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————— *Bundesgesetz über die Kranken- und Unfallversicherung. Loi fédérale sur l'assurance en cas de maladie et d'accidents. Vom 13.6.1911. Mit Inhaltsübersicht und systematisch, alphabetisch geordnetem Sachregister.* (Bern: K. J. Wyss. 1912. Pp. iv, 103. 1.60.)

Socialism and Co-operative Enterprises

- The Ricardian Socialists.* By ESTHER LOWENTHAL. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. XLVI, No. 1. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1911. Pp. 105. \$1.00.)
- The Essentials of Socialism.* By IRA B. CROSS. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. 152. \$1.00.)
- Socialism and the Ethics of Jesus.* By HENRY C. VEDDER. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xv, 527. \$1.50.)
- Elements of Socialism.* By JOHN SPARGO and GEORGE LOUIS ARNER. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. 382. \$1.50.)
- Socialism As It Is. A Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement.* By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xii, 452. \$2.00.)

Of the making of books upon socialism there is no end; and the variety and quantity of these discussions are an evidence of the virility and comprehensiveness of this great movement. Those here under consideration are but a few of those printed in the United States in the last few months but they include a scholarly investigation in the history of socialism, a guide to the study of the subject by a non-socialist, a propagandist textbook, a survey of the movement from within the ranks, and a study of its relation to fundamental questions of life.

Since Professor Foxwell, in his introduction to Menger's *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labor*, made clear the significance of the early English socialists, there has been conspicuous neglect to investigate the rich and important material produced by the vigorous social and political thought and movement in England during the early nineteenth century. Dr. Lowenthal has done well to study carefully in her thesis four of the six writers considered by Professor Foxwell, namely, William Thompson, John Gray, Thomas Hodgskin, John Francis Bray. That Godwin should have been omitted because of the attention he has already received

is natural; but it is to be regretted that Charles Hall was not included in this study though he antedates Ricardo and would not come under her title. Dr. Lowenthal concludes that "there is no evidence that the socialists were particularly impressed by his (Ricardo) teachings," and that "only Hodgskin betrays an intimate knowledge of his work." The monograph does not confine its attention to the relation of these men to the economic thought of the time, but "attempts to estimate the relative importance of the Utopian and the scientific elements in the reasoning of these socialists and to examine in some detail their political and economic theories." In her final classification the author places Thompson and Bray among the Utopians because of their emphasis upon perfectability and the rights of man; and states that while Gray and Hodgskin have an economic basis, the latter is politically inclined to anarchism, while Gray, although nearest to the scientific school, repudiates socialism.

Professor Cross' little book is a brief outline for the study of socialist doctrine. It is very—perhaps excessively—compact, the socialist indictment, for example, being compressed into eighteen lines, and the statement of the class struggle doctrine, with the arguments for and against it, into a little over three hundred words. On the whole the subject is presented impartially. The references are extensive, classified, and fairly specific. The book will undoubtedly prove a useful guide to college classes and the serious reader.

Professor Vedder's aim, he tells us, is "first, to sketch briefly the history of socialistic principles and parties in modern times; second, to examine with sufficient thoroughness the fundamental principles of present-day socialism; third, to enquire in what respects these principles correspond to the ethics of Jesus, and wherein the two differ." The author is very sympathetic with socialism; agrees with the most extreme criticisms of the present order, hopes for and expects a socialist state, but harshly criticises Marxian principles. The following (p. 383) seems to sum up his point of view: "The method of Jesus is sound; that of socialism illusory. But while the method of Jesus is indispensable, the method of socialism is not hostile to it. Socialists and Christians are natural allies, not necessary opponents." The book is oracular and ministerial. While far from judicial in tone, it might be

said to be impartial, for it pours forth sarcasm and disapproval upon socialist, economist, capitalist and churchman alike. The lack of economic training and knowledge is constantly apparent. A few typical quotations will reveal the tone and spirit of the author: "The political economy of Smith and his school is nothing more than a pseudo-science, and its 'laws' mostly bugaboos to frighten the people in their intellectual childhood" (p. 180); "a science of economics founded wholly on man's bestial selfishness . . . is well named the 'dismal science'. But it ought also to be called the lying, slanderous science" (p. 205); "distribution was automatically effected—in the same way that an automatic distribution of swill is made in the hog-pen: the strongest hogs get what they want first, and the others get what may happen to be left" (p. 202); "the life and fortune of half the voters of the United States are at this moment at the mercy of these ten men" (p. 245); competition "is the flat denial of the golden rule. No Christian can defend competition without intellectual and moral *hara-kiri*" (p. 273); "rent and interest are in their nature immoral. We are assured that 'business' could not be carried on without them. It is perfectly true, and perfectly conclusive proof that modern business ought not to be carried on" (p. 422). While there is, perhaps, no greater social need than that the church should see the essentially religious significance of the industrial problem and passionately strive to extend the conception of righteousness to include economic justice and industrial improvement, a book like this will do little to secure that end.

Mr. Spargo's unwearied pen, reinforced by that of Dr. Arner, has produced a "textbook" of socialism. There seems to be no particular reason for calling it a textbook except that, at the end of each chapter, there are brief summaries and questions. Such references as are given on disputed points are almost exclusively to socialist authorities. The book is divided into five parts: Socialism as a Criticism; Socialist Theory; The Socialist Ideal; The Socialist Movement; Policy and Program. The chapters in the last part on Socialism and Social Reform and The Reform Program of Socialism are interesting statements of the moderate attitude. In general the book repeats that view of socialism which has become familiar to readers of Mr. Spargo's previous writings: "Back to Marx," to a Marx who has been misrepresented, who was never so extreme as his successors have been, a Marx

glorified and almost deified. Those who first approach socialism through this or any other of Mr. Spargo's books should note that, however sound his presentation of Marxian socialism may be, it is not, in many respects, that of a large portion of socialists and that there is acute opposition to his exposition and attitude. All in all this work is perhaps the most comprehensive and best of his books.

The most important of the volumes under consideration is Mr. Walling's *Socialism As It Is*. Starting with the assertion that "the only socialism of interest to practical persons is the socialism of the organized socialist movement," the author bases his description on the acts of socialist organizations and the responsible declarations of great representatives of the movement, giving relatively little attention to the earlier writers, although they are not neglected. The book reveals an enormous amount of reading and an intimate, inside acquaintance with every phase of the subject. It is divided into three parts of which the first, called State Socialism and After, differentiates socialism from other movements; the second, The Politics of Socialism, sets forth "the internal struggle by which it is shaping and defining itself"; and the third, Socialism in Action, treats of the relation of socialism to the class struggle, the land question, trade-unionism, syndicalism, the general strike and other live problems. Mr. Walling points out constantly that extension of state action is not necessarily socialism; that the former may be used for the benefit of all classes, even for the large capitalist and very commonly for the small capitalist as against the large, but that socialism attacks the whole capitalist system and looks forward not merely to a working-class, collectivist control of society but to the use of such control to give the social product to the worker. Socialism is not simply a political theory in contrast to individualism, nor even the use of a democratic, collectivist state to improve the condition of the worker—it is the annihilation of capitalism. In the chapter on Revolutionary Politics he combats the view that revolution will be unnecessary because of the gradual securing of reform. The essence of socialism is the abolition of capitalism—not simply some improvement of condition for the working class. While the capitalist and especially the progressive favor reforms, they do it to strengthen capitalism or to avoid revolution. The socialist may accept the results of progressive reform but he is not

deceived into thinking this is socialism. Familiar as these views are to those conversant with the subject, they are often overlooked. Certain people are much alarmed at the alleged drift toward socialism revealed in state social reform policies. Others, rightly distressed by the evils of the present industrial order, sympathizing with state action for their alleviation, and misled by certain socialist writers into believing that such progressive measures are socialism, align themselves with that party. Both these groups, widely apart as they are, should note the fact clearly brought out by this study that socialism is a movement which believes that capitalism large and small should be annihilated by a class struggle. It is unfortunate that such an important book should be written in a style so involved, obscure, and tedious that it is in danger of not being read as widely as it should be.

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- Syndicalism and Labour.* By SIR ARTHUR CLAY. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1911. Pp. xv, 230. \$2.25.)
- The Labor Movement in France. A Study in Revolutionary Syndicalism.* By LOUIS LEVINE. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. XLVI, No. 3. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1912. Pp. 212. \$1.50.)
- La Question Agraire et le Socialisme en France.* By COMPÈRE-MOREL. (Paris: Marcel Rivière. 1912. Pp. 455. 8 fr.)
- The Anarchists: their Faith and their Record.* By ERNEST A. VIZETELLY. (New York: John Lane Company. 1911. Pp. xii, 308. \$3.50.)
- The Record of an Adventurous Life.* By HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. Pp. xi, 422. \$1.75.)

There was need of a work covering the ground which Sir Arthur Clay here stakes out, the recent outburst of syndicalist activity in Europe, but the lack still remains. In the first part of his book the author passes in review the syndicalist strikes in France, Sweden, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The arrangement is clear, and the details given of these scattered movements are useful as an introduction to the subject. But the usefulness is narrowly limited by the author's lack of an economic background,