

on the subject is the new word "politocrat" which Mr. Kales has coined, and of which he makes such free use as to justify its coinage on the ground of sheer convenience. Although he abstains from defining "politocrats" or "politocracy," it is plain that the politocrat is a member of that ruling class in this country which we loosely describe as "the politicians."

Politocracy replaces the phrase "government by politicians," or "machine rule."

The study of politocracy leads Mr. Kales to a close analysis of government as he finds it in Illinois, and to the various efforts such as direct primaries, the Massachusetts ballot, the recall, initiative and referendum and independent political organizations which have been devised to destroy politocracy. He proves very clearly and simply the insufficiency of such devices and ends with an analysis of commission government and the short ballot as the real answer.

In the concluding chapters Mr. Kales undertakes constructive work, and this section of the book, like all constructive proposals in political science, is open to attack from many sides. His constructive plans for state government are not altogether consistent with his own statement of the sound underlying theories, and his proposal for a second chamber in the state legislature to represent property, is reactionary. The reader gets the impression that the author was a little afraid to accept his own logic and, after proving his thesis, was afraid to act on it. He accepts the windy district idea for example, and yet, in his constructive proposal he provides for the governor and a chief judge, who is to appoint other judges, elected at large. In general, the author relies on careful logic rather than on collections of evidence and the book lacks the picturesque illustration which might help to make it popular reading. Serious minded students of political science, nevertheless, will find it in some ways the most satisfactory contribution that has yet been made to the literature of the short ballot movement.

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New York.

RELIGION IN SOCIAL ACTION. By Graham Taylor, D. D. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. \$1.25.

The early chapters of Professor Taylor's new book deal with the religious and theological bases of social effort. For the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW chief interest centers in the chapters dealing with the relation of the Church to the community and to industry.

Professor Taylor sees in the family the norm of social groups and groupings. To this norm the Church and the community, if they are to be true to themselves, must conform. In order, however, that they may both develop properly, as they should, on the basis of this family or home ideal, co-operation between the Church and the community is indispensable.

The character of a town will be judged not only by the personal virtues of its people, but by their standards of its public life and social conditions for which they are responsible. The efficiency of the Church will be tested by the extent to which social conditions and town government make it easier to be good and harder to be bad. The claim of being a community of Christians will not be conceded to those who do not constitute a Christian community.

In order that this co-operation between the Church and the community may be effective, attention must be given to the three-fold function of the Church in relation to the community: "to have and to give a formative ideal of what the community is to be and do; to initiate, inspire, and support movements and agencies for the realization of civic ideals; and to generate and apply the power of a self-sacrificing public spirit, which is the only force adequate to promote social progress."

Through the long course of Christian history, the city has been the ideal of which prophets and saints have dreamed. This ideal has been at times in the way of realization. The various theocratic experiments of Calvin, Cromwell, Knox, the Pilgrim Fathers, and others have been adumbrations of what is coming to be seen in this latter day as the proper relation between the city and the Church.

Christianity is coming down out of the clouds; the city is rising out of the slough. In their meeting will be found the possibility of a life which will conduce not only to the individual, but to the social, well-being—physical, mental and spiritual.

Not only, however, must the Church hold up before the community the vision of what the city ought to be; it must also lend its strength in aiding the realization of the vision. This does not mean that the churches are to duplicate the work of local social agencies—official and volunteer—nor even permanently to do any work needed to be done for the community which is not now being done. The function of the Church in the social field should be primarily that of the pioneer. The Church should point the way to the city, and then, as soon as the municipal government is ready to assume the new burden, should pass on to some other phase of social effort. The "institutional" church may, indeed, be a real means of civic service. The function of the Church in general, however, should be "more formative than reformatory"; it should be preventive and constructive rather than merely curative.

But the final and most important function of the Church with reference to the community is to lay "the duty and privilege of self-sacrifice in public service upon every conscience and heart." To this end the various organized Christian bodies must give over their present petty rivalry and come together on a common platform of co-operative service. The work in this field of the New York Federation of Churches, the Christian League of Connecticut, and the interdenominational committee in the state of Maine, which is now attempting "to act as a final court in preserving comity and promoting co-operation," is particularly commended. The churches, in Dr. Huntington's phrase, which Professor Taylor quotes, are not to be "models under glass cases," but are to be powerful engines for generating the spirit necessary to accomplish any deep and far-reaching social reform. In other words,

The final test of the capacity and right of the churches to fulfil their high function in the community is not the attitude of the people toward the Church, but the willingness and capacity of the Church to serve the real interest of all the people. The country, town or city church which thus serves its community the most will serve itself the best, and, within the bounds of its legitimate function, will be a source and center from which will proceed ideal, initiative, and power to the people.

In his treatment of industry the author stresses the mediatorial function of the Church, whose duty it must be to bear impartial testimony rather than to side with either of the contending parties. In view of present conditions which more and more enforce the fundamental need of justice in our economic relations, this section of Professor Taylor's book may seem somewhat too conservative. In the effort to show impartiality as between employer and employee, the Church may fail to show due sympathy with the struggle of the wage-earning classes for human rights. It is this industrial crisis, even more than our modern municipal problem, which forms the challenge to the Church of our day.

The book is valuable as coming from one who is not only a recognized social leader, but who has had actual experience in the routine work of the Christian minister. Miss Addams' "Foreword" is a splendid interpretative summary of the whole movement of which Professor Taylor is an outstanding representative.

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New York.



SOCIAL FORCES, A TOPICAL OUTLINE WITH BIBLIOGRAPHY, Madison, Wisconsin. Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association. Postage, Wisconsin: Mrs. A. S. Quackenbush. 15 cents.

At the last annual meeting of the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association, a resolution was passed creating an education committee and designating its work

¹Secretary, Joint Commission on Social Service of the Episcopal Church.