were more fundamental in Howe's view than the issues of monopoly and taxation. Howe was unequivocal in his preferences in both cases: municipal ownership of the former and the single tax in the latter. In the end, for Howe, it was to be through the fundamental means of greater democracy, municipal ownership of monopolies and the single tax that greater municipal governance and life would be secured.

The lines of comparison, contrast, and consensus are readily apparent between the three municipal reformers. To all of three of them the issue of monopoly was a central concern. However, unlike Shaw and Ely, Howe would not consider a privately owned and well-regulated approach, and was emphatic about the need for public municipal ownership. All three as well praised thoughtful, proactive and centrally directed kinds of municipal policy; albeit with Shaw and Howe typically advocating more sweeping and interconnected proposals such as city planning. In terms of the role of a politically insulated expert civil service, Howe and Ely came off as ambiguous and unsure to a degree that Shaw did not in his enthusiastic praise.

Shaw in general exhibited much less concern with the means and motives of reform, especially in terms of law, structure or even the more foundational question of purposes sought. His was a much more function and results focused orientation that stressed more mundane utilitarian imperatives such as profitability and efficiency. In this, he contrasted greatly with Howe's emphasis upon the ends and means of greater democracy and Ely's similar foundational emphasis upon Christian ethics. Ely and Howe also shared differing conceptions of how creative taxation could lead to more equitable municipal governance. Yet, Ely much more that Howe did exhibit a similarly paternalistic and elitist emphasis in his reformism to Shaw, even if to a less overt degree than the latter.

Nonetheless, these points of comparison between reform writings of Ely, Shaw, and Howe, whether in distinction or similarity, speak to a consensus regarding the priorities of municipal purpose, policy, and practice. This kind of consensus regarding the pressing issues and potential solutions was a necessary stage before such concerns enter into more formal routes of political contestation.

As one has hopefully observed throughout this study, it was only through the preceding means of assessing the works of each of these progressive reformers individually that one can fully appreciate the diversity and individuality of their work adequately. It is only via such means is it possible to grasp the motivations, impulses and responses of the Progressive reformers themselves. In such a manner it is possible to observe the ways in which such reformers deployed their narrative accounts of municipal governance and policy to advocate their preferred measures. In doing so, it has been the contention of this thesis that this approach has taken Daniel T. Rodgers' argument for a pluralist conception of the Progressive Era a step further. For only via such means can one appreciate how each reformer embedded and related their advocated measures into, for them at least, internally coherent and consistent frameworks of reform. Hence, Rodger's concept of policy clustering can be observed at work. It is the hope of this study then that in the long run this approach could then duly be incorporated into a broader scheme that could compare and contrast the various

Progressive Era reformers and adequately assess their lines of intersection and contrast. Such work would provide valuable insight into the manner by which consensus of the priorities of progressive reform measures had eventually emerged. The analysis of the three case studies of the municipal writings of Richard T. Ely, Albert Shaw, and Frederic C. Howe in this thesis should then be thought of as a tentative step in such a direction.

The case studies analyzed here suggest the ways by which consensus on certain measures emerged out of a diversity of concerns and eventually entered into the broader political discourse. Even achieving entry at that point only represented an intermediary stage that had to be followed by more overt political contestation through the more formal political channels. It was at such point that more determining, yet hard to pin down, factors such as political culture, structure, and contingency conditioned the success, failure, or compromise in the implementation of the various measures, policies, and reforms. The means and results of such a process are beyond the scope of this study but, needless to say, it was never predetermined that some measures of the municipal reform, such as regulatory commissions, zoning laws, and city commissions, would be successfully implemented, while others, such as municipal ownership and city planning, largely were not. Municipal governance, policy, and reform have never been static realities or concepts, then or now. Rather, they have been ever evolving and fluid grounds of differing visions, contestation, and consensus.

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