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into hostile organisations. Both retained the same name, but the direct-actionists were of the truer faith.

Strikes and a campaign for free speech—"refinement is not the Wobblies' long suit"—occupied 1909, and alleged membership grew to about 18,000 in 1912—misleading figures, says our author. Preaching sabotage led to quarrels with the Socialists, but the success of the great Lawrence strike in 1912 created visions of "No God! No Master!" in a new world. Constitutional quarrels again came—a fight against "centralisation," and, quite separately, the advocacy (aided by Tom Mann in 1913) of a policy of converting existing trade unions by "boring from within" instead of "hammering from without." In 1917 there were 60,000 paying members, and the I.W.W. had spread from the United States and Canada to Australia. Coincidentally, numerous laws were passed by the Western States against "criminal syndicalism" or sabotage, and in 1918 Haywood and other leaders were sentenced to long periods of imprisonment for anti-war activities. In 1919 there were 35,000 members.

Dr. Brissenden thinks that the propaganda of the constructive ideas of the I.W.W. will continue, but that "the Wobblies are grotesquely unprepared for responsibility." He obviously regards the charges of violence—in which the public are more interested—as exaggerated, but on this point readers will form their own opinions. There is an excellent index and bibliography, and appendices deal with "Father Hagerty's Wheel of Fortune" (a diagrammatic classification of the industrial population), the I.W.W. Preamble, membership statistics, structural organisation, local unions, strikes, anti-I.W.W. statutes, and a selection of I.W.W. songs as revolutionary in rhythm as in sentiment. Altogether this is an admirable and very readable book, a pathetic study in social pathology.

HENRY W. MACROSTY

Violence and the Labour Movement. By ROBERT HUNTER.
(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919. Pp. xiv + 388.
Price \$1.50.)

THE author of this work is a strong advocate of political action for achieving the social revolution, and his book appears to aim at indicating, by appeals to history and experience, the programme and methods of Marx, against those of Bakounin, "the father of terrorism." The preface suggests that it was written prior to the war, and places its origin in the events of

1911-1913, which led the writer to re-state the case for political action.

The first part of the book traces the history of the Terrorism in Western Europe. It begins with a chapter on the life of Bakounin, and devotes others to main features or personalities in the movement. The concluding chapter of the part contains an attempt to analyse and explain the causes of terrorism and the psychology of the terrorist. Here the author often shows a real power to understand the point of view of the other side, whilst clearly exposing its errors and fallacies. Throughout the book he pleads strongly for constitutional methods, illustrating from the experience, for instance, of America and France, the tendency of anarchism to strengthen reaction. The relation of anarchism to egoism, and its tendency to subordinate social to individual influences, are well brought out. Thus the terrorist "looks upon all social evils as the result of individual wrong-doing," and is therefore "led inevitably to make war on individuals," whilst the socialist attributes such evils mainly to economic and social causes. The author's power of seeing other points of view is, unfortunately, limited. He fails to show the same breadth of view in dealing with the efforts of rulers and of society as a whole, to vindicate the rights of society against anarchy, as, for instance, in the reference to "society cherishing the thought that anarchism may be ended by the murder of the anarchist."

The second part is concerned with the struggle between Anarchism and Marxian Socialism. It also opens with a biographical chapter on the life and writings of Marx, and then deals with various phases of the struggle between the two ideals. Under the Newest Anarchism, for instance, the movements covered by the term syndicalism are dealt with. By the Oldest Anarchism, again, is intended the anarchy or lawlessness of powerful individuals or classes, as instanced by the feudal rights of private war. The author argues, on the one hand, that the consummation of the ideas of Bakounin and Proudhon would lead inevitably to a return to such a system. On the other he puts forward the suggestion that, as in the case of some "extra-legal police agencies" in the United States, resort is beginning to be had to modern forms of this anarchism to resist the growing strength of the working classes. His evidence of this strength causes the author to conclude on an optimistic note in a final chapter entitled "Visions of Victory." The book is worth reading not only for the actual treatment of its facts, but for the point of view which it presents.

N. B. DEARLE