

provements can't work which afterwards prove that they can work by working. I suspect, however, that the task of seizing this universal industrial mechanism, taking it by law away from the monopolistic interests that control it, may be no child's play. Such a revolutionary adventure might call for the qualities attributed to Hotspur when upon washing his hands for breakfast after a morning's kill of six or seven dozen Scots, he remarked that he was tired of this quiet life and wanted work. Yet it may be feasible. Possibly those are right who think they can organize the working class into political parties out of which, through class warfare at the ballot box, a working class republic will eventuate and take peaceable possession of the industrial mechanism of the world. But theirs is not the only plan. More thrilling if not more convincing is the plan of those who are organizing the working class for "direct action" in contradistinction to political action, and who hope by class warfare regardless of the ballot box—peaceable when and where possible; destructive when and where serviceable for its purpose—to seize the industrial mechanism of the world without either the formalities or the moralities of legal process. For one I can see no future for this criminal policy but destructive vendettas, with carnivals of hangings for climax and a paralyzing reaction for outcome. He must be a hopeful observer of the signs of the times, however, or a foolish one, who does not fear that as we go now we are rushing headlong toward a hideous war of classes, and a war of violence at that. Doubtless this social catastrophe can be averted. But if the past is prophetic of the future, it can be averted only by intelligent readjustments of industrial distribution in the direction of social righteousness.

In promoting those readjustments, no greater service could come from any source than from such sources as these Conferences represent. The truly charitable, the sincerely humane, the men and women of righteous instincts and purposes who are devoted to rescuing the worthy poor from their economic thralldom, could declare with exceptionally beneficial effect for prevention as well as melioration of poverty. If they would do that, however, they must first find the primary causes of continuous monopoly of the mechanism of modern industry—not secondary causes merely, but primary causes. Removal of secondary causes alone would not be effective; old troubles would quickly reappear in new ways, as upon removal of secondary causes they always have. Why, then, to repeat my crucial question, why is the industrial mechanism of the modern world continuously monopolized to the prejudice of working interests and the working class?

There may be many reasons. There doubtless are many reasons. In a mechanism so vast and intricate it would be strange if there were not a

puzzling complexity of reasons. But the primary reason, as I see it, is suggested in the description of that world-wide mechanism which I have already given: The mechanism is "*all under one roof and all upon one foundation.*" Its all-enclosing roof is the canopy of heaven, its all-controlling foundation is our revolving planet; and they are monopolized.

BOOKS

PARTY GOVERNMENT.

Readings on Parties and Elections in the United States. By Chester Lloyd Jones, Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1912. Price, \$1.60 net.

The framers of our Federal Constitution carefully separated the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the Government, vesting each in a separate department, intending that each department should be independent of the others. Had this intention of the Constitution makers been realized, confusion and inefficiency would have resulted. If Government is to be efficient, these departments must work in harmony. The Constitution provided for a dispersion of the powers of government; but the political parties which have grown up have by pressure from the outside brought and kept the several parts of government into a workable combination and made them effective. Party, then, is a big thing in our Government. If we are to have efficient Government we must have strong parties, and if we are to have popular Government those parties must be controlled by the people.

Recognizing this condition of affairs, and to make "easy of access some of the discussions illustrative of the development, present organization, abuses and remedies for the defects in our party Government," Professor Jones has brought together from books, magazine articles, reports of organizations and state papers something of the best that has been written on the development of parties and party organization, the methods adopted by party leaders to secure and keep control of the organization, and the system used to select the party candidates, together with some suggestions for the correction of the abuses that have grown with the development of our party system.

It is an informative book.

Among the authors drawn from are Bryce, Goodwin, Woodrow Wilson, Ostrogorski and Merriam. The development of the caucus and convention system of nominating candidates and formulating platforms is traced, the defects of our present primary laws and the need of supplementary legislation shown, and the abuses arising from electing

our legislative officers from single member districts discussed.

W. H. HOLLY.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Waterways Versus Railways.** By Harold G. Moulton. Published by Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston. 1912. Price, \$2.00 net.

—**Life's Responses to Consciousness.** By Miriam I. Wylie. Published by Desmond Fitzgerald, New York. 1912. Price, \$1.00 net.

—**Sulzer's Short Speeches.** Compiled from the Records of Congress, with other Official Data and a brief Biographical Sketch by George W. Blake. Published by the J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., 57 Rose St., New York. 1912. Price, 25 cents.

PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets Received.

Why Monopoly Is Superseding Competition. By R. L. Green, South Bend, Ind.

The Church and the Workingman. By Rev. Edgar Franklin Blanchard. The Golden Rule Publishing Co., Nashua, N. H. Price, 10 cents.

Do Our Courts Stand in the Way of Social and Economic Justice—and if so, by What Authority? Speech by William J. Gaynor, at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., May 7, 1912.

The University of Wisconsin Course in Journalism, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, General Series, Number 281. Published by the University, Madison, Wis., July, 1911.

A World-Wide Demand—The Improvement of Electoral Methods. Report for the Year 1911-12 of the Proportional Representation Society, 179 St. Stephen's House, Westminster Bridge, London, S. W.



"Papa, what was your class oration when you went to school?"

"Why, come to think of it, Willie, I believe it was called 'The Tyranny of the Monopolies.'"

J. W. Donahey in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 29, 1912. Reproduced in The Public by courteous permission of the Editor of the Plain Dealer.

Isn't any paper going to be enterprising enough to get Roosevelt and Taft to report the Baltimore convention for it?—Chicago Record-Herald of June 18.



First Passer-by: "If I hadn't been so closely buttoned up, I'd have given that poor beggar a shilling to get something to warm him up a bit."

Second Passer-by: "Ah! You always let your heart get the better of your head. He doesn't feel the

How much

of Monday do you spend at the wash-tub? Far too long if you wash clothes any way except the Fels-Naptha way. One of the great blessings of Fels-Naptha, a half hour's soaking in cool or lukewarm water will thoroughly 'loosen the dirt. Then rub lightly, rinse and the clothes are ready for the line.

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